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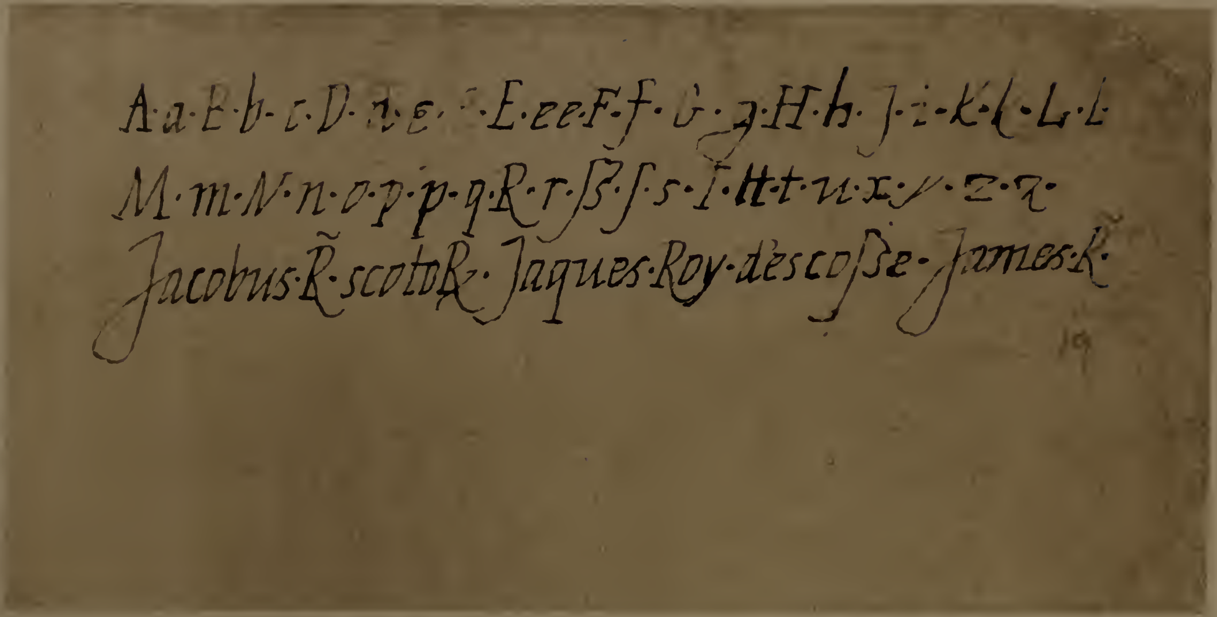
(First Volume)

DECEMBER 1893



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WRITING EXERCISE BY JAMES VI

[See pp. xii, lxxi]

[*Frontispiece*]

MISCELLANY OF
The Scottish History Society

(*First Volume*)

THE LIBRARY OF JAMES VI., 1573-83
DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CATHOLIC POLICY, 1596-98
LETTERS OF SIR THOMAS HOPE, 1627-46
CIVIL WAR PAPERS, 1643-50
LAUDERDALE CORRESPONDENCE, 1660-77
TURNBULL'S DIARY, 1657-1704
MASTERTON PAPERS, 1660-1719
ACCOMPT OF EXPENSES IN EDINBURGH, 1715
REBELLION PAPERS, 1715 AND 1745.

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

EDINBURGH
Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable
for the Scottish History Society
1893

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NOTE

This Miscellany has been prepared in accordance with the Resolutions adopted by the Council at meetings held on March 28 and May 30 of this year.

As the volume was passing through the press it was found that the editorial matter of the several pieces composing it had considerably exceeded the estimated quantity, but it was thought better to issue the work as it is than to divide it into two volumes.

Mr. Warner has himself compiled the Index to the Library of James vi.; and this Index, on account of its special bibliographical character, has been printed separately.

The General Index covers the contents of the remainder of the volume.

T. G. L.

Dec. 4, 1893.

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THE LIBRARY OF JAMES VI.

1573-1583

FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE HAND OF

PETER YOUNG, HIS TUTOR

Edited
with Introduction and Notes, by
GEORGE F. WARNER, M.A., F.S.A.,
Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, British Museum

INTRODUCTION

The matter here edited is taken entirely from Additional MS. 34,275 in the British Museum. Properly speaking, this manuscript is not, as its number implies, a recent acquisition, for, although its very existence was unknown until a year ago,[1] there is every reason to believe that it came to the Museum when the Royal Library was removed thither, as far back as 1759. Probably it was regarded merely as a rough list of some portion of the collection made public property by George II.; in any case, instead of being classed and catalogued, as it ought to have been, among the MSS., it was kept with the printed books, and the result was that, without being catalogued at all, it was put away in a cupboard and lay there undisturbed for more than a century. With keener eyes or better fortune than his predecessors, Mr. Garnett, the present Keeper of Printed Books, has at length brought it to light, and, as an interesting memorial of the early years of James VI., its publication by the Scottish History Society has an obvious fitness.

The MS. is a small quarto of twenty paper leaves, bound in limp vellum. Both within and without it is much soiled and worn, so as to render the writing in some places almost illegible, and it was evidently treated from the first as a rough note-book, without any particular care. In the centre, however, of each cover is stamped a small gilt crown between the initials I R, and this evidence of royal ownership is fully borne out by the contents, which not only supply curious information as to the library of James VI. between 1573 and 1583, but include supplementary matter of even more directly personal interest. In two instances, indeed, James has left his own mark upon the volume, having utilised the fly-leaves for the purpose of a copy-book. As he was born in 1566, he was only seven years of age at the earlier of the above dates, and one specimen of his penmanship consists merely of the letters of the alphabet, followed by his signature in three different shapes. A facsimile of this elementary effort is given here as a frontispiece. The other exercise (p. lxxi) is of the ordinary moral precept kind, and is written in a stiff boyish hand showing all the characteristics of James's writing in later years. The sentence copied represents a familiar Latin maxim quoted from Cato the Censor by Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.*, lib. XVI. c. i.)[1] James's wording of it, however, is a literal translation from the later Greek of Musonius as quoted by the same author (*loc. cit.*), and, unless derived from some printed source, it was no doubt due to one of his tutors, and not to himself. It is a curious coincidence that in an English form the same maxim exists also in the hand of James's cousin Mary Tudor, written before she became queen. In this case it is inscribed in a fifteenth century MS. Book of Hours, which afterwards belonged to Henry, Prince of Wales, and is now preserved in the Bodleian at Oxford. Apparently when giving the volume to one of her attendants, Mary inserted in it some words of good advice, which end thus:—'Yf you take labour and payne to doo a vertuous thyng, the labour goeth away and the vertue remayneth; yf through pleasure you do any vicious thyng, the pleasure goeth away and the vice remaynethe.

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[1] An account of it was communicated by me to the *Athenæum* of 7th January 1893.

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[1] Under the title *The Contrast: duty and pleasure, right and wrong*, upwards of forty variations of it have been printed by Dr. W. A. Greenhill, 6th ed. 1893. George Herbert's, at the end of his 'Church Porch' (*The Temple*, 1633, p. 16), is as good as any:—

> 'If thou do ill, the joy fades, not the pains;
> If well, the pain doth fade, the joy remains.'

Good madame, for my sake remember this. Your lovyng mystres, Marye Princesse.'[1]

The bulk, however, of the ms. is in the hand of Peter Young, who shared with George Buchanan the responsibility of James's education. Probably he is not too well known even in Scotland, and a few particulars about him will therefore not be superfluous.[2] A native of Dundee, he was born in 1544, and was educated under the eye of his maternal uncle, Henry Scrymgeour, Professor of Philosophy and Civil Law at Geneva, Theodore Beza being his principal teacher. On his return home he was appointed joint preceptor to the king in 1569.[3] No doubt he owed the post to his uncle's friendship with Buchanan, and he seems himself to have completely won the esteem of his much older colleague, who in writing to Plantin a few years later speaks of him as 'ob perpetuam erga me observantiam mihi longe carissimus.'[4] Although overshadowed by the other's fame, he probably did quite as much of the real work of teaching, and deserves a full share of credit for James's undoubted proficiency as a scholar. On the other hand, the admiring tone in which he records in this ms. the not very brilliant remarks of his royal pupil suggests that he could play the courtier as well as the pedagogue. Sir James Melville's character of him[1] in this respect is not altogether flattering. After alluding to Buchanan's strictness and severity, he goes on to say that 'Mester Peter Young was gentiller and was laith till offend the kyng at any tym, and vsed him self wairly, as a man that had mynd of his awen weill be keping of his Maiesties fauour.' Whether he deserved this somewhat ill-natured reflection or not, he certainly made himself a *persona grata*, and received, in the way of pensions and otherwise, substantial proofs of James's regard. On 25th October 1577, while still 'one of our Lordis Preceptouris,' he was made Master Almoner,[2] and, besides being a member of the Council and serving on various royal commissions, he was sent to Denmark to negotiate James's marriage in 1585 and 1588, and was named one of the 'Octavians' in 1596. James's accession to the English crown opened to him further prospects of advancement. No time, indeed, was lost, for before the king reached London 'Peter Young our Almoner' was nominated Dean of Lichfield. This was on 25th April 1603, but before the end of May he and his master had learned that an English deanery could not be conferred quite so easily as a Scottish abbacy on a layman *in commendam*, and the vacancy was otherwise filled up.[3] With greater propriety, in November 1604, Young was made tutor and 'chief overseer' of the household to Prince Charles. This post carried with it a pension of £200, which was increased to £300 in February 1605, when he was also knighted.[4] Finally, in November 1616, he secured the Mastership of St. Cross Hospital, Winchester, a licence to hold it, 'notwithstanding he is not a divine nor there residing,' being granted to him in January following. That James retained his regard for him to the last is evident from the 'gracious and blessed earnestnes' with which, according to a letter from Secretary Conway to Lord Treasurer Middlesex, of 2d July 1623, he then exerted himself to get his 'oldest servaunt' his arrears of pension, though his own poverty prevented him from making him a parting gift. Young, as Conway writes, was then about to make a 'retrait home into Scotland, there to dye where his barnes may see him buried in the land of his forefathers.'[1] As it happened, however, he survived James himself, dying at Easter Seton, where he had purchased an estate, on 7th January 1628-9.[2]

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[1] W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, second edition, 1890, p. 53.

[2] The fullest account of him (though somewhat ill-digested) is given in Sir G. D. Gibb's *Life and Times of Robert Gib, Lord of Carribber*, 1874, vol. i. p. 345, Elizabeth Gib, Robert's youngest daughter, being his first wife (below, p. liv).

[3] In some autobiographical notes printed in a notice of him by Dr. Thomas Smith (*Vitæ Quorundam Eruditissimorum*, etc., 1707, p. 23), he speaks of being admitted 'in clientelam regis' on 4th January 1569[-70]. Buchanan's appointment dated from August 1569 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*), but, according to Irving (*Mem. of G. Buchanan*, 1817, p. 157), he did not enter upon his duties until the next year. Even then James was not four years old! Smith also prints a paper in which Young set down his pupil's daily routine of study. Unfortunately the date is not given, but it appears that after prayers he read the Greek Testament, Isocrates, or Plutarch's *Apophthegms*, and learnt Greek grammar, while the forenoon was devoted to Livy, Justin, Cicero, or Scottish and other history, and the afternoon to writing (composition?), and, when time allowed, to arithmetic, geography and astronomy, dialectic or rhetoric.

[4] *Opera*, 1715, vol. ii., Epistolae, p. 12. Elsewhere (p. xviii) he styles him 'adolescens probus et doctus.' It is a pity that Young did not accede to the request of Sir T. Randolph (*ib.* p. 19) to write Buchanan's life. Probably he was afraid of losing favour with James.

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[1] *Memoirs*, Bannatyne Club, ed. 1827, p. 262.

[2] *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, 1834, vol. i. p. 15. In the same place is a copy of a grant to him of a pension of 200 marks, dated 22d March 1573 [4 ?]. Considering the date of his appointment and his pupil's tender years, it is amusing to read that it was given to him 'in a part of recompans and rewaird of his gret and lang service, travellis, and labouris tane upoun the instructing and techeing of his Majestie.'

[3] *Cal. of State Papers*, Addenda, 1580-1625, p. 422 ; Gibb, p. 353.

[4] 19th Feb. 1604-5, Add. MS. 32,102, fol. 166 b.

At the period with which we are here concerned he added to his other duties those of royal librarian, an office which, under more formal conditions, was afterwards held from 1609 to 1647 by his better-known son, the learned Dr. Patrick Young. The earlier part of the MS., however, seems to have nothing to do with the royal library, and it has therefore not been printed. It mainly consists of six lists of books, which number altogether about 250. Though educational works somewhat predominate, they are of all sorts, and in many cases the prices are attached. At the head of each list is the name of a printer, viz., Wechel, Rob. Estienne, Colines, Tiletanus, Oporinus, and Froschover, while at the end of all is a note by Peter Young to the effect that he merely copied the titles from catalogues lent to him by the famous scholar, poet, and reformer, Andrew Melville. As the latter returned to Scotland from Geneva in July 1574, he probably brought these catalogues with him. With the above exceptions, the whole of the bibliographical matter in the MS. is printed just as it stands, though some of the divisions are not in strictly chronological order. The list, for example, which is dated 11th Nov. 1583 (p. xxxv), notwithstanding its position, appears to be the latest entry of all. This, indeed, is a case in which a page left blank was subsequently filled in, but there is nothing to explain the confusion of dates among the acquisitions of 1575-1578. At the same time, there is no doubt that the entries first in order, dated in 1573, mark the time when Young's notes on the royal library were begun, and as these entries relate to books that belonged to Mary, Queen of Scots, they are of special interest. That active measures were taken in 1573 to reclaim for James the scattered remains of his mother's library is shown in the proceedings against Lord Torphichen referred to on p. xxxi; and if Young did not actually originate them, we now learn from him how far they met with success, not only in Torphichen's case, but in others.

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[1] *Cal. of State Papers*, 1623-25, p. 3; Gibb, p. 356.

[2] Gibb (p. 357) finds the date 7th January 1628, contradicted by a grant to him on 25th Sept. 1628, forgetting the year in England began on 25th March.

Two lists of Mary's books, drawn up while she was a prisoner in England, have long been known. They were both printed in the very interesting *Inventaires de la Royne Descosse*, edited for the Bannatyne Club by Dr. Joseph Robertson in 1863 (pp. cxliii, 179); and more recently they have been made the subject of a monograph by Mr. Julian Sharman, under the title *The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots*, 1889. The earlier list enumerates briefly, and not always intelligibly, the titles of 87 books which, under warrant from the Regent Murray, were handed over to John Wood of Tilliedavy, his secretary, by Servais de Condé, keeper of the palace of Holyrood, on the 25th November 1569.[1] Although they were probably all that had survived of the Holyrood collection in the disorders of the times, these books could have formed but a small part of Mary's whole library, for, with a few doubtful exceptions, they neither reappear in Dr. Robertson's later list of 1578, nor include any of her books noted by Young as 'gottin' at various times from Lord Torphichen, or as received from the anonymous 'passementier,' or laceman, on 1st July 1573. From the terms of Wood's receipt it appears that he took possession of them merely on Murray's behalf, to be deposited in the latter's formal custody as Regent, and it may reasonably be inferred therefore that no actual removal of them from Holyrood was intended. Young's MS., however, now enables us to follow their fortunes a little further. Nine years later they are there spoken of (p. xliii) as having been 'borrowit' by Wood, and, whether this expression is ironical or not, it is now made clear, not only that they had in fact been removed from Holyrood, but that less than half of them ever found their way back. If Wood had survived, there might have been less difficulty in getting hold of them. Early, however, in 1570 he was struck down, soon after Murray himself, by the hand of an assassin, and such of the books as were eventually recovered for the king in 1578 were given up by Arthur Wood, his brother. Some indeed of the volumes then surrendered are not entered in the Holyrood inventory, so that it would seem that the Regent's secretary had used his opportunities for 'borrowing' in more than one quarter. The other list printed by Dr. Robertson (p. cxliii) is of greater length, comprising 149 volumes.[1] They are described as the Queen's books in the Castle of Edinburgh which were delivered up to James's commissioners by the Earl of Morton on 26th March 1578. Having just before resigned the regency, Morton was formally divesting himself of all the royal property he had held in trust, and they may be regarded therefore as constituting the entire library of Mary then left in the castle. As already stated, they are distinct from the books catalogued at Holyrood in 1569, nor do any of them appear in the 'Index Librorum Regis' or elsewhere in Young's MS. Full particulars of them, as well as of those in the earlier inventory, are given by Mr. Sharman, and they need not therefore be discussed here.

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[1] The warrant is dated on the 24th November, and Wood's receipt on the 25th, so that the date 15th November at the head of the inventory and of Young's notes from it here (p. xxxiii) must be a mistake.

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[1] It was previously printed in Thomson's *Collection of Inventories*, 1815, p. 242, and in the Maitland Club's *Miscellany*, vol. i. 1834, p. 3.

But before passing on to the entirely new materials for the history of the royal library supplied to us by Young, it may be remarked that, under the title 'The Kingis Maiesteis Buikes,' a short list of thirty-one entries was printed in the Maitland Club's *Miscellany*, 1834, vol. i. p. 13.[1] It is, in fact, a bill for books purchased for James, and is accompanied by a warrant for payment signed by Morton as Regent, 21st July 1576. This being the case, it is singular that the purchase is not recorded by Young, though some of the titles do appear in different parts of his MS. In the same *Miscellany* (p. 17) is a second bill, which was submitted to the king by John Gibson, his bookbinder, for binding fifty-nine volumes, the titles of which are separately entered. This is attested by Young himself, and is indorsed with an order on the Treasurer signed by James, and dated at Holyrood, 1st October 1580. As will be seen below, the lateness of the date is enough to account for the absence of the books from Young's MS. In a footnote, moreover, to the earlier of these two documents is a letter which, although undated, apparently relates to it, and is of some interest and relevancy to our subject. It is addressed by Peter Young to the Lord Justice Clerk, whom he begs to use his interest with the Regent to provide funds for certain books required for the King. 'The causis,' he writes, 'quhairfoir I haue tain the baldnes to trouble your L. heirwith ar sindry, bot cheifly the gret affectioun I am assurit ye beare unto our Maisteris furtherance in lerning, and alsua in caise any persoun suld say, as the fascioun of the maist part is, quhat neidis his Majestie sa mony buikis, hes he not anew alreddy?—that in that caise your L. vald schaw thame thair error and persuade my Lordis grace alwayes to graunt.' Bearing in mind the ordinary official attitude towards appeals based on literary considerations, there is a refreshing audacity about the last few words. Young's zeal, however, for the formation of a fitting library for his pupil and sovereign did him credit, and it seems also to have had some effect. What is presumably the Justice Clerk's comment on the above passage is written in the margin. It is in the words, 'Si faut que le Roy dresse une Bibliothèque peu à peu;' and, thanks to Young's own notes, we have the opportunity of seeing by what means and to what extent this principle was carried into practice.

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[1] A facsimile of it is given in the *National MSS. of Scotland*, pt. iii., 1871, No. 68.

Naturally the nucleus of James's library was formed by the salvage from the wreck of his mother's. Altogether the books stated by Young to have belonged to Queen Mary amount to about seventy, all of which, excepting the first batch of nine, were recovered from Lord Torphichen or Arthur Wood. It is not improbable, however, that some of the volumes entered as donations had also been hers, and were presented to James on that account; and it must further be remembered that, besides the Queen's books catalogued by Young, her Edinburgh Castle library, though we are not concerned with it here, has also to be counted. As might be expected, the romantic element is stronger among Mary's books than among those acquired in James's own time, when tastes had changed. We find, for example, among Young's entries *Amadis of Gaul*, *Flores and Blancheflour*, *Le Nouveau Tristan*, *Dom Flores of Greece*, *Palmerin d'Olive*, and Montemayor's *Diana*; and to the same class may be assigned the *Pecorone* of Giovanni Fiorentino, the *Propalladia* of Torres Naharro, and the *Histoires Tragiques*, translated from Bandello. The classics also are well represented. Without counting translations, they include Herodotus, Sophocles, Demosthenes, Lucian, and Ptolemy, with the Lexicon of Hesychius, in Greek, and Virgil, Livy, and Cicero, in Latin. In theological literature there is less variety. It yields only single works of Jerome, Eusebius, and Chrysostom, together with the Canons and Decrees of the

Council of Trent, and Funeral Sermons on Henry II. of France and Queen Mary of Guise. Among historical works, James's library was enriched from this source with Zonaras in French, Froissart, the Chronicles of Savoy and of Flanders, and the Scottish Chronicle in MS., besides a few minor pieces; and in poetry with Dante, Petrarch, Ronsard, and Angelio's *Cynegetica.* A French version of Marco Polo also deserves notice, as well as the *Insularium* of Henricus Martellus. This last was a MS., and in the Holyrood inventory seems to have been mistaken, not unnaturally, for a Ptolemy. The work is extremely rare, and Mary's copy is not improbably identical with one now in the British Museum having exactly the same title. Out of all her other books named by Young, the only one that is known to be still in existence is Paradin's *Chronique de Savoye.* Until lately this volume was in the library of Mr. Gibson-Craig.

The greater part, however, of James's books were acquired by gift or purchase. Of the various lists of them which Young gives, the largest and most important is the last, headed 'Index Librorum Regis' (p. liii.). Exclusive of double entries, this comprises 201 numbers, and, as will be seen, not only gives the title, but in nearly all cases states whether a book was bought or presented (and if so, by whom), or came from Queen Mary, with a further note in the margin, if it was afterwards given away by the King. With regard to the date, the only doubt arises from the presence of 'The Æthiopian History in English.' This must have been Underdown's version of Heliodorus, the earliest dated edition of which was not printed until 1587. No other book mentioned, however, is anything like so late, and Lowndes speaks of an undated edition which was printed by H. Wykes, and therefore at latest in 1571. Assuming this to be meant, all the evidence points to the 'Index' having been drawn up in 1578, and this also is the latest date that appears in any of the preceding lists, except in that of 1583, which, as before explained, was an insertion. On the other hand, for whatever reason, the 'Index' by no means includes all the acquisitions noted in the earlier part of the MS. It therefore does not give us the full extent of the royal library at the time when it was made, and, in fact, counting the Queen's lot, the whole number of books in Young's lists amounts to about 400. All of these were probably kept at Stirling, where James resided while under tutelage. There was, however, as we have already seen, a separate library, formerly the Queen's, in Edinburgh Castle, and, if this be added, as well as the books in the bill of 1576, which Young does not mention, we arrive at the respectable total in 1578 of something like 600 volumes. Of those acquired in James's own time, and consequently before he was thirteen years of age, a large proportion were evidently intended to assist in his education, and their titles throw a curious light on the nature and range of his studies. To begin with, it was certainly not from lack of special provision if he was not well trained for his exalted office. Besides the *Cyropædia* and Agapetus *De Officio Regis*, variations of the title *Institution of a Prince* abound, the treatises of Boaistuau, Budé, Heresbach, Osorio and half a dozen others being all included. One very famous work of the kind, however, the *Principe* of Machiavelli, is, as might be expected, conspicuous by its absence. The purchases are more generally serious in character than the donations, anything like light literature being apparently eschewed. They may be supposed to reflect the taste of Young and, still more perhaps, of Buchanan, and much finds a place that could not have been meant for the immediate use of their pupil, precocious and forced as he was.[1] For proof of this one need not go beyond the books bought in November 1575, when he was not ten years old (p. xlvii.). Among the more elementary works provided for him at various times are Latin, Greek, French, and Italian grammars, the *Lingua* and *Colloquia* of Erasmus, the Fables of Æsop and Faernus, the Distiches of Cato, and the Apophthegms of Plutarch, to which may be added the *Orthographiæ ratio* of Aldus Manutius, Corderius *De Corrupti Sermonis emendatione*, and the treatises of Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith on the pronunciation of Greek. Editions of the classics were purchased freely. The Greek tragedians, for example, are represented by Euripides; the historians by Xenophon; and the orators by Demosthenes, Æschines, and Isocrates; other authors, such as Plutarch, Lucian, and Diogenes Laertius also appearing. Latin writers, of course, are much more plentiful. They not only include Virgil, Horace, and Terence, Cæsar, Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, and Sallust,[1] but Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, Lucan, 'Martialis castratus,' Quintus Curtius, Festus, Florus, Valerius Maximus, Varro, and Velleius Paterculus. Moreover, not to speak of Greek authors in a Latin garb, we find translations of the *Cyropædia*, Plutarch, Cæsar, and Pliny in French, of Cæsar and Vegetius in English, and of Philostratus in Italian. Of modern historical works, the purchase is recorded of Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Carion's *Chronicle*, augmented by Melanchthon and Peucer, and Histories of Bohemia by Dubravius, of Italy by Sigonius and William Thomas, and of Portugal by Osorio, together with Lives of the Emperors and of the Popes, and the Ecclesiastical History of the Magdeburg 'Centuriatores.' Again, instruction in geography was supplied by the Atlas of Ortelius and the treatises on cosmography of Mizauld and Münster; in natural history, by Gesner *De Animalibus*; and in mathematics and other sciences, by Euclid, the *Scholæ* of

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[1] See a letter of H. Killigrew to Walsingham, 30th June 1577, describing an interview with him:—'He speaketh the French tongue marvellous well; and that which seems strange to me, he was able extempore (which he did before me) to read a chapter of the Bible out of Latin into French, and out of French after into English so well as few men could have added anything to his translation' (Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, ed. Eadie, iii. p. 97). He was then just turned eight years.

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[1] From the phrase 'apud tuum Sallustium,' employed by Buchanan in dedicating his *Baptistes* to James in 1576, he seems to have been a favourite with the king.

Ramus, Priscian on weights and measures, the *Sphæra* and other works of Alessandro Piccolomini, and the *Dialectica* of Ramus and Sturm. The only law-book noted as bought bears the title *Leges Antiquæ Anglorum*, and is probably to be identified with Lambard's Ἀρχαιονόμια; but in theology, besides other works, we have the Catechisms of Calvin, Hemmingsen and Nowell, the Confessions of Augsburg and of the Swiss and French Churches, Coverdale's *Spiritual and Precious Pearl*, and several small books of devotion. A single Bible (that of Castalio), two New Testaments (one Beza's Latin, the other 'avec les Pseaumes, en Escossois'), and Buchanan's Metrical Latin Psalter were also purchased, as also a large number of miscellaneous volumes, among which Henri Estienne's famous *Apologie pour Herodote*, Ascham's *Toxophilus*, Sir Thomas Elyot's *Governour*, and *The Institution of a Gentleman* (which James gave away) may be specially noticed.

The acquisitions by gift are not only more numerous and diversified, but possess the additional interest that attaches to the names of the donors. Thus, of eight Bibles that head the 'Index Librorum Regis,' no less than seven were obtained in this way. One of these was given by Young himself, and the others by the Earl of Argyll, the Laird of Drumquassle, Master of James's Household, Robert Richardson, his Treasurer, Alexander Hay, Clerk of the Council, and Alexander Syme and Clement Little, advocates, the last honourably known as the founder of the library of Edinburgh University. Young also presented Æschylus, the *Sententiæ* of Stobæus, Giovio's *Elogia Virorum Bello Clarorum*, and H. Estienne's Ψαλμοὶ ἀνακρεοντομελοποιηθέντες, which he had from the author; while Buchanan added Seneca's Tragedies, the Institution of a Prince by Synesius in French, Piccolomini's *Sphère du monde*, and Belon's *Nature des poissons*. Neither he, however, nor any other author seems to have gratified James with a present of his own works, except Andrew Melville and Rudolph Gualther, the first of whom gave him a volume of poems, and the other his *Homiliæ in Galatas*.[1] The donor whose name most often meets us is Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, who was James's great-uncle on the father's side. In addition to such aids to learning as 'tua faire globes,' and a pen, inkhorn and portfolio of silver, James was indebted to him for 25 books. They form an interesting and typical lot, including the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius, the huge *Theatrum Vitæ Humanæ* of Zwinger, Plato's *Symposium* and Cicero's *Officia* in French, Æsop in English, the *Apophthegmata* of Erasmus, the *Devises Héroiques* of Paradin and *Emblemata* of Alciatus, *L'Institution du Prince* by Budé and *The Dial of Princes*, translated from Guevara, the *Heures de Recreation* of Guicciardini, Bullinger on the Apocalypse, and *The Perfect Pathway to Salvation.* The Chancellor, Lord Glammis, was another who showed genuine concern for the young king's education, giving him Seneca, the septilingual Dictionary of Calepino, the Latin-French Dictionary of H. Estienne, the Histories of Guicciardini and Paolo Giovio, a French-Italian Grammar, Foxius Morzillus *De Regni Regisque Institutione*, and Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano.* He even seems to have tried to interest him in military studies by the gift of the treatises of Bernardino Rocca. Probably, however, these were less to the boy's taste than two works on venery and falconry which were given to him by Argyll, or *La Chasse du Loup* which, with Josephus in French, he had from Adam Erskine, titular abbot of Cambuskenneth. To enumerate all the other donations here is of course superfluous.

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[1] There was some trouble about this book, as appears from correspondence between the author and Buchanan, printed in the latter's *Opera*, vol. ii. Epistolæ, p. 16, etc. On 21st Dec. 1577, Gualther complains that on 31st Aug. 1576 he had sent two copies, one for the king (to whom the work was dedicated) and the other for Buchanan, but had heard nothing whatever about them since. Buchanan, however, seems to have written before this, though not till after long delay, to make acknowledgment, saying—'A rege quidem tuum munus, ut erat amplum et honorificum, ita libenter et benevole est acceptum' (p. 17). His answer to Gualther's complaint is also given (p. 20).

For variety of subject one more sample may, however, be given in those of Nicol Elphinstone, comprising Cicero's *Epistolæ Familiares* and *Scipio's Dream*, the *Institution de la Vie Civile*, a treatise of Bullinger on the Christian Religion, the polemical *Tocsin des Massacreurs* and *L'Alcoran des Cordeliers*, the *Chronicon Prodigiorum* of Lycosthenes, Sandford's *Garden of Pleasure*, and the *Songes de Pantagruel.* Among the more prominent donors, besides those above named, are to be found the Earls of Mar, Caithness and Angus, Lord Ruthven, the Master of Marischal, Sir John Bellenden, Lord Justice-Clerk, James Macgill, Lord Clerk-Register, the Abbots of Dunfermline, Glenluce and Deir, and the Lairds of Lochleven, Tullibardine, Kilsyth, Carden, Seggie and Rossyth. From Mar, who was his guardian's son and his fellow-pupil, James had the *Novus Orbis* of Grynæus. The liberality of the Bishop of Caithness was imitated, though in a less degree, by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Orkney and Brechin, and John Spottiswood, Superintendent of Lothian, and the names of some well-known ministers also appear. Thus, John Duncanson, chaplain of Holyrood, gave Cæsar in French, and the *Sententiæ Illustriores* of Cicero; James Lawson another copy of Paradin's *Devises*; John Craig the Psalms and a Catechism in Italian; David Ferguson of Dunfermline the *Confessio* of Beza; and William Christison of Dundee the *Dialogi Sacri* of Castellio. Again, among members of the royal household, we find Alexander Young, Peter's brother, and usher of the Privy Chamber, who gave Belon's *Observations* and the *Traductions* of Clement Marot; Jeremy Bowy, master of the wine cellar; James Chisholm, gentleman of the Privy Chamber, among whose books is *La Façon de Tirer de l'Arc*; and Captains Cockburn and Montgomery. A better-known name is that of the accomplished Henry Killigrew, ambassador from Queen Elizabeth in 1566-7 and 1572-75. An appropriate donation from him was *The Courtiour*, Sir T. Hoby's version of *Il Cortegiano*; and he also presented Thevet's interesting

Singularitez de la France Antarctique, and the *Phrases Linguæ Latinæ* of Aldus Manutius. Elizabeth's own name, which might reasonably have been looked for, nowhere occurs; nor, with the possible exception of Virgil's *Bucolica* (p. lxii), does James seem to have received any direct gift of a book from his mother. Other lady donors, however, are well in evidence, notably Margaret, Countess of Lennox, widow of the Regent. Her contributions to her grandson's library were no doubt sent from London, where she lived, and they appear to have been selected with some care. They include Herburt's *Poloniæ Historiæ Compendium*, Paradin's *Histoire de nostre Temps*, Bavande's *Good Orderynge of a Commonweale*, translated from Ferrarius, Muzio's *Il Duello*, Justinus and Heliodorus in English, and *The Scholemaster* of Ascham. The last-named work was apparently not appreciated as it deserved, for it was passed on to Lady Tullibardine. From Lady Mar, his governess, James had the *Annales de France*; from Lady Athol, Budé's *Institution du Prince* and the *Diverses Leçons* of Mexia; from Lady Boyne, better known as Mary Beton, one of the Queen's four Marys, Terence in Latin and French; and from Magdalen Livingstone, also a former maid of honour, and now widow of Alexander Erskine, several volumes, among which were *Le Livre des Machabées*, on vellum, a Latin-French Dictionary, and the second book of the *Iliad*, 'en vers francoys escrit a la main.' It is pleasant also to find among the donors the king's old nurse, Helena Little or Gray (p. liv). Two books are credited to her, one a tiny English Psalter, and the other the poem of Du Bartas on the Creation entitled *La Semaine*. James in his turn presented her with a prayer-book, giving another also to Jane Oliphant, who had been one of his 'rockers'; and among other donations made to him which he similarly disposed of, he gave a book of tablets to Lady Mar, a Psalter and a Terence to Lord Mar, her son, a New Testament to his favourite, Esmé Stewart, Lord Aubigny, a Book of Prayers to the Master of Athol, and sundry volumes to James Elphinstone, Alexander

Murray, Magdalen Livingstone, Lady Tullibardine, and Peter Young's wife, Elizabeth Gib.

Marginal notes included, the whole of the entries hitherto noticed were probably written not later than 1580. There is still, however, one special lot of books which must not be wholly passed over, viz., the forty-six which were 'brocht furth of Sterling to Halyrud House' on 11th November 1583 (p. xxxv). The king by this time had reached his seventeenth year; and, having recently escaped from the restraint in which he had been held since the 'Raid of Ruthven' in August 1582, he was now engaged in steering an unsteady course between contending factions, hampered by his dependence on his worthless favourite Arran. In these circumstances, and with his great fondness for field-sports, the wonder is that any time for serious studies was left to him; but, although the reason for taking the above volumes to Edinburgh is not stated, the fact that their removal thither coincided with his own[1] makes it probable that they were intended for his personal use. Apart from a dozen classical authors, from Homer downwards, they include not only the Scottish Histories of Leslie and Boece, but Simler on the Swiss Republic, and treatises by Du Tillet and La Loupe on the Government of France. Some other volumes, too, in particular, such as Buchanan's *De Jure Regni* and Sir John Cheke's *Hurt of Sedition*, must equally have afforded him useful food for reflection; and, in fact, the whole list, if it really contains his course of reading at a particular date, is of special interest, giving a highly favourable idea of his literary industry in later youth.

There is evidence, however, even in Young's manuscript, though almost wholly taken up with books, that James's much be-tutored boyhood was not all work and no play. We not only find him wagering with girls over a game of 'trou-madame' (p. lxxiv), but the gifts made to him of bows, arrows, and other archery gear (p. lxx) show that he engaged in more manly sports. More noteworthy still is the appearance of two 'golf cloubbis,' which were presented to him by the Laird of Rossyth (*ib.*). James's interest in golf is known from other sources, but, so far as I am aware, there is no direct evidence of his actually being a player. On the assumption, however, that he made use of the clubs, one is tempted to connect this entry with another (p. lxxiv), and to suppose that he was raging in a bunker when told 'Ye suld never be angrie.' His retort, 'Than I suld not waire ye lyoun in my armes bot rather a scheip,' is better than some of the 'Apophthegmata Regis' among which it occurs, and which are quite distinct from the collection printed under this title in 1643. They are scribbled, almost illegibly, on the fly-leaves and covers of the manuscript, and form one of its most interesting features. Apparently they are in no order, but were jotted down by Young at different times, just where he found room for them. The date of most of them probably lies between 1575 and 1580; but those in which Buchanan's *History* is referred to must be as late as 1582, when it was first published. Without containing anything very striking, they are curious specimens of James's peculiar turn of humour, exhibiting him as amiable, precocious, and not a little priggish, a determined punster, and childishly fond of such jocular translations and derivations as '*ἀφ' οὖ*, all fou' and 'tyran' from 'tir ane' (p. lxxiv, note [1]). The soundness of his Protestant training is seen in his derivation of 'prestre,' and in his sarcasm on the Pope and the keys; and it is evident also from his snub to Captain Cockburn that he was not invariably good-natured. As for his complaint, 'Thay gar me speik Latin ar I could speik Scotis,' it was no doubt meant playfully, but it contained a good deal of truth. The only passage that has any political significance is his remark to Morton, when he talked of resigning the Regency on the score of his age, 'Would to God you were as young as Lord Angus,[1] and still as wise as you are.' Unless he was thoroughly insincere, this seems to indicate that he was less anxious to get rid of the Regent in 1578 than has been supposed.

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[1] In a letter to Walsingham of 9th November 1583, Bowes, the English Ambassador, speaks of his coming to Edinburgh as imminent (*Cal. of State Papers*, Scotland, vol. i. p. 461). The Council sat at Holyrood on the 18th November, the preceding meeting having been at Stirling on the 8th (*Register*, vol. iii. p. 608).

In conclusion, I must express my thanks to Mr. T. G. Law, of the Signet Library, and Dr. T. Dickson, of the General Register House, for kindly aiding me in the identification of some of the donors. I am also greatly indebted to my colleague, Mr. W. Y. Fletcher, Assistant Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum, who not only first brought the manuscript under my notice, but has freely given me the benefit of his bibliographical knowledge in editing it.

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[1] Archibald Douglas, eighth earl, who was born in 1555, and was Morton's nephew and ward.

THE LIBRARY OF JAMES VI.

fol. 10. *Liures de la Royne que je receuz du passementier par le commandement de monseigneur le regent,*[1] 1573, 1^o^ *Julii.*

× Il pecorone en Italien.[2]
× Pinax Iconum antiquorum.
Cæsaris Imagines, 4°.
Bucolica Vergilii, 8°.
Ane orison in latin and frenche handvret.
Ye Kingis entre at Rowen.[3]
× La Diana de Jorge de Montemayor en espaignol.[4]
× Propaladia en espaignol.[5]
× Dante en Italien. P. YOWNG.

Catalogue of bukes gottin fra my lord of St. Jhone,[6] 1573, *October* 28, *be my lordes grace* [*and delyuerit to the King for ye maist part apon the* 16 *of Nouember* 1578.[7]]

2 bukes of ye Eneide of Virgil in frenche.[8]

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[1] Earl of Morton, who succeeded Mar as Regent on 24th Nov. 1572.

[2] *Il pecorone, nel quale si contengono cinquante novelle antiche*, by Giovanni Fiorentino, Milan, 1558, and Venice, 1560.

[3] *L'entrée faicte au Roy tres-chrestien Charles neufiesme a Rouen*, Rouen, 1563; or perhaps the 'entrée' of Henry II., 1st Oct. 1550, Rouen, 1551.

[4] This popular romance is said to have been first printed at Valencia in 1542, and at least sixteen editions appeared within the next eighty years (Ticknor, *Span. Lit.*, ed. 1863, vol. iii. p. 82).

[5] *Propalladia o las primicias del ingenio*: a collection of satires, epistles, romances, etc., with eight '*comedias*,' by Barth. de Torres Naharro, first printed at Naples, 1517.

[6] James Sandilands, Lord St. John, as head of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Scotland. On the surrender of the property of his Order he was created Lord Torphichen in Jan. 1563-4; but he seems to have been called indifferently by both titles. There was a process against him in the spring of 1573 for detaining goods of the Queen, including 'ane coffer full of buikis' (Thomson, *Inventories*, 1815, p. 182). He denied the coffer, but admitted that he had 'a certane bukis,' some of which, according to one witness, were 'markit with the Quene and King of Frances armes' (*ib.* p. 190). How the case ended does not appear, but it is evident from this list (and see also below, p. xxxiv) that some, at least, of the volumes were recovered.

[7] The words in brackets are a later insertion by P. Young.

[8] Probably Joachim du Bellay's translation of Books iv. and vi., Paris, 1560.

Canones et decreta concilii Tridentini.
Sum bukes of the Repub. of Platon in frenche.[1]
×The first buik of Dom flores, Spanish.[2]
Dictionaire, Latin and Spanish.
Ephemerides Stofleri, Lat.
Petrarche in Ital.
2 volumes of Ronsardis varkes.[3]
Q. Cursius in Ital.
Lyues of Petrarq in Ital.
Ane orison funebre of Q. Marie Regent.[4]
Histoires tragiques de Bandel.[5]
2 Sermons maid at the burial of K. Hary in frenche.
~~Apologie of fredericus Stafelius.~~[6]

This was not gottin.

Sum bukes of Amadis in Spanish.
History of ye luif of Flores and blancheflour.
Sum Comedies and Tragedies in Ital., besyde ane part that I haue ellis gottin and far ma that was not restorit, Titus Liuius in blak veluet, The Cronicles of Sauoye,[7] Botonicon, Chronicle of Flanders,[8] Augustarum Imagines

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[1] Probably Louis Le Roy's translation of Books i. ii. and x., 1555, 4to.

[2] This would seem to be a Spanish version, or the original, of *Le premier livre de la Cronique du tres vaillant et redouté Dom Flores de Grece, surnommé le chevalier des Cygnes*, etc., a romance of the Amadis cycle, by Nicolas de Herberay, Paris, 1552, fol.

[3] *Les œuvres de Pierre de Ronsard*, Paris, 1560, 4 vols., 16mo. If, however, these two volumes are the same as those mentioned below (p. xxxv), in 4to, the edition must be that of 1567. But in that case they would hardly have belonged to Mary.

[4] Probably that by Claude d'Espence, *Oraison funebre es obseques de . . . Marie . . . Royne douairiere d'Escoce*, Paris, 1561, 8vo.

[5] *Hist. trag. extraites des œuvres italiennes de Bandel* [Matteo Bandello] *et mises en notre langue françoise par Pierre Boaistuau*, Paris, 1559, 8vo. Among other histories are those of Hamlet and of Romeo and Juliet.

[6] *The Apologie of Frid. Staphylius . . . intreating of the true and right understanding of Holy Scripture*, Antwerp, 1565, 4to. There was a Latin edition at Cologne, 1562, 8vo.

[7] *Chronique de Savoye*, by Guillaume Paradin, Lyons, 1552, 4to. This volume still exists (Sharman, *Library of Mary, Queen of Scots*, 1889, pp. 44, 142); and a facsimile of the cover, with the Queen's arms, etc., is in Gibson-Craig's *Facsimiles of Old Book-bindings*, 1882.

[8] *Chronique de Flandre . . . mis en lumiere par Denis Sauvage*, Lyons, 1561-2.

Ital., Dialoge in Spanish of ye interpryses of wearis,[1] wìth sundry vthers.

Extract of ane Inuentarie maid be Mr Jhone Wode,[2] 15 *Nov.* 1569. [*Thir ar not as ȝit gottin.*][3]

Promptuary of Medailles.[4]
History of Chelidon of the execution [*sic*] of princes.[5]
Institution of Christian prince.[6]
Commentarii reipublicæ Romanæ per Wolfgangum Lazium.
Tabulæ Ptolomei in pergameno [*it was wrang taine for a buik callit Insularium.*][7]
Olendorpii variæ lectiones.[8]
Henr. Loriti annotationes in Liuium.[9]
Antonii Massæ contra vsum duelli.[10]
Athenæus græce.
gottin. Luciani opera.

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[1] *Dialogo de las Empreses Militares y Amorosas*, translated from the Italian of Paolo Giovio by A. de Ulloa, Lyons, 1562. A French edition occurs on p. lxvi.

[2] John Wode, or Wood, of Tilliedavy, son of Andrew Wood of Largo, and Secretary to the Regent Murray. Sir J. Melville has some strange stories of him in connection with the proceedings against Mary at York and London (*Memoirs*, p. 205 *sqq.*). See also Brunton and Haig, *Senators of the College of Justice*, 1832, p. 114. The inventory referred to, of eighty-seven books in all, is printed in the Bannatyne Club's *Inventaires de la royne Descosse*, 1863, p. 179, with the title, 'The Inventareis off the Buikis, Ornamentis, and Maskyn Cleiss ressauit be Maister Jhone Wod and James Murray,' 15 Nov. 1566 (see also Sharman, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-180). Wood's receipt is dated 25th Nov.

[3] The words in brackets here and a few lines below are later insertions by P. Young.

[4] *Prima pars Promptuarii Iconum*, etc., containing medallion portraits from Adam downwards, with brief biographies, Lyons, 1553.

[5] *L'Histoire de Chelidonius Tigurinus sur l'institution des princes chrétiens et origine des royaumes*, by Pierre Boaistuau, Paris, 1557.

[6] *Institution du prince chrétien*, by Jean du Tillet, Paris, 1563; or, according to Mr. Sharman (p. 156), a work with the same title by Daniel d'Ange, Paris, 1555.

[7] Apparently the work included in the 'Index librorum regis' below (p. lv) as by Hen. Martellus.

[8] *Var. lect. libri ad juris civilis interpretationem*, by Johann Oldendorp, Cologne, 1540, fol.

[9] Basel, 1540, fol.

[10] A Latin version of *Contra l'uso del duello*, by Antonio Massa, Venice, 1555. James himself, it may be noted, wrote in after years on the same subject.

Commentaria ling. gr.
Commentarii in Platonem.
Item, Ciceronis opera en 9 petits volumes, dont j'ay eu sept.

Bukis gottin be me fra My Lord Regentis grace at sundry tymes.[1]

Zonaras in frenche.[2]
Froissart in 2 volumis.
Thunion of ye housse of Lancaster and York.[3]
Herodotus in frenche.[4]
Les alliances, etc.[5]
Elogium Henrici, 4°.[6]
Diodorus Siculus gallice.[7]
Effigies Imperatorum.
The Scottis Chronicle, wrettin with hand.
Les vies de Plutarque.[8]
quhilk all var gottin fra my lord St. Jhone.

Sensyn ayenst the . . [sic] of Nouembre 1578, *gottin fra My Lord of Morton.*[9]

Sabellicus, fol.[10]
Tiraquellus de Nobilitate, fol.[11]
Anacreon, 8°.
Icones insignium virorum, 8°.[12]

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[1] See also below, in the 'Index librorum regis' (p. lix).

[2] By J. de Maumont, Paris, 1561, fol.

[3] *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Famelies of Lancaster and Yorke*, by Edward Halle, London, 1548; and in 1550 and 1552.

[4] By P. Saliat, the first three books, Paris, 1552, and the whole nine, 1556, fol.

[5] Perhaps Claude Paradin's *Alliances généalogiques des rois et princes de Gaule*, Lyons, 1561, fol. For this and the next two entries see also below, p. xlix.

[6] *Henrici II. Galliarum regis elogium*, by Pierre Paschal, Paris, 1560, fol.; the volume also including versions in French, Italian, and Spanish.

[7] Translated by Claude de Seyssel, Paris, 1530, fol., and 1545, 16mo; by Ant. Macault, Paris, 1535, 4to; and by A. Macault and Jacques Amyot, Paris, 1554 and 1559, fol.

[8] Translated by Jacques Amyot, Paris, 1559, fol.

[9] He had ceased to be Regent on 8th March 1578.

[10] *Epistolæ familiares, necnon orationes et poemata*, by M. Ant. Coccius Sabellicus, Venice, 1562.

[11] *And. Tiraquelli Comment. de nob. et jure primogeniorum*, Paris, 1549, fol.

[12] Lyons, 1559, 8vo.

fol. 10 *b.* *Buikes brocht furth of Sterling to Halyrud House vpon the xi of Nouember* 1583.

Hectoris Boëthii historia Scotorum, fol., Paris.[1]
Commentarii Cæsaris, fol., Lausannorum.
Commentarii Cæsaris, fol., Lugduni.
Riuii tabulæ in officiis Ciceronis, fol.
Tilii commentarii rerum Gallicarum. Item, Lupani de Magistratibus Gallicis, fol.[2]
Antesignanus in Clenardum, 4°.[3]
La Franciade, 4°.[4]
2 Tomes des poëmes de Ronsard, 4°.[5]
Homeri Ilias et Odyssea, gr. et lat., 16°.
Luciani opera, gr. et lat., 8°., 4^{or} voluminibus.
Jus orientale, gr. et lat., 8°.
De Republica Heluetiorum Simlerus, 8°.[6]
Liure de papier, 8°, bien relié.
Alphabetum græcum Bezæ, 8°.
Virgilii eclogæ et Murmellii tabulæ, 8°.[7]
The hurt of Seditioun.[8]
The true religion and poperie, 8°.
Paradoxa Ciceronis in engliss,[9] with Graftons Callender.
Vergilius cum commentario Guellii, fol.[10]
La Legende du Cardinal de Lorraine.[11]

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[1] Probably the Paris edition of 1574.

[2] The Latin version by L. Philoponus, Frankfort, 1579, of Jean du Tillet's *Memoires et recherches . . . pour l'intelligence de l'etat et les affaires de France*, Rouen, 1577. The work apparently bound up with it was a version of Vincent de la Loupe's *Livre des dignitez magistrats et offices du royaume de France*, Paris, 1564.

[3] *Institutiones linguæ græcæ* [of Nich. Clenard] *cum scholiis Petri Antesignani*, 1554, 4to ; with many other editions.

[4] Ronsard's poem so entitled, Paris, 1572, 4to.

[5] See above, p. xxxii, n. [3].

[6] Zurich, 1576 and 1577, 8vo, and Paris, 1577, 8vo.

[7] *Tabulæ . . . in artis componendorum versuum rudimenta*, by Joan. Murmelius, Paris, 1531, 8vo; perhaps the Paris edition of 1575.

[8] *The hurt of Sedicion, howe greveous it is to a Commune welth* [by Sir John Cheke], London, 1549, 8vo.

[9] Apparently T. Newton's translation, London, 1569, 8vo.

[10] Antwerp, 1575, fol.

[11] By François de l'Isle, Reims, 1576, 8vo.

Vergilius cum Græcis collatus ab Vrsino, 8°.[1]
'Αριθμολογία ἠθική, gr. et lat., Camerarii.[2]
Demosthenis Olynthiacæ et Philippicæ, 8°.
Martialis castratus, 8°.
Enchiridion græcæ linguæ, 16°.
Terentii flores, 16°.
Cauteles du canon de la Messe, 16°.[3]
Epistre d'Osorius à la Royne d'angleterre.[4]
Grammatica græca Bezæ, 8°.
L'Oliue augmentée, 8°.[5]
Dialectica Retorfortis, 4°.[6]
Monomachie de Goliath et Dauid, 4°.[7]
Jephthé en francois, auec le Franciscanus.[8]
Historia Scotiæ per Leslæum, 4°.[9]
Rudimenta grammaticæ latinæ, 4°.
Oraison du Cardinal de Lorraine a Poissy.[10]

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[1] *Virg. collatione scriptorum græc. illustratus*, by Fulvius Ursinus, 1568, 8vo.

[2] *'Αρ. ἠθ. sive indicationes variæ de moribus, numeris comprehensæ*, by Joachim Camerarius, sen., Leipzig, 1552, 8vo.

[3] *Les cauteles et canon de la Messe*, with notes by Pierre Viret, Lyons, 1563, 8vo. A 16mo edition was printed in 1564.

[4] *Epistre a ma Dame Elisabeth, Royne d'Angleterre, sur les affaires du monde*, by Jeronimo Osorio da Fonseca, 1563, 8vo. Latin editions appeared at Louvain and Paris in the same year, and one in English, by R. Shacklock, in 1565.

[5] *L'Olive et quelques autres œuvres poétiques, savoir cinquante sonnetz a la louange de l'Olive*, etc., by Joachim du Bellay, Paris, 1549; and again in 1550 and 1554, as *L'Olive augmentée.*

[6] 'Retorfortis' is no doubt John Rutherford, Principal of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews. The only work attributed to him by Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 1890, p. 359, is entitled *Commentariorum de Arte Disserendi libri quatuor. Ioanne Retorforti Iedburgæo Scoto authore*, Edinburgh, H. Charteris, 1577, 4to. Possibly this is the book meant.

[7] A poem by Joachim du Bellay, Paris, 1560, 4to.

[8] *Jephthes, sive votum, tragoedia*, by George Buchanan, was printed at Paris, 1554, 4to; a French version by Claude de Vesel at Paris, 1566, 8vo, and another by Florent Chrestien at Orleans, 1567, and Paris, 1573, 8vo. The famous satire *Franciscanus et fratres*, also by Buchanan, was printed at Basel, 1564 (?), 8vo.

[9] *De origine, moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum libri decem*, by John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, Rome, 1578, 4to.

[10] The speech of Mary's uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine at the abortive conference between Catholics and Protestants at Poissy, in Sept. 1561, printed at Paris, Reims, and Rouen, the same year. Mr. Sharman (p. 93) quotes from a

Demetrius Phalereus de elocutione, gr. et lat.
The Frenche tongue teacher, 8°.
Ethica Samuelis Heilandi ex Aristotele, 8°.
Metamorphoses Ouidii per Sprengium illustratæ, 8°.[1]
In Metamorphoses Ouidii Posthii Tetrasticha.
Metamorphose d'Ouide figurée, auec les deuises heroiques de Paradin, 8°.
De Jure Regni Buchananus, 4°.[2]
Ptolomæi Tabulæ per Gerardum Mercatorem, 4°.
Geographia poetica Danæi, 8°.[3]
Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius cum annotationibus Mureti.

Giraldus de Diis gentium,[4] fol.

fol. 11. *Bukes gottin fra Arthur Wode*[5] *the* 18 *of Marche*, 1577.
Luciani pars secunda, 8°, gr.
Description geographique de Paul Venetian.[6]
Hesychii Lexicon, fol.
~~Palmerin d'Oliue,~~ fol.[7] *. of Largo es it.*

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letter of Randolph, English envoy in Scotland, to Cecil, in Oct. 1561, 'She (Mary) asked whether her uncle the Cardinal's oration was printed. I said that I lookt daily for it.' The question was prompted by Randolph's gift of Beza's speech on the other side. The latter book is not mentioned in this MS.

[1] Printed in 1570, 8vo. The Lat.-Germ. *Tetrasticha* of J. Posthius, with 356 woodcuts, appeared at Frankfort in 1563 and 1568, 4to, and *La Met. d'Ovide figurée*, at Lyons, 1557, 8vo. The *Devises héroiques* of Claude Paradin also appeared at Lyons in 1557.

[2] *De Iure Regni apud Scotos Dialogus authore Georgio Buchanano Scoto* [Edinburgh, John Ross], 1579. One of the few books in the volume which can be identified as printed in Scotland.

[3] By Lambert Daneau, [Geneva], 1580.

[4] By Lilius Greg. Giraldus, Lyons, 1565, fol.

[5] See above, p. xxxiii, n. 2 Twelve of the twenty-one books here enumerated figure in the inventory of 1569. Arthur Wood was brother of John Wood (see below, p. xliii), and the Laird of Largo, named here in the margin, was Andrew Wood, their father, or their elder brother of the same name.

[6] A French version by F. G. L. of the Travels of Marco Polo, with the title *La Descr. Geogr. des provinces et villes plus fameuses de l'Inde Orientale . . . par Marc Paule gentilhomme Venetien*, etc., Paris, 1556, 4to.

[7] A different romance from Palmerin of England. French editions in folio were printed at Paris in 1546 and 1553.

Le Nouueau Tristan, fol.[1]
In Aphthonii progymnasmata commentarii, gr., 4°.[2]
Blondi Roma Instaurata, fol.[3]
Demosthenes gr. cum commentario, fol.
Sophocles gr. cum commentario.
Bellum Rhodium, fol.[4]
Ciceronis academicæ Quæstiones. Item, Tusculanæ Quæstiones, 8°. [id est philosophiæ pars.]
Ciceronis Rhetorica, 8°.
Picolhuomini della philosophia naturale, 8°.[5]
Epithalamium francisci, etc., 8°.[6]
Thyeste Tragœdia, 8°.[7]
Consolacio L. Regii, 4°.[8]
Elucidacio fabricæ Astrolabii, 8°.[9]
8^{us} Tomus operum Hieronymi in psalmos.
Illustracion de la Gaule, 4°.[10]
Cornucopiæ, fol.[11]

fol. 11 *b.*

Empti.

Cornelius Tacitus Beati Rhenani, fol.

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[1] The French version by Jean Maugin, Paris, 1554 and 1567. This is no doubt the work which the inventory of 1569 (as printed) gives as 'The first Buik of Noveau *Christian.*'

[2] The *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius of Antioch, a rhetorician of the fourth century, was an extremely popular manual of rhetoric in the sixteenth century. It was first printed at Venice by Aldus in 1508, fol.

[3] By Flavius Blondus or Biondo; first printed about 1471, also at Verona, 1481-82, and at Venice, 1510.

[4] On the siege of Rhodes in 1523; by Jacobus Fontanus, Rome, 1524.

[5] By Alessandro Piccolomini, Rome, 1551, and Venice, 1565, 8vo.

[6] *Epithalamium Francisi Valesii . . . et Mariæ Stuartæ . . . Adriano Turnebo auctore*, Paris, 1558, 8vo. Another Epithalamium was written by Michel de L'Hôpital, but it was not so called on the title-page, Paris, 1558, 4to. Buchanan's was not published at this time. See Sharman, p. 130.

[7] Probably a French version of Seneca's *Thyestes.*

[8] *Ad illustriss. Reginam D. Catharinam . . . consolatio in morte Henrici* [*II.*] *regis ejus mariti*, by Louis Le Roy, 1560, 4to.

[9] By Johann Stoeffler, printed as early as 1512.

[10] *Les illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye*, by Jean Lemaire, first printed at Lyons, 1509. This was perhaps the 4to Paris edition of 1548.

[11] *Cornucopiæ sive linguæ Latinæ Commentarii*, by Nicolò Perotti, said to have first appeared at Venice in 1489.

Chronicon Carionis auctum a Melanthone et Peucero, fol°.[1]
Græcia et Sicilia Goltzii, fol°.[2]
Jo. Dubrauii historia Boiemica, fol°.[3]
Sigonii historia Italiæ, fol°.[4]
᾿Αθηναγόρου ἀπολογία καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, 8°.
Picolominei Sphæra. Item, de stellis fixis. Item, de magnitudine terræ, Italice, 4°.[5]
Sententiæ Nazanzeni, gr., 8°.
Philostrato della vita di Apollonio Tianeo, Ital., 8°.[6]
Æliani varia historia, Lat., 16°.
Dionysii halicarnassei antiquitatum Romanarum libri, Latine, 16°.

Buikes brocht hame be Mr. George Hackett.[7]

Ir. George Iackett.

Theatrum orbis terrarum, fol°.[8]
Gesneri de animalibus lib. 1 et 4^{us}.[9] Desunt 2 et 3 [*que j'ay depuis eu de leuesque de Glasgow*].[10]
Plinius gallice en deux volumes.[11]
Ciceronis opera duobus voluminibus in fol. Lambini.[12]
Demosthenes et Æschines gr. et lat., fol.
Lambinus in Horatium, fol°.
Xenophon gr. et lat., fol., Basileæ.
La Cyropedie en francoys, 8°.[13]

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[1] Probably the Wittenberg edition, 1572, fol., carried down to the death of Maximilian I.

[2] By Hubert Goltz, Bruges, 1576, fol.

[3] By Janus Dubravius or Dubrawsky, Bishop of Olmutz; probably the Basel edition, 1575.

[4] *Caroli Sigonii historiarum de regno Italiæ libri* xv., Venice, 1574.

[5] By Alessandro Piccolomini; one of several Venice editions about 1550-70.

[6] Either the translation of F. Baldello, Florence, 1549, 8vo, or that of L. Dolce, Venice, 1549, 8vo.

[7] George Halket, or Hacket, of Pitfirrane, Conservator of the Privileges of the Scots in Flanders (*Register of Privy Council*, vol. ii. p. 473).

[8] The well-known atlas of Abraham Ortelius, Antwerp, 1570.

[9] *Historia Animalium*, by Conrad Gesner, Zurich, libb. i-iv, 1551-1558. Lib. v. did not appear till 1587.

[10] James Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow, 1572-1581. The words in brackets were a later insertion.

[11] *L'Histoire du Monde*, translated by A. du Pinet, Lyons, 1566, fol.

[12] Both this work and the same commentator's *Horace* entered below were probably the editions of 1577.

[13] Translated by Jacques de Vintimille, Paris, 1547, 4to, and Lyons, 1555, 4to. I find no mention of an 8vo edition.

Mr. George Hackett.

Allegoriæ Sprengii in Ouidii Metamorphoses, 8°.
Q. Curtius in 8°.
Ariæ Montani humanæ salutis monumenta, 4°.[1]
Nomenclator Junii, 8°.[2]

Precationes Martyris lat., 16°.

THE B[ISHOP] OF ORKNAY.[3]

Appian des guerres de Romains.[4]

IDEM.

Les deuises heroiques auec le Theatre du monde, 16°.

presté a Monsʳ de Lenox.

× Historia Ecclesiastica Eusebii, fol., lat.

THE B. OF CATHNESS.[5]

Le Democriticque de Tahureau, 16°.[6]
~~Diuerses leçons de Messie, 16°~~,[7] ~~parchemin.~~
× Circé de [*sic*].[8]

B. OF ST. ANDRE.[9]

The history of Ingland, Scotland and Ireland in tua faire volumes.

Bocht fra MR. JHON PROVEND.[10]

Plutarque en deux volumes.[11]

B. OF BRECHIN.

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[1] Antwerp, 1571, 4to, with 71 fine plates.

[2] *Nomenclator octilinguis, omnium rerum propria nomina continens*, by Hadrianus Junius, Antwerp, 1567, 8vo.

[3] Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, 1562-1593.

[4] Translated by Claude de Seyssel, Lyons, 1544, fol., and 1557, 16mo; and with two more books, Paris, 1569, fol.

[5] Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, 1542-1586. He was son of John, third Earl of Lennox, and consequently the king's great-uncle. As will be seen, his name as donor frequently recurs.

[6] No doubt a work of Jacques Tahureau, the poet, but not mentioned in Brunet.

[7] A French version by Claude Gruget, Paris, 1569, 16mo, of Pedro Mexia's *Silva de varia leccion*, Seville, 1542, fol. An English version, *The Foreste, or Collection of Histories*, by T. Fortescue, was printed in 1571, 4to.

[8] A French version by Denis Sauvage, Sieur du Parc, Lyons, 1550, 8vo, of *La Circe*, or dialogues in imitation of Plutarch, by Giambattista Gello, Florence, 1549.

[9] Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1576-1591.

[10] There was a John Provand, a leading merchant and burgess of Edinburgh (*Reg. P. S.*, vol. iii. pp. 181, 769, etc.). Another is described as provost of the Collegiate Church of Abernethy in 1577 (*Reg. M. S.*, 1546-1580, No. 2737), and in 1576 as servant to the Earl of Morton (*ib.* No. 2538).

[11] See above, p. xxxiv. This was probably the Paris edition, 1565-72, 4 vols. bound in two. The Bishop of Brechin was Alexander Campbell, 1566-1606.

Jus Ciuile emendatum per Russardum ex officina Plantini, in 8°,[1] undecim voluminibus compactum.

D. d. MY LORD OF DUNFERMLING.[2]

fol. 12. Leges Antiquæ Anglorum, 4°.

Opera Fulgentii, 8°.

Nemesius gr. et lat. De natura hominis, 8°.[3]

Orthographiæ ratio Manutii, 8°.[4]

Euripidis Tragoediæ 18, græcè, 16°.

Flori Epitome, 4°.

Theognidis sententiæ, etc., cum commentario, 4°.

Herodianus Latinè, 16°.

× Erasmi Lingua.

Rudolphi gualtheri Homiliæ in galatas, fol.[5]

Ex dono IPSIUS AUCTORIS.

× Oppiani ἀλιευτικὰ καὶ κυνηγετικὰ, gr. et lat., 8°, una cum comœd. Æschyli.

Ex dono CAP. COCBURN.

he 1 of une (?), 577.

Bulinger vpon th' Apocalypse.[6]

Les Offices de Cicero en francoys, 16°.

× Epistolæ Caluini, 8°.[7]

~~Nouum Testamentum gr., 8°, Basileæ.~~

MY LORD B. OF CATHNESS.

Institution du prince de Budee, fol.[8]

MY LADY ATHOLL.[9]

Paulus Jouius en francoys, fol.[10]

L. OF CARDEN.

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[1] *Institutionum Justiniani . . . libri* 4, *Lud. Russardo auctore*, 1566, 8vo.

[2] Apparently the Commendator of Dunfermline is meant, viz. Robert Pitcairn, Lord of Session in 1568, and Secretary of State in 1570.

[3] Antwerp, 1565, 8vo.

[4] *Orthogr. ratio ab Aldo Manutio Pauli filio collecta*, Venice, 1561 and 1566, 8vo.

[5] Zurich, 1576, fol.

[6] *A Hundred Sermons upon the Apocalypse*, etc., translated by J. Daus from the Latin of Hen. Bullinger, London, 1561 and 1573. A French version occurs further on.

[7] The second edition, Lausanne, 1576, 8vo; the first, Geneva, 1575, being fol.

[8] *De l'instit. du prince, livre contenant plusieurs histoires enseignements et saiges dits des anciens tant grecs que latins*, by Guillaume Budé, Paris, 1547, fol.

[9] Margaret Fleming, wife of John Stewart, fourth Earl of Athol, a former Lady of Honour to Queen Mary. Her husband was made Chancellor 29th March 1578.

[10] *Histoires de Paolo Jovio . . . sur les choses faictes et advenues de son temps*

Institution de la vie ciuile, 8°.[1]
× Scipions dreame, etc., 8°.[2]
MR. NICOL ELPHINSTON,[3] 27 *de Nouembre* 1577.

Mr. Jean Prouend brocht hame.

Historia Ecclesiastica Madeburg, 4$^{\text{tuor}}$ voluminibus, fol.[4]
Munsteri Cosmographia, fol.[5]
Scholæ Rami, fol.[6]
Scholæ Mathematicæ eiusdem, 4°.
De pronuntiatione gr. linguæ Jo. Chæci, 8°.[7]
Velleius Paterculus, 8°.
Bocht fra MR. JHON PROVEND.

La Republique de Bodin,[8] en veau rouge doré laué et reglé.
Hier. Mercurialis gymnastica.[9]
MR. GILBERT STREYN.

Titus Liuius in fol° auec les commentaires en vn autre volume a part.
MR. JEAN STREYN.

(*sc.* 1494-1547), translated from the Latin by Denis Sauvage, Lyons, 1552 and 1561, fol.

[1] Perhaps *La Vie Civile . . . traduit par C. Des Rosiers . . . et . . reveu et corrigé par C. Gruget*, Paris, 1557, 8vo. The original *Libro della vita civile* was by Matteo Palmieri, Florence, 1528 (?)

[2] T. Newton's version of Cicero's . . . *Of Frendshippe*, *Old Age*, *Paradoxes*, *and Scipio his Dreame*, London, 1577, 8vo.

[3] Described as a servant of the Regent Murray in 1569 (*Reg. M. S.* 1546-80, No. 1905), and as 'of Schank' in 1577 (*ib.* No. 2739). He accompanied Murray to the Commission at York in 1568 (Sir J. Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 205). Melville again refers to him in 1577 as 'a discret gentilman callit Master Nycholl Elphinstone,' in telling how he informed Morton 'that he was invyed of many and hatted of euery man' (p. 263).

[4] The well-known work of the 'Centuriatores Magdeburgenses,' Basel, 1559-1574, fol.

[5] By Sebastian Münster, Basel, 1550, and in 1554; in German, Basel, 1545.

[6] *Scholæ in liberales artes*, etc., by Pierre de la Ramée, Basel, 1578, fol.; and *Scholæ Mathematicæ*, Basel, 1569, 4to.

[7] By Sir John Cheke, Basel, 1555, 8vo.

[8] By Jean Bodin, Paris, 1576, fol., and in 1577, 1578, etc.

[9] *Artis gymnasticæ apud antiquos celeberrimæ . . . libri sex*, by Hier. Mercurialis, Venice, 1569 and 1573, 4to; probably the Paris edition, 1577, 4to.

La Septmaine de G. de Salluste,[1] 4°.

MAISTRESS NURRISH.[2]

fol. 12 b. vide supra fyve levis. *Ressauit the iiii of December from my lord B. of Cathness the buikes that followit, quhilk Arthur Wode delyuerit him as being of the Quenis bukes borrowit be his brother Mr. Jhone.*[3]

Chrysostomus græcè in omnes Pauli epistolas, fol., 3^{us} vol.
Le premier volume de Froissard, fol., beau.
Luciani opera et Philostrati quædam gr., fol.
Herodotus gr., fol.
Athenæus gr., fol.
Εὐσεβίου περὶ τῆς προπαρασκευῆς καὶ ἀποδείξεως, fol.[4]
Ptolomæus græce, 4°.
Mercurii Trismegisti Poemander gr. et lat., petit 4°.[5]
× Herodian en francoys in fol.[6]
Virgil in 4°.
~~Diuerses leçons de P. Messie~~.[7]
Histoire de Godefroy de Bouillon, 4°.[8]
Chronique de Sauoye, fol.[9]
P. Angelii Cynegetica, 4°, beau.[10]
× Sophonisba, petit liuret, 8°.[11]

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[1] *La Semaine, ou Création du Monde,* the popular poem of Guillaume de Saluste, Sieur du Bartas, Paris, 1578, 4to. Another of the author's poems, *L'Uranie,* was translated by James.

[2] No doubt the 'nourrice' who appears as a donor further on (p. liv, n.[3]).

[3] See above, pp. xxxiii, xxxvii. All these books, except 'Sophonisba' and 'Heliodore,' appear in the 1569 list.

[4] Paris, R. Estienne, 1544 and 1545.

[5] No doubt the Paris edition of 1554, 4to.

[6] *L'Histoire d'Herodian,* translated by Jacques des Contes de Vintimille, Lyons, 1554, fol. The earlier version by Jean Colin, Paris, 1541, was in 8vo.

[7] See above, p. xl.

[8] *L'Histoire des guerres faictes par les Chrestiens contre les Turcs sous la conduicte de Godefroy de Bouillon,* etc., by Guillaume Aubert, 1559, 4to. Entered in the 1569 list as 'The Historie of the varis againis the Turkis.'

[9] See above, p. xxxii.

[10] By Pietro Angelio of Barga, Lyons, 1561, 4to. In the 1569 list, 'P. Angeli Carmina.'

[11] A play in Italian by Giov. Giorgio Trissino, Rome, 1524, 4to; translated into French by Mellin de St. Gelais, Paris, 1559, 8vo.

La Cosmographie de P. Appian, 4°.[1]
Les Principes d'astronomie et Cosmographie auec l'usage du globe, 8°.[2]
Heliodore in 8°, en francoys.[3]

Alexandri Neuyli de furoribus Norfolciensium et Noruicus.[4]
ALEX^R HAY.[5]

Pour Estrenes le j de Januier 1577.
Commentaires de Cæsar en francoys.
LE MINISTRE.[6]
× Le Tocsain des Massacreurs.[7]
MR. N. ELPHINSTON.
Psalmi Buchanani, 16°.[8]
MR. JHON PROVEND.
l'Institution du prince escrite a la main en velin, fol°.[9]
MY LORD OF ST. JHONE.
Nouus orbis, fol°.[10]
MY LORD OF MAR.[11]

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[1] *La Cosmographie de Pierre Apian nouuellement trad. de latin en françois*, etc., Antwerp, 1544, 4to.

[2] Translated by Claude de Boissière, from the Latin of R. Gemma, Paris, 1556, 8vo.

[3] *Histoire Æthiopique d'Heliodorus*, etc., translated by Jacques Amyot, Paris, 1549, 8vo.

[4] *Alex. Nevylli . . . De Furoribus Norfolciensium Ketto duce liber unus. Eiusdem Norvicus*, London, 1575.

[5] Scribe and Clerk to the Privy Council, 1563-1572 (*Reg. P. C.*, vol. ii. p. 139), and in 1576 Director of the Chancery (*ib.* p. 529). In 1579 he was made Clerk Register and Lord of Session, taking the title of Lord Easter Kennet (Brunton and Haig, *Senators*, p. 175).

[6] Probably John Duncanson, minister of Holyrood House, described in the minutes of the Assembly of 7th July 1579, as 'the Kings Highnes minister.' See also below, p. xlvi.

[7] *Le Tocsin contre les Massacreurs et auteurs des confusions en France*, Reims, 1577, 8vo.

[8] Being in 16mo, probably the Paris (?) edition of 1575.

[9] See above, p. xli, n. [8].

[10] *Novus Orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*, by Grynæus, Basel, 1562.

[11] John Erskine, second Earl, son of James's guardian, succeeded 1572. He shared James's studies at Stirling, being, however, eight years his senior.

Mr. of Marshall. La Cosmographie de Theuet, fol., en velour violet auec des agraphes d'argent dorez et des lames aux quatre coings auec le lyon au milieu, le tout doré.[1]

Dictionarium Calepini septem linguis, fol.[2]

MY LORD GLAMMIS.[3]

Jouii elogia virorum bello clarorum, fol.[4]

Que Je donnay au roy, l'ayant receu du prieur de Deer.

Auec vng liure de papier blanc, in 8°, bien relié.

La chasse du loup in 4°.[5]

L'ABBÉ DE CAMBUSKENNETH.[6]

fol. 13. Opuscules de Plutarche gall., fol.

Acheptez the 18 *of Jan.* 1575.

Titus Liuius Lat., fol., Paris.

Acheptè.

Grammatica græca cum annotationibus Antesignani, 4°.[7]

Gottin fra GEORGE HOPPER.

. Bellen- en. 2. ~~Grammaticæ Clenardi, 8°~~.[8]

Officia Ciceronis.

Valerius Maximus.

2. Sallustii, 8°.

2. Alphabetum græcum.

2. Luciani quidam Dialogi, 8°.

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[1] *La Cosmographie Universelle*, by André Thevet, Paris, 1575, fol. The donor of this sumptuously bound volume was William Keith, Master of Marischal, who died before his father, the fourth Earl Marischal, in 1580.

[2] By Ambrogio Calepino. There was a Venice edition, fol., in 1575, and numerous others from 1502 downwards.

[3] John Lyon, eighth Lord Glammis, Lord Chancellor 12th October 1573, killed in a brawl of retainers 17th March 1578. He was a liberal and discriminating donor of books to James.

[4] *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, by Paolo Giovio, Florence, 1551, fol. There was a Basel edition, fol., in 1575. The 'Prieur de Deer' was the Commendator Robert Keith, uncle of the above William Keith.

[5] By Jean de Clamorgan, forming part of C. Estienne's *Maison Rustique*, Paris, 1570, etc. This, however, seems to be the separate edition, Paris, 1574, 4to.

[6] Adam Erskine, Commendator of Cambuskenneth, a natural son of Thomas Erskine, second son of John, fourth Lord Erskine.

[7] See above, p. xxxv, n. 3.

[8] The popular *Institutiones linguæ græcæ* of Nicholas Clenard, printed at Louvain, 1531, and in many other editions.

2. Tabulæ Cebetis, gr.
2. Plutarchi περὶ παιδῶν ἀγωγῆς. Item, Isocratis orationes.

Aux estrenes, 1576.
× Lexicon græco-lat., Basileæ, fol°.
Biblia græco-lat., 5 voluminibus, 8°.[1]
MY LORD OF RUTHVEN.[2]
La vicissitude de Regius, fol.[3]
MY LORD OF DUNFERMLING.
A Defense of th' Apologie be Mr Jwell,[4] fol.
A Confutation be Alexr Nowel, 4°.[5]
MY LORD ARGYL.
Synesii hymni græco-lat.
Hesiodus cum aliis nonnullis gr., 8°.[6]
JAMES ELPHINSTON.[7]
Sententiæ Ciceronis cum aliis nonnullis, 16°.[8]
JHON DUNKESON, MINISTER.
Le liure de police humaine, 16°.[9]
JEREMY BOWY.[10]

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[1] The Basel edition, 1550 and (New Testament) 1549, 8vo, in five parts.

[2] William Ruthven, fourth Lord Ruthven of Dirleton, created Earl of Gowrie in 1581.

[3] *La Vicissitude, ou Varieté des choses en l'univers*, by Louis Le Roy, Paris, 1575, fol.

[4] *A Defence of the Apologie of the Church of Englande*, etc., by Bishop John Jewel, London, 1567, fol., being his answer to T. Harding's *Confutation* (Antwerp, 1565, 4to), of his famous *Apologia Eccl. Anglicanæ*, London, 1562, 8vo.

[5] *A Confutation*, etc., by Alex. Nowell (London, 1567, 4to), of Thomas Dorman's *Disproufe* (Antwerp, 1565, 4to) of his *Reproufe* (London, 1565, 4to) of the latter's *Proufe of certayne Articles in Religion denied by M. Juell* (Antwerp, 1564, 4to.)

[6] Probably the Paris edition of 1570, 8vo.

[7] Second son of Alexander, second Lord Elphinstone, and cup-bearer to James VI. Through his mother, Catherine Erskine, he was connected with the Earl of Mar, James's guardian. This, however, may have been his nephew James, Lord of Session in 1587, Secretary of State in 1598, and Lord Balmerino in 1604.

[8] *M. T. Ciceronis sententiæ illustriores . . . authore Petro Lagnerio*, 1547, 16mo. For the donor, see above, p. xliv, n. 6.

[9] By Gilles d'Aurigny, first printed at Paris, 1544; in 16mo, 1549 and 1554.

[10] Described as 'His Hienes Simleir' and 'Master of the King's Wine Cellar' (*Reg. P. C.*, vol. iii. p. 116, vol. iv. pp. 24, 139).

Heroici Poëtæ græce, fol.[1]

MR. JAMES MACGILL.

Nota. 1577, *Apr.* 10. × Nouum Testamentum gr., fol.

Manfully and clerkly won fra me the x of April, 1577.

~~Munsteri Cosmographia.~~[2]

~~EPISCOPUS ORCHADENSIS, xi *Apr.* 1577.~~

Nouum Test. græcum, 16°.

JAMES MURRAY OF POMEIS.

Andreæ Meluini Poëmata.

Ex dono auctoris.[3]

Æschyli Tragœdiæ gr. cum commentario, 4°., bien relié.

Que Je donnay a sa Maté.

fol. 13 *b.* *Liures acheptez,* 1575, *mense Nouembri.*

Diodorus Siculus Latinè, fol.
Gruchius de Comitiis Romanorum, fol.[4]
Virgilius cum commentariis, fol.
Giraldus de diis gentium, fol.
Varro de lingua Lat. ex emendatione Vertranii, 8°.
In Varronem coniectanea Scaligeri, 8°.
Martialis castratus, 8°.
Ozorii Lusitaniæ historia, 8°.[5]
~~Epistolæ Bezæ, 8°.~~[6]
Diogenes Laërtius gr. et lat., 8°.

Tous ceux-cy furent reliez a Edinbourg, et ceux qui suyuent en ceste ville.

---

[1] Ed. H. Estienne, Paris, 1566, fol. James M'Gill of Rankeillour Nether was Clerk Register (1554) and a notable man (Brunton and Haig, *Senators*, p. 99).

[2] See above, p. xlii.

[3] The famous Andrew Melville, who had returned to Scotland from Geneva in July 1574. Unless it was in manuscript, the volume was presumably that entitled *Carmen Mosis Andrea Melvino Scoto auctore*, Basel, 1573, 8vo, and containing other poems.

[4] By Nich. de Grouchy of Bordeaux, Paris, 1555, fol.

[5] *De rebus Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniæ*, by Jeronimo Osorio da Fonseca, Cologne, 1574, 8vo.

[6] *Epistolarum theologicarum liber unus*, Geneva, 1573, 8vo; or the second edition, 1575.

Hotomanus in Cæsaris commentarios, fol.[1]
Evclidis elementa græco-lat., 8°.
Martyr. In lib. Judicum, fol.[2]
Syntaxis Melanchthonis in tab., fol.
Demetrius de elocutione, 8°.
Matth. Cæsius de Discipl. Eccles., 8°.
2. Catechismus Calvini græco-lat., 16°.[3]
Cytræi regulæ vitæ, 8°.[4]
Heresbachius De principum liberis educandis, 4°.[5]
Hemingii Catechis., Pastor, Enchiridion, et de methodis, 4 libris separatis.[6]
Cento giochi liberali, 4°.
Epistolæ Bezæ, 8°.
Sallustius castigatus, 8°.
Verrius et Festus castigati, 8°.
Grammaire francoyse de Ramus.[7]
Enchiridion linguæ græcæ, 16°.
Perionius de origine linguæ gallicæ, 8.[8]
Heronis liber de Machinis bellicis, 4°.[9]
× Nannii Miscellanea.[10]
Horatius cum annotationibus Stephani, 8°.
Onuphrius de comitiis Romanorum.
× Virgilius cum annotationibus H. Stephani, 8°.
Commentarii Cæsaris en francoys, 16°.[11]

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[1] *C. Jul. Cæs. de bello gall. comm. vii. . . . cum scholiis Francisci Hotomani*, 1574, fol.

[2] *In Lib. Judicum . . . Petri Martyris Vermilii . . . commentarii*, 1571, fol.

[3] Probably the 16mo ed. of 1575.

[4] *Regulæ Vitæ*, by David Chytræus, the elder, Leipzig, 1558, 8vo, and Wittenberg, 1570, 8vo.

[5] By Conrad Heresbach, Frankfurt, 1570, 4to.

[6] *Catechismi quæstiones*, by Niels Hemmingsen, Wittenberg, 1564, 8vo. Of the other three books named the *Enchiridion Theologicum* was printed at Leipzig, 1568.

[7] *Grammaire de Pierre de la Ramée*, Paris, 1572.

[8] *Dialogorum de linguæ gallicæ origine libri iv*, by Joachim Perionius, Paris, 1555 and 1574, 8vo.

[9] *Heronis Mechanici liber de machinis bellicis*, Venice, 1573, 4to.

[10] *P. Nannii . . . Συμμικτων sive miscellaneorum decas una*, Louvain, 1548, 8vo.

[11] Perhaps the translation by Robert Gaguin and Estienne de Laigue, revised by Antoine du Moulin, Lyons, 1545, 16mo, or a later edition.

× Lupanus de magistrat. Gallorum.
× Toxophilus of shooting.[1]
× Tabulæ in Catechismum, fol.

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fol. 14.

L'Art Militaire de Rocque, 4°.[2]
Les Ruzes de la guerre eodem authore, 4°.
Grammaire en francoys et Italien, 16°.
Flores Senecæ, 16°.
Seb. Foxij Morzilli de Regni regisque Institutione, 8°.[3]
Ex dono DNI. DE GLAMMIS CANCELLARIJ.

Institution de Mr Calvin en francoys, fol.[4]
L. OF LOCHLEWIN.[5]
Estat de leglise, 8°.[6]
L. OF LOCHLEWIN.
Les Institutes de Justinian.
L. OF LOCHLEWIN.
× 3 Liures de Diodore.
L. OF LOCHLEWIN.
Les Ethiques d'Aristote en francoys.
ARTHUR WODE.

Figures de la Bible, 8°, L of Lochleven, comme je pense.

Diodorus Siculus en francoys.[7]
Elogium Henrici secundi en 4 langues, 4°.
Les alliances de la France.
MY LORD REGENT,
xxii december, 1575.

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[1] By Roger Ascham, London, 1545, 4to, and again in 1571.

[2] Apparently (unknown) French versions of *Seconda parte del Governo della Militia* and *Imprese Stratagemi et Errori Militari*, by Bernardino Rocca. Both originals were printed at Venice, 4to, the latter in 1566, the former, which was a sequel to it, in 1570.

[3] Printed at Antwerp, 1566, 8vo.

[4] Probably one of the Geneva fol. editions, 1560, 1562, 1566, etc.

[5] William Douglas, Laird of Lochleven, sixth Earl of Morton in 1588.

[6] An anonymous work, by Jean Crespin, Geneva, 1557, etc.

[7] For these three entries see above, p. xxxiv.

Institution des princes de Chelidonius Tigurinus en francoys.

Gottin fra CAPTEN MONGOMERY.[1]

× Theatrum vitæ humanæ in thre gret volumes, fol.[2]

MY LORD B. OF CATHNESS.

Symposium Platonis in Frenche, 4°.[3]

IDEM.

Leon Hebrieu de l'amour, 8°.[4]

IDEM.

Tua faire globes of ye heauens and earth.

IDEM.

The buik of ye actis of parliament.[5]

MR. HENRY KINROSS.

Le liure des Machabees en velin imprimé et enluminé, 4°.[6]

MAGDALEN LEVINSTON.[7]

fol. 14 *b.* Les Deuises heroiques, in 16°.

MR. JAMES LAWSONE.[8]

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[1] One of the twenty-five Gentleman Pensioners 'appointit to attend on the kingis majestie at all tymes of his ryding and passing to the feildis.'

[2] By Theodor Zwinger, Basel, 1571, fol., 18 vols., bound in three.

[3] *Le Sympose de Platon . . . traduit . . . par Louis Le Roy*, 1559, 4to. This and the next book were included in the Holyrood list of books in 1569 (Sharman, pp. 149, 157).

[4] Leon Abravanel, known as Léon Hébreu, whose *Dialoghi di amore* was first printed at Rome, 1535. From the wording of the entry it must refer to the anonymous French version [by Ponthus de Tyard], Lyons, 1551, 8vo. There was another version, by Denis Sauvage, with the title *Philosophie d'amour*, of the same place and year.

[5] Probably Robert Lekpreuik's edition of *The Actis of Parliament* [held 15th Dec. 1567], Edinburgh, 1568, reprinted in 1575 (Dickson and Edmond, p. 235). H. Kinross, the donor, appears to have been an advocate (*Reg. P. C.*, vol. ii. p. 182, etc.).

[6] Presumably *Les cronicques . . . du . . . Prince Judas Machabeus . . . et de ses quatre frères . . . translatées de Latin en François par . . . C. de Sainct Galays*, Paris, 1556. No copy on vellum is mentioned in Van Praet's Catalogue. There was an earlier edition, 1514, in folio.

[7] Daughter of Alexander, fifth Lord Livingstone, and younger sister of one of the Four Marys. She was herself a Maid of Honour to the Queen. In 1566 she married Arthur Erskine, an equerry, but was now a widow (*Inventaires*, Bannatyne Club, p. lvi).

[8] The eminent minister James Lowson or Lawson, sub-principal of King's

Josephus lat. et gall., fol.[1]

MY LORD OF CAMBUSKENNETH.

Les Histoires prodigieuses.[2]

THE LARD OF CARDEN.

Les Offices de Cicero lat. et gall.

THE ABBOT OF DERE.

Justini historia gall., fol.

THE LARD OF LOCHLEWIN.

Valerius Maximus, 16°.

JAQUES CHESSOLME.[3]

Virgilius, 16°.

~~ARTHUR WODE.~~

Rhetor et Officia Ciceronis, 16°.

MY LORD OF CATHNESS.

Deux petits liures escrits a la main par Marie Prisot, lun en 16°, lautre en 4°.

Quadrins historiques de la Bible, 8°.[4]

L. OF KILSYTH.

Diuerses leçons de Pierre Messie.

MADAME D'ATHOL.

Belon de la Nature des oyseaux, fol.[5]

MR. JHONE LINDESAY.

College, Aberdeen, in 1569, and in 1572 successor of John Knox at St. Giles's, Edinburgh, 'wha for giftes and estimation was cheiff amang the ministerie' (Melvill, *Diary*, 1829, p. 146). For an account of him, and of his death at London in exile, in October 1584, see the Wodrow Society's *Miscellany*, vol. i. 1844, p. 447.

[1] Probably the translation of Jean le Frère de Laval and François de Belleforest, Paris, 1569, fol.

[2] By Pierre Boaistuau and others, first printed at Paris, 1560, 4to. The Laird of Carden was a Stirling.

[3] James Chisholm of Cromlix, appointed Gentleman of the Chamber to the king in 1580 (*Reg. P. C.*, vol. iii. p. 323). In February 1581-2 he is called a Master of the Household (*ib.* p. 453).

[4] By Claude Paradin, Lyons, 1553 (Old Test.) and 1554 (New Test.), 8vo. William Livingston, Laird of Kilsyth, was appointed Gentleman of the Chamber in 1580 (*Reg. P. C.*, vol. iii. p. 323).

[5] By Pierre Belon, Paris, 1555, fol. The donor was second son of Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, and parson of Menmuir, co. Forfar; Lord of Session, as Lord Menmuir, in 1581, and Secretary of State in 1596.

Agrippa de Vanitate Scientiarum, 8°.[1]
Grammatica Clenardi gr., 8°.

MY LORD OF CATHNESS.[2]

Cæsar Goltzii, fol°.[3]

L. OF SEGUY.[4]

Resolution de tous points etc. de Bulinger.[5]
L'alcoran des Cordeliers.[6]
The garden of plesure.[7]

MR. NICOL ELPHINSTOUN.

Il Cortegiano, 16°.[8]

MY LORD GLAMMISS.

Psalmes in inglish prose, 16°.

ALEX^{R} HUME.[9]

Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon Lycosthenis, fol.[10]
× Tesmoignage de temps anciens, 8°.

MR. NICOL ELPHINSTOUN.

Juuenalis, 16°.
Silius Italicus, 16°.

JAQUES CHESSOLME.

Orationes Demosthenis aliquot, 8°.

CAPTAINE COCBURN.

Geuin to my lord Aubigny.[11]

Nouum Testamentum Anglicè, 8°.

CAPTAINE COCBURN.

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[1] By Hen. Cornelius Agrippa, Cologne, 1531, etc.

[2] Perhaps George Sinclair, Earl of Caithness, and not the Bishop.

[3] *C. Jul. Cæsar, sive Historiæ Imperatorum*, etc., by Hubert Goltz, Bruges, 1563, fol.

[4] James Meldrum, Laird of Segy or Seggie, co. Fife; Lord of Session in 1575.

[5] *Resol. de tous les points de la religion chrestienne*, by Hen. Bullinger, Geneva, 1556, etc.

[6] The French translation by Conrad Badius of Erasmus Alber's work against the Franciscans, Geneva, 1556 and 1560, 8vo.

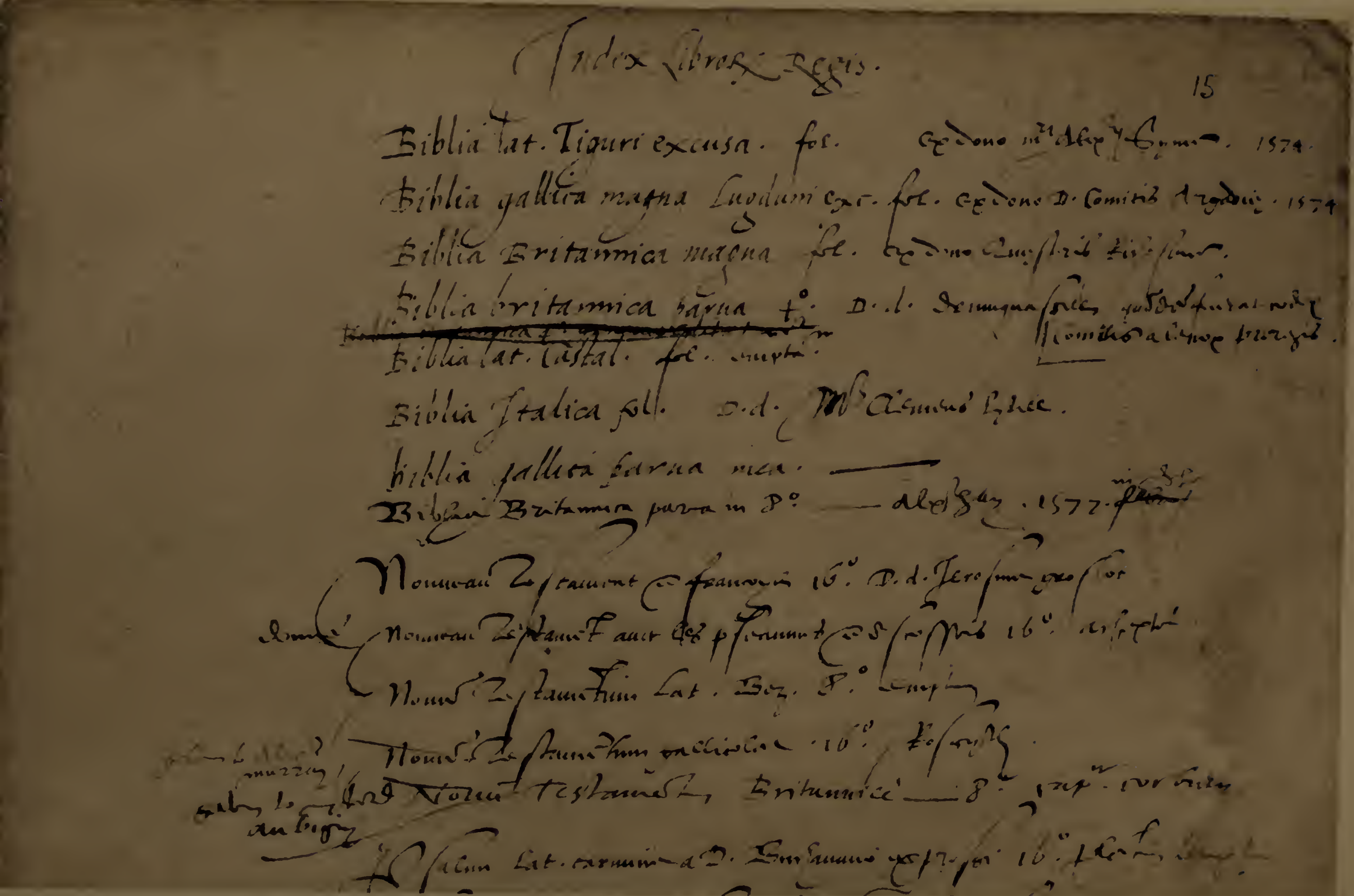
[7] Translated from the Italian by James Sandford, London, 1573, 8vo.

[8] One of the numerous editions of Count Baldassare Castiglione's famous work, perhaps that of Lyons, 1562.

[9] If he was not born till about 1560 (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.*), this can hardly have been Alex. Hume, the religious poet, minister of Logie. Two bearers of the same name, one of North Berwick, and the other of Manderstone, were appointed Gentlemen of the Chamber in 1580 (*Reg. P. C.*, vol. iii. p. 323).

[10] By Conrad Lycosthenes, Basel, 1559, fol.

[11] James's favourite, Esmé Stewart, created Earl of Lennox, 5th Mar. 1578-90,



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Biblia Britannica magna, fol.

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~~Biblia Britannica 4° Geneuæ edi~~ta.

Biblia lat. Castal., fol.[6]

Empta.

Biblia Italica, fol.

D. d. MR. CLEMENS LYTILL.[7]

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and Duke, 5th Aug. 1581. This note must have been made between the first date and 8th Sept. 1579, when he landed in Scotland from France.

[1] The Antwerp ed. 1576, 4to. There was an earlier ed. of these 'navigations et pérégrinations orientales,' Lyons, 1567, fol.

[2] Lewis Bellenden, son of Sir John Bellenden of Auchinoul, whom he succeeded as Justice-Clerk in 1578.

[3] Alex. Syme or Sim, an advocate whose name frrequently recurs about this time in the *Register of the Privy Council.*

[4] Robert Richardson, Commendator of St. Mary's Isle, and Treasurer to Queen Mary and James.

[5] John Cunningham, Laird of Drumquassle, Master of the Household to James, when under the care of Lady Mar at Stirling. According to Sir J. Melville he was 'ambitious and gredy, and had gretest cair how till advance him self and his frendis' (*Memoirs*, p. 262).

[6] *Biblia interprete Sebastiano Castalione*, Basel, 1552, fol. This may have been the Basel edition of 1573.

[7] 'Mester Clement Litle, a very honest man, brother to Willyem Litle, afterwart prouest of Edenbrough' (Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 248). He was an advocate and commissary of Edinburgh, and on his death (1st April 1580) bequeathed to

Biblia gallica parua mea.

Biblia Britannica parua, in 8°.
ALEXANDER HAY, 1577, *in Marche.*

Nouueau Testament en francoys, 16°.
D. d. JEROSME GROSLOT.[1]

Donné. Nouueau Testament auec les pseaumes en Escossois, 16°.
Achepté.

Nouum Testamentum Lat. Bezæ, 8°.
Emptum.

Gevin to Alex^{r} Murray. Nouum Testamentum gallico-lat., 16°.
ROSSYTH.[2]

Gevin to my lord Aubigny. Nouum Testamentum Britannicè, 8°.
CAPTEN COCBURN.

Psalmi lat. carmine a D. Buchanano expressi, 16°, Plantin.
Empti.

Psalterium Jo. Campensis, 16°.
EPISCOPUS CATHANENSIS.

Gevin to Magd. Levingston Psalmes in english, 32°.
Donnez par ALEXANDRE SCOTHSONE.

Gevin to Magd. Levingston Psalmes in english, 32°.
Donnez par LA NOURRICE.[3]

Donné par sa maiesté a Elizabeth Gib.[5] Psalter in metre and prose, 16°.
ABBOT OF GLENLUSS.[4]

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the town his library of 268 volumes, forming the nucleus of the present University library (see the Maitland Club *Miscellany*, vol. i., 1834, p. 281, and a paper by Mr. John Small, in the *Transactions of the Library Assoc.*, 1881, p. 95).

[1] Son of the Bailly Jerome Groslot of Orleans, one of the victims of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. He himself took refuge in Scotland and devoted himself to literature, winning a warm testimonial from George Buchanan in a letter to Beza, dated 15 July 1581 (Irving, *Mem. of Geo. Buchanan*, 1817, p. 279).

[2] Robert Stewart, Laird of Rossyth, co. Fife. Alexander Murray, to whom James gave the book, was a younger son of Sir Will. Murray of Tullibardine, (see p. lvi).

[3] Helena Little, described as 'principalis regis nutrix' in a document of 1588, in the *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, No. 1511. Several grants to her and to John Gray, her son, in which she is gratefully spoken of, are calendared in the same Register. She was wife of Alexander Gray, a burgess of Edinburgh, and appears as 'maistress nureis' in the list of James's household in his infancy (Chalmers, *Life of Mary, Queen of Scots*, 1818, vol. i. p. 176). See also above, p. xliii.

[4] Thomas Hay, abbot commendatory of Glenluce.

[5] Elizabeth Gib, youngest daughter of Robert Gib, Laird of Carribber, Master

Pseaumes en francoys, 32°.

MY LADY KILSYTH.[1]

Psalmes in english, in 8°.

Of HEW TODDIS *gift.*[2]

Pseaumes en rythme francoyse, 16°.

EPISCOPUS CATANENSIS.

Ψαλμοὶ ἀνακρεοντομελοποιηθέντες.[3]

Ex dono nostro.

Psalmi et catechismus Italicè, 16°.

MR. JHONE CRAIG.[4]

Les Vies de Plutarque en deux volumes ~~en~~ francoys, fol.[5]

~~*De* MONSIEUR LE REGENT.~~

Froissart en deux volumes.

~~*De* MONSIEUR LE REGENT.~~

Annales de france auec Philippe de Commines, fol.[6]

De MADAME DE MAR.[7]

× Dictionarium Latinobritannicum, fol.

piscopus athanenis. Insularium illustratum Henrici Martelli Germani in pergameno, fol. manu scriptum.[8]

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of the Stables to James V. She married Peter Young, 4 Feb. 1577-8, and held a post in the queen's household from 1589 till her death in 1595 (G. D. Gibb, *Life and Times of Robert Gib*, 1874, vol. i. p. 201, etc.).

[1] Christina or Christian, daughter of John Graham, fourth Earl of Menteith, and wife of William Livingston, Laird of Kilsyth (see above, p. li, n. 4).

[2] Hew Tod, 'servitour to his Hienes thesaurar,' in Dec. 1579 (*Reg. P. C.*, vol. iii. p. 252).

[3] By Henri Estienne (see below, p. lxiii), but the book is neither in Brunet nor the Brit. Mus. Catalogue.

[4] The well-known minister, John Knox's colleague in 1562, and chaplain to the king in 1579. This Italian Psalter recalls an eventful period in his career, when he was a Dominican at Bologna, and only just escaped, by the death of the Pope, from being burned as a heretic at Rome in 1559. See an account of him in Mr. T. G. Law's reprint of his *Shorte Summe of the Whole Catechisme*, Edinburgh, 1883.

[5] Both this work and the next seem to have belonged to Queen Mary, and were recovered from Lord Torphichen (see above, p. xxxiv).

[6] Probably the work of Nicole Gilles, and the Paris edition of 1573, fol.

[7] Annabella, widow of John Erskine, first Earl of Mar, Regent and James's guardian. Under her name is scribbled another, which appears to be 'L. of Glennegis,' *i.e.* John Haldane, Laird of Glennegas, or Gleneagles, in Perthshire (*Reg. M. S.*, 1546-80, No. 1489). He was connected with the Erskines by the marriage of his grandfather, Sir James Haldane of Gleneagles, with Margaret, sister of the above Earl of Mar.

[8] See above, p. xxxiii. A fine MS. with exactly this title, written in Italy about

fol. 15 *b.* ~~× Le huitiesme [livre] d'Amadis, fol.~~

~~EPISCOPUS CATANENSIS.~~

Guicciardini historia Lat. cum nonnullis aliis, fol.[1]

MY LORD GLAMMIS, CHANCELLAR.

Seneca, fol.

MY L. CHANCELLAR.

Commentaria Cæsaris, fol.

Empta.

Gevin to ye L. Tullibarden.[3] The dial of Princes, fol.[2]

EPISCOPUS CATANENSIS.

~~Elogium Henrici 2. galliarum regis quatuor linguis conscriptum~~.[4] *vrit alibi.*

~~ROSSYTH.~~

L'Institution du Prince de Budé, fol.[5]

EPISCOPUS CATANENSIS.

Institutio Regis per Osorium, 8°.[6]

ALEXR LEVINGSTOUNE.[7]

Institution of Christian Prince, etc., par Chelidonius Tigurinus.[8]

Achepté.

1470, is in the British Museum, Add. 15,760. It formerly belonged to the Duke of Sussex, son of George III., and not improbably is the actual volume referred to here. The work treats chiefly of the Islands in the Mediterranean, but includes an account of Great Britain, Palestine, etc. Its most interesting feature is the coloured maps and plans. The only other copy known is at Florence.

[1] *Fran. Guicc. historiarum sui temporis libri sex . . . C. Curione interprete*, together with works of Barth. Facius and J. Jovianus Pontanus, Basel, 1566, fol.

[2] Thomas North's translation, 1568, fol., of *L'Horloge des Princes*, 1555, itself a translation, by Nich. d'Herberay, from the (fictitious) *Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio* of Antonio de Guevara, 1529.

[3] Sir William Murray, Laird of Tullibardine, brother of Lady Mar, and joint-guardian with Sir Alexander Erskine of the king, after Lord Mar's death in 1572. Perhaps, however, his wife, Lady Agnes Graham, daughter of William, Earl of Montrose, is meant (see below, p. lxix).

[4] See above, p. xxxiv.

[5] For another copy given by Lady Athol see above, p. xli.

[6] *De regis institutione et disciplina libri viii.*, by Jeronimo Osorio da Fonseca, Lisbon, 1571, 8vo. More probably this was one of the Cologne editions, 1572 and 1574.

[7] Eldest son of William, Lord Livingstone, whom he succeeded in 1592; created Earl of Linlithgow, 1600.

[8] For this entry and the next but one see above, p. xxxiii. Perhaps the English

Le paraugon de vertu pour l'Institution de tous princes, par Jean Maugin, 16°.[1]

D. d. THE LADY TORFICHEN.

Institution of a prince par Synesius en francoys, 8°.

MONSIEUR BUCHANAN.

La Venerie de Jaques du Fouïlloux, 4°.[2]

MY L. ERGYLE.

My lord chancellar Glamis gat it. × La Fauconnerie de plusieurs autheres, 4°.[3]

MY L. ERGYLE.

Bellum grammaticale, 8°.[4]

MR. DAUID MACGILL.[5]

Les observations de P. Belon, 4°.[6]

MON FRERE.

Les singularitez de la france Antarctique de Theuet, 4°.[7]

MONSIEUR KILLEGREW.

The Courtiour in english, 4°.[8]

MR. KILLEGREW.

Poloniæ historiæ Compendium Herburti, 4°.[9]

MY LADY LENNOX.

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version of the Chelidonius is meant, made by James Chillester, London, 1571, 4to.

[1] Lyons, 1556, 16mo. The donor was Janet Murray, wife of James Sandilands, Lord Torphichen (see above, p. xxxi, n. 6), and, in 1596, second wife of Peter Young.

[2] A poem, printed at Poitiers, 1561 and 1562, and at Paris, 1573, 4to.

[3] Probably *La Fauconnerie de Jean de Franchières, avec une Fauconnerie de G. Tardif*, and other works, Poitiers, 1567, 4to.

[4] The famous work of Andrea Guarna, first printed at Cremona, 1511. This may have been the English version (retaining the Latin title) by W. Hayward, London, 1569 and 1576, 8vo.

[5] Brother of James M'Gill, Clerk-Register; Lord Advocate in 1582. 'This was a man of als grait solide and naturall a wit as in our tyme' (J. Melvill, *Diary*, 1829, p. 96).

[6] *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée*, etc., Paris, 1553, 4to. 'Mon frère' was Alexander Young, Usher of the Privy Chamber, younger brother of Peter Young.

[7] *Les Singul. de la France antarct. autrement nommée Amérique*, etc., Paris, 1558, 4to. The donor was Henry Killigrew, English Ambassador to Scotland in 1566 and 1572-5.

[8] Sir Thomas Hoby's version of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, London, 1561, 4to.

[9] By Jan Herburt, Basel, 1571, 4to; and in French, Paris, 1573, 4to. Lady Lennox, widow of the Regent, and James's grandmother, was resident in

Joannes Ferrarius of the orderyng of a commoun veale, 4°.[1]

MY LADY LENNOX.

Promptuarium Iconum, Lat.[2] Item, Imagines Imperatorum, 4°.

MY L. JUSTICE CLERK.

Confessio Bezæ, Lat., 8°.[3]

MINISTER OF DUMFERMLING.

Institutiones Justiniani, 8°.

MY LORD RUTHVEN.

d. petit. Dictionaire Latin francoys et francois latin, 8°.

MAGDALENE LEVINGSTOUN.

Le second liure de l'Iliade d'Homere en vers francoys escrit a la main, en velin, 8°.

MAGD. LEVINGSTOUN.

Dictionaire Latin francoys, grand, de Charles Estienne.[4]

MONS^{r} DE GLAMMIS, CHANCELLAR.

fol. 16. Terentius in 8° ex editione Aldi.

Emptus.

gevin in a present to my lord of Mar. Terentius, 8°.

L. OF TULLIBARDIN.

Terentius cum comment. ex editione Antesignani, 4°.

Emptus.

Terentius et Horatius simul in 16°.

L. OF ROSSYTH.

× Terentius Lat. et gall., 16°.

LADY BOWYN.[5]

Terentius Ital., 8°.

MR. CLEMENT LYTILL.

Terentii flores, 16°.[6]

Acheptè.

England until her death, 9 March 1577-8, and her gifts of books were, no doubt, sent from London.

[1] *A woorke of Jo. Ferr. Montanus touchynge the good orderynge of a Commonweale. Englished by W. Bauande*, London, 1559, 4to.

[2] See above, p. xxxiii, n.[4]. The Justice-Clerk was Sir John Bellenden of Auchinoul.

[3] *Conf. Christianæ Fidei*, Geneva, 1560 and 1573, and London, 1575, 8vo; given by David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline.

[4] *Dict. Latino-Gallicum*, Paris, 1552, fol.

[5] Mary Beton, one of the Four Marys, who married in Aug. 1566 Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne.

[6] This entry and the next but two are insertions in the margin.

×Terentii Phormio, 4º.

Terentius cum omnibus comment., fol.

GEORGE SINCLARE OF CATHNESS.[1]

Terentii Comediæ singulæ singulis libellis.

MR. ROB. RICHARTSONE.[2]

Ceux cy furent receuz de Monsr le Regent.[3]

Zonaras gall. fol.

DE LA ROYNE.

×Icones Imperatorum max. vol.

DE LA ROYNE.

Astronomique discours de J. Bassantyne.[4]

DE LA ROYNE.

The Vnion of the housse of Yorke and Lancaster.

DE LA ROYNE.

Chronicle of Scotland, wrettin with hand.

DE LA ROYNE.

Herodote en francoys.

DE LA ROYNE.

Qui fut depuis donné a Monsieur de Loch-evin pour n autre t plus rand olume.

L'Institution de Mr. Calvin en fr., fol. petit.

EPISCOPUS CATANENSIS.

×Mappemonde Papistique auec l'histoire de la description.[5]

Donnée par LE CAPITAINE ROBERT MONGOMMERY.

Ciceronis operum volumina septem, Desunt Rhetor. Officia.
Item, Ciceronis oratio pro lege Manilia, 4º.
Emptus.

Thomæ Smythi de recta pronuntiatione linguæ græcæ, 4º.[6]
Emptus.

Elegies, Mascarades et Bergerie de Ronsard, 4º.[7]

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[1] Geo. Sinclair, son of George, fourth Earl of Caithness, and Chancellor of Caithness (*Reg. M. S.*, 1546-80, No. 2840).

[2] See above, p. liii, n. [4]. He had ceased to be Treasurer before 30 Oct. 1575 (*ib.*, No. 2461).

[3] For these books (except the third) see above, p. xxxiv.

[4] By James Bassantin or Bassandean, a Scotsman, Lyons, 1557, fol.; the fourth book in the list of 1569 (*Inventaires*, p. 179).

[5] An anti-Catholic satire, consisting of sixteen plates with letterpress, printed about 1566. The latter part of the entry is a separate work, *Hist. de la M. P. en laquelle est declaré tout ce qui est contenu et pourtraict en la grande table ou carte*, etc., by Frang-adelphe Escorche-messes (? Theodore Beza), Geneva, 1568, 4to.

[6] Printed at Paris by Rob. Estienne, 1568, 4to.

[7] Paris, 1565, 4to.

fol. 16 b. Les Epistres dorées, 8°.

MY LADY LENNOX.

× Grammatica Valerii, 8°.

Acheptê.

× Grammatica Linacri, 8°.[1]

MR. JAMES QUHYT.[2]

Lilii Rudimenta et grammatica.[3]

ALEXANDER HAY.

Institutio linguæ gallicæ Jo. Piloti.[4]

MY L. OF CATHNESS.

Symbola Paradini, lat., 16°.[5]

ALEX^{R} HAY.

~~Item gallicè.~~

~~MAGD. LEVINGSTOUN~~.

Phrases linguæ latinæ, 8°.[6]

MR. KILLEGREW.

Corderius de corrupti sermonis emendatione, 8°.[7]

Acheptê.

Histoire de nostre temps, 8°.[8]

MY LADY LENNOX.

Il duello del Mutio Justinopolitano.[9]

MY LADY LENNOX.

Commentarii belli Melitensis, 8°.[10]

MY LADY LENNOX.

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[1] This was most likely Buchanan's Latin version, *Rudimenta Grammatices T. Linacri ex Anglico sermone in lat. versa*, Paris, 1533, 8vo, and often reprinted.

[2] Probably the same who in 1582 is described as 'Quotidianus regis servitor' (*Reg. M. S.*, 1580-93, No. 458), and in 1585 as 'Pincerna regis' (*ib.*, No. 957).

[3] One of the many editions of William Lily's Grammar, of which the earliest known is that of 1529. This entry and the next are inserted in the margin.

[4] Paris, 1561, 8vo; given perhaps by the Earl, not the Bishop, of Caithness.

[5] A Latin version of Claude Paradin's *Devises Héroiques* by J. Gubernator, Antwerp, 1562, 16mo.

[6] *Aldi Manutii Phrases Linguæ Latinæ in Anglicum sermonem conversæ*, London, 1579, 16mo. But this entry probably refers to an earlier edition.

[7] By Mathurin Cordier, first printed at Paris, 1530.

[8] By Guillaume Paradin, Lyons, 1550, fol., and later. This may have been the edition of 1575, 8vo. Brunet, however, mentions (ed. 1865, vol. vi. col. 77) an anonymous work with the same title, covering the years 1568-70, printed 1570, 8vo.

[9] By Girolamo Muzio, Venice, 1550, 8vo., and later.

[10] By Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, Paris, 1553, 4to.

Agapetus en francois et grecq.[1]

JA. CHESHOLME.

Metamorphose d'Ouide figuree, auec les deuises heroiques de Paradin.

MAGDALENE LEVINGSTOUN *gave it.*

Colloquia Erasmi, 16°.

Empta.

Apophthegmata Plutarchi et aliorum gr. et lat., 16°.

Empta.

L'estat et succez des affaires de France, 16°.

MR. DAUID MACGILL.

× Offices de Cicero en francoys, 16°.

MY LORD OF ANGUSS.

Apophthegmata Erasmi, 16°.

MY LORD B. OF CATHNESS.

e l'ay osté
our en-
eigne-
ent . . .

~~Joannis Secundi Hagiensis poemata, 16°~~.[2]

~~L. OF ROSSYTH.~~

Virgilius, 16°.

L. OF ROSSYTH.

~~Valerius Maximus.~~

~~L. OF ROSSYTH~~.

Plautus, 16°.

JAMES CHESHOLME.

Commentaria Cæsaris, 16°.

JA. CHESHOLME.

Suetonius Tranquillus, 16°.

JA. CHESHOLME.

Fabulæ Faërni 100, 16°.[3]

Emptus.

Erotemata dialectices Melancthonis, 8°.

MY LORD B. OF CATHNESS.

Emblemata Alciati, 8°.[4]

MY LORD B. OF CATHNESS.

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[1] *Enseignemens pour gouverner un royaulme*, Paris, 1563, 8vo. A French version of Agapetus 'De Officio Regis,' including also both the Greek and Latin texts.

[2] Printed at Utrecht, 1541, and at Paris, 1561.

[3] *Fabulæ C. ex antiquis auctoribus delectæ et a Gabriele Faerno carminibus explicatæ*, Rome, 1564; also at Antwerp, 1567, 1572, etc.

[4] *Omnia Andreæ Alciati emblemata*, Antwerp, 1577, 8vo.

× La Morosophie de Guillaume de la Perriere, 8°.[1]

MR. DAUID MACGILL.

Virgilii Bucolica. Item, Tabulæ Murmellii, 8°.[2]

DE LA ROYNE.

Stobæi sententiarum Tomus secundus, 16°.

Ex nostro dono.

fol. 17. × Propos memorables, 16°.

MY LADY LENNOX.

Historiæ illustriorum rerum memorabilium libellus, 16°.

MY LADY LENNOX.

Riccius de Imitatione, 16°.

MY LADY LENNOX.

The history of Justinus in english, 4°.[4]

MY LADY LENNOX.

Gevin to ye lady tullibarden. × The scholemaistre of Mr. Askame.[5]

The Æthiopian history in english, 4°.[6]

MY LADY LENNOX.

La facon de tirer de l'arc.

JA. CHESHOLME.

Jephthé en vers francoys,[7] auec le cordelier.

THE B. OF ORKNAY.

Fables of Æsope in english, 8°.[8]

× Declinaisons, etc., en francois et latin, 8°.

MY L. B. OF CATHNESS.

Exempla de latino declinatu Corderii. Item, de syllabarum quantitate.

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[1] *La Morosophie . . . contenant cent emblêmes moraux*, etc., Lyons, 1553, 8vo.

[2] See above, p. xxxv.

[3] *Barth. Riccii de Imitatione libri tres*, Venice, 1541, and Paris, 1557.

[4] Translated by A. Goldyng, London, 1564 and 1570, 4to.

[5] Roger Ascham's famous work, first printed in 1570, and frequently after.

[6] *An Æthiopian Historie, written in Greeke by Heliodorus . . . Englished by T. Underdowne*, London, 1587, 4to. There was, however, an earlier edition without date.

[7] See above, p. xxxvi. 'Le Cordelier' is of course the 'Franciscanus.'

[8] Probably the edition printed by H. Wykes, London, [1570?]. Robert Henryson's version was, however, printed by Robert Lekpreuik at Edinburgh in this same year, 4to (Dickson and Edmond, p. 240).

Item Epistolarum familiarium liber 2, lat. et gall., Corderio auctore, 8°.[1]

Recueil de la diuersité des habits qui sont, etc.[2]

MR. NICHOL ELPHINSTON.

Colloquiorum scholasticorum libri 4 Corderii, 8°.

Les songes de Pantagruel.[3]

ALEX^R HAY and MR. NICHOL ELPHINSTON.

La Sphere du monde de Piccolhuomini en fr., 8°.[4]

MONS^R BUCHANAN.

Ouidii Metamorphose figurée cum Tetrastichis Joannis Posthii.

ALEX^R HAY.

gevin. × 2. Exemples pour apprendre a escrire.

L. OF ROSSYTH.

La Nature des poissons par Belon.[5]

MONS^R BUCHANAN.

Epitome gestorum 58 Regum franciæ, Lat. et gall, 8°.[6]

L. OF ROSSYTH.

Epitome Regum francorum carmine H. Pantaleonis, 4°.[7]

B. OF ORKNAY.

× Recueil des effigies des Roys de france auec le summaire de leur histoire, fol.[8]

MR. N. ELPHINSTON.

× Item vn autre Recueil auec les effigies sans plus.

upra. ~~Ψαλμοὶ τοῦ δαβίδος ἀνακρεοντομελοποιηθέντες, 32°~~.[9]

~~Ex nostro dono; mihi vero ab auctore ipso H. Stephano dati sunt~~.

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[1] Cicero's Epist. ad Fam. Bk. ii. . . . *cum Lat. et Gall. interpretatione, M. Corderio authore*, 1549, 8vo.

[2] *Rec. de la div. des habits qui sont en usage*, Paris, 1562, 8vo.

[3] *Les songes drolatiques de Pantagruel, où sont contenues plusieurs figures de l'invention de Maistre François Rabelais*, Paris, 1565, 8vo.; a supposititious work (Brunet, iv., 1863, col. 1066).

[4] See above, p. xxxix; and for the next entry, p. xxxvii.

[5] By Pierre Belon, Paris, 1555, 8vo.

[6] An anonymous work, Lyons, 1546, 4to.

[7] *Omnium regum Francorum . . . vitæ breviter complexæ atque certis epigrammatibus illustratæ, auctore H. Pantaleone*, Basel, 1574, 4to.

[8] *Rec. des eff. des roys de France auec un brief sommaire des genealogies faits et gestes d'iceux*, Lyons, about 1567, 4to. Brunet also mentions a similar *Recueil*, Paris, 1567. This is perhaps the work referred to in the next entry.

[9] See above, p. lv.

× Prieres et oraisons chrestiennes, 32°.
MY L. B. OF CATHNESS.

Sa maté l'enuoya au ieune seigneur dathol.[2]
~~Item le mesme couuert de velours violet~~.
~~AGNESS SCOTT~~.[1]

Donné a Jaques Elphinstoun.
~~A table of the principall maters conteined in the Scripture~~, ~~16°~~.
~~MY L. B. OF CATHNESS~~.

Donné.
× The perfecte pathevaye to saluacion, 16°.
MY L. B. OF CATHNESS.

fol. 17 b.
Supra.
~~Pseaumes en franceoys, 32°~~.
~~MY LADY KILSYTH, 1574, *febr. xx*~~.

Spiritual and pretious pearle, 16°.
Achepté.

× A booke of priuate prayer, 16°.
MY LADY KILSYTH, 1574, *febr. xx.*

L. Herefordes prayers, 8°.[4]
Achepté.

Pauli Jouii historia, Lat., 16°., tribus voluminibus.
MY LORD GLAMMIS, CHANCELLAR.

Supra.
~~Senecæ opera, fol°~~.
~~MY LORD GLAMMYS, CHANCELLAR~~.

Supra.
~~Guicciardini historia, Lat., fol°~~.
~~MY LORD GLAMMYS, CHANCELLAR~~.

×~~Volumen unum Bibliorum, lat., 16°, continens Regum libr~~os, ~~etc~~.
MY ~~LORD B. OF CATHNESS.~~

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[1] No doubt the same who is described as 'servitrix regis' in a document of 1578 (*Reg. M. S.*, 1580-93, No. 749).

[2] John Stewart, fifth Earl, who succeeded his father, the Chancellor (above, p. xli, n. [9]), in 1579.

[3] Inserted in the margin. The work was translated by M. Coverdale from the German of Otto Wermueller, and printed with a preface by Edw. Seymour, Duke of Somerset, London, 1550, 8vo.

[4] Also an insertion, interlined. *A Boke of very Godly Psalmes and prayers, dedicated to the Lady Letice Vicountesse of Hereforde*, by Roger Edwardes, London, 1570, 8vo.

×Heures de recreation de Guicciardin, 16°.[1]

gevin. ×Le Ris de Democrite et le pleur d'Heraclite, 16°.

MY LORD B. OF CATHNESS.

Dicts et sentences notables en latin et francoys ordine alphabetico.

L. OF ROSSYTH.

J. Bellenden. Dialogi Sacri Castellionis, 16°.[2]

D. d. W. CHRISTISONE, minister of Dundee.

et des autres in 8°.

Acheptez.

×Introduction to Wisdome, etc., 16°.[3]

×Introduction of grammer in inglish and latin, 8°.

ALEX$^{\text{R}}$ HAY. *Je l'ay.*

×Instruction pour tous estats, 4°.

L. OF ROSSYTH.

Quelques oraisons d'Isocrates et Demosthenes avec le premier liure de la Cyropedie et le Timee de Platon, 4°.

MAISTER OF ATHOL.

Les Traductions de Clement Marot,[4] 16°.

MON FRERE ALEX$^{\text{RE}}$.

×Viret sur le Catechisme, 16°.[5]

Acheptè.

Fabulæ Æsopi Camerarii, 16°.

Acheptè.

De Institutione Principis loci communes Lorichii, 8°.[6]

SUPERINTENDENT OF LOWTHIAN.

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[1] *Les heures de recr. et après dinés de Louys Guicciardin, trad. de l'Italien par Fr. de Belleforest*, Paris, 1571, 1573, 1576, 16mo.

[2] *Dialogorum sacrorum ad linguam et mores puerorum formandos libri iv.*, by Seb. Castellio or Châteillon, Antwerp, 1552, 8vo, etc. William Christison, minister of Dundee, was Moderator of the Assembly in July 1569.

[3] Translation by Sir Richard Moryson from the Latin of Joan. Lud. Vives, London, 1540, 1544, etc.

[4] *Traductions de latin en françois, imitations et inventions, tant de Clément Marot que d'autres poëtes*, Paris, 1549, 8vo, and 1554, 16mo. For the donor, see above, p. lvii, n. 6.

[5] By Pierre Viret; not in Brunet or the Brit. Mus. Catalogue.

[6] By Reinhard Lorich, Frankfort, 1538, 8vo. The donor was John Spottiswood, made ecclesiastical superintendent of Lothian in 1560. He had held James in his arms, when sent by the Assembly to congratulate Mary on his birth, and had placed the crown on his head at his coronation in 1567.

Bulinger sur l'Apocalypse, 8°.[1]
SUPERINTENDENT OF LOTHIAN.
Epitome Gesneri Bibliothecæ, fol.[2]
Acheptè.
Grammatica gallica Pilloti, 8°.
MY LORD B. OF CATHNESS.
Ciceronis epistolæ selectæ per Sturmium, 8°.
Acheptè.
Catonis disticha cum aliis nonnullis, 8°.
Acheptè.
Philelphus de disciplina morali, 4°.
Acheptè.
Vegetius in english, 4°.[4]
Acheptè.
Deuises de Jouio en francoys, 4°.[5]
Acheptè.
Thistorie of Italy, 4°.[6]
Acheptè.
Confession de foy des eglises de Suisse et de France, 16°.
Acheptè.
Eliotis Gouernour, 8°.[7]
Acheptè.
Christian prayers, etc., 8°.
Acheptè.
2 Catechismus A. Noëli gr. et lat., 8°.[8]
Acheptè.

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[1] *Cent sermons sur l'Apocalypse*, by Hen. Bullinger, Geneva, 1558, 8vo, and later.

[2] Zurich, 1555, fol., being an epitome of Gesner's *Bibl. Universalis sive Catalogus omnium scriptorum*, Frankfort, 1545, fol.

[3] By Francesco Filelfo, Venice, 1552, 4to.

[4] *The fovre Bookes of Fl. Vegetius Ranatus* [de re militari] *transl. out of Latine into Englishe by Iohn Sadler*, 1572, 4to.

[5] *Dialogue des Devises d'armes et d'amour*, transl. by V. Philieul from the Italian of Paolo Giovio, Lyons, 1561, 4to. See above, p. xxxiii, n. [1].

[6] By William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI., London, 1549, 4to, and in 1561; according to Lowndes, suppressed and burnt.

[7] *The Boke named the Governour*, by Sir Thomas Elyot, London, 1531, 8vo, and frequently after.

[8] By Dr. Alex. Nowell, first printed at London, 1570, 4to. This was, no doubt, the 8vo bilingual edition of 1573.

Epistolæ Ciceronis Aldi, 8°.
Achepté.

× Apologie pour Herodote, 8°.[1]
Achepté.

Flori historiæ libri 4 cum commentariis Stadii, 8°.[2]
Achepté.

fol. 18. Bourgoing sur le Catechisme, 8°.[3]
Achepté.

Les Vies des empereurs, 8°.
Achepté.

Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, cum commentariis Mureti, 8°.
Achepté.

Mizaldi Cosmographia,[4] et elementa geometriæ alterius authoris, 8°.
Achepté.

Quintus Curtius, 16°.
Achepté.

Illustrium poetarum flores, 16°.
Achepté.

× Adhortatio Bulingeri, etc. Item, exhortatio ad Regis galliæ consiliarios, 8°.[5]
Achepté.

Dialectica Rami, 8°.
Achepté.

× Dialectica Sturmii, 8°.
Achepté.

× gevin to
ames El-
hinstoun.

~~Institution of a gentilman, 8°.~~[7]
~~*Achepté.*~~

Sturmius de periodis, 8°.
Achepté.

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[1] By Henri Estienne, Paris, 1566.

[2] Antwerp, 1567, 8vo.

[3] *Paraphrase . . . sur le Catechisme . . . selon qu'il est . . . receu en l'église reformée*, by François Bourgoing, 1564.

[4] *De mundi sphæra seu Cosmographia libri tres*, by Ant. Mizauld, Paris, 1552, 8vo.

[5] A Latin version, 1561, of Estienne Pasquier's anonymously published *Exhortation aux princes et seigneurs du conseil privé du roy pour obvier aux séditions qui semblent nous menacer pour le faict de la religion*, 1561, 8vo.

[6] Paris, 1560, 8vo, and Cologne, 1573, 8vo.

[7] An anonymous work, London, 1555, 8vo, and 1558.

**Je pense l'auoire achepté. Regardez le premier cataloge.*

*Sturmii Dialectica, 8°.
Achepté.
Lucanus, 8°.
Achepté.
Commentarii Cæsaris in english, 8°.[1]
Achepté.
Ethica Valerii et Foxii, 8°.[2]
Achepté.
Abdiæ Pretorii de poesi græcorum, 8°.[3]
Achepté.
Schotus de ratione disciplinæ linguæ lat. et grecæ, 8°.
Achepté.
× Les vies des Papes, 16°.[4]
Achepté.
Cautelles de la Messe, 16°.[5]
Achepté.
Conformité de la Confession d'Ausburg, etc, 16°.
Bouclier de la foy, 16°.
Achepté.
L'Accord des passages de lescriture, 16°.
Achepté.
× Conseil sacré, 8°.
Achepté.
× Leopardi Miscellanea, 4°.[6]
Achepté.
Camerarii præcepta morum, 8°.
Achepté.
a Italian Grammer, 8°.
Achepté.
De ponderibus et mensuris Priscianus et alii, 8°.
Achepté.

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[1] Translated by Arthur Goldinge, London, 1563, 8vo, and in 1565, etc.

[2] *Brevis et perspicua totius ethicæ seu de moribus philosophiæ descriptio. Cui adjecimus S. Foxii Morzilli ethicæ philosophiæ compendium*, Basel, 1566, 8vo.

[3] Basel, 1561, 8vo; and again, Wittenberg, 1571, 8vo.

[4] By Barth. Platina, first printed in Latin in 1479, and in French, 1519.

[5] See above, p. xxxvi.

[6] *P. Leopardi . . . emendationum et Miscellaneorum libri xx., in quibus plurima tam in Græcis quam Latinis auctoribus . . . explicantur et emendantur*, Antwerp, 1568, 4to.

Virgilius in 4°.

MR. ROB. RICHARTSOUN.

Fasti et Triumphi Goltzii, fol.[1]

MR. ROB. RICHARTSOUN.

Æmylii Probi vel Cornelii Nepotis de viris illustribus cum commentario Lambini.[2]

MR. ROB. RICHARTSOUN.

Pauli Jouii vitæ 12 vicecomitum Mediolani, 4°.[3]

ALEX^R HAY.

Senecæ Tragoediæ.

D. GEORGIUS BUCHANANUS.

Foxi Morzilli de regni regisque Institutione, 8°.

MY LORD GLAMMIS.

Donnez a Madame Tullibarden.[4]

ol. 18 *b.* The Schole of Cyrus.

Item, ane prayer buik yat was gottin fra my Lord B. of Cathness.

Item, ane vther prayer buik to Jane Oliphant,[5] and ane vther to Maistress Nurrish.

Item, ane psalme buik to my lord of Mar.

Item, ane litill buik of tablettes coverit with veluet violet to my lady Mar. It was gottin fra my lady Lennox.

Item, ane frenche psalme buik in 8° to Jane Lyoun.[6]

Item, to ye maister of Athol prieres et oraisons chrestiennes couuertes de velours violet, 32°.

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[1] *Fastos magistratuum et triumphorum Romanorum . . . H. Goltzius dedicavit*, Bruges, 1566, fol.

[2] Ed. Dionysius Lambinus, 1569, 4to.

[3] By Paolo Giovio, Paris, 1549, 4to.

[4] See above, p. lvi, n. [3]. The first book was perhaps *The viii Bookes of Xenophon, containinge the Institution, Schole and Education of Cyrus*, etc., translated by William Bercker, London, 1567, 8vo.

[5] Probably the 'Jane Olyphant' described as a 'rocker' in a list of James's household in his infancy (Chalmers, *Life of Mary, Queen of Scots*, 1818, vol. i. p. 176). For the 'Nurrish' see above, p. liv, n. [3].

[6] Perhaps Jean Lyon, daughter of the Chancellor, Lord Glammis.

Item, a table of ye principall maters contained in the scripture to James Elphinstoun.
Terentius of ye L. of Tullibarden gevin to my lord of Mar.
Nouueau Testament en latin francoys gevin to Alex^r Murray.
Psalmes in english gevin to Magdalen Levingstoun.

ARCUS BOAWIS

Item, ane fra James Adamsone.[1]
Tua fra Jhone of Jhonestoun.[2]
Ane fra Gilbert Lauder.[3]

2 braces, ane schooting glaife.
2 golf cloubbis, L. of Rossyth.

ARROWIS

Ane douzen from Ingland, with a quauer of grein veluet.
Ane douzen fra Jhone of Jhonestoun, with ane quauer couerit with blak ledder.
Ane douzen fra James Adamsone.
2 douzen the L. of Cleisch.[4]

Ane chainzie of carved timmer, very craftely.

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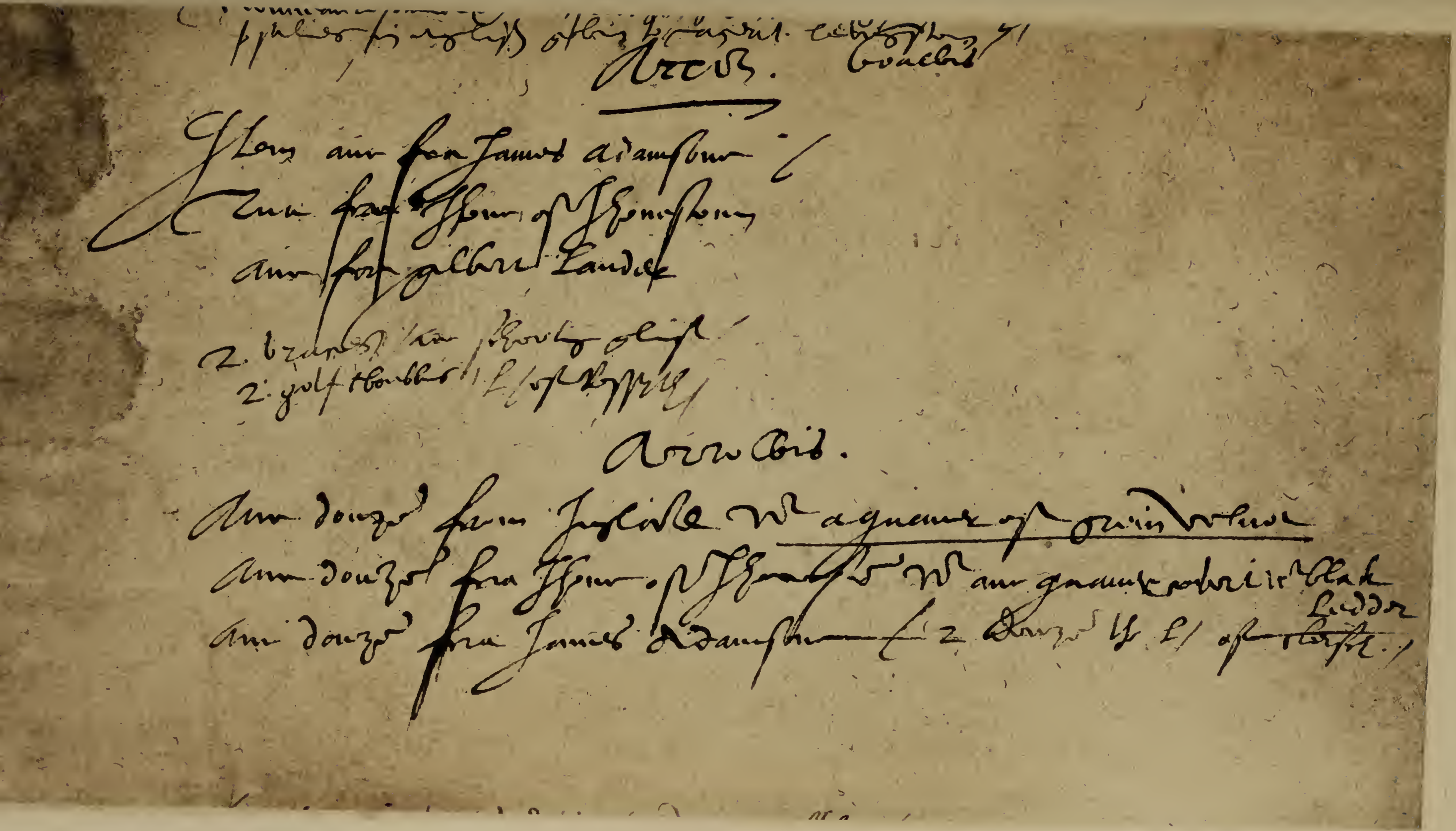
[1] A burgess of Edinburgh, whose name frequently appears in the *Reg. P. C.*, *e.g.* vol. ii. pp. 351, 451, vol. iii. pp. 269, 472, and in the *Reg. M. S.* from 1557 onwards.

[2] The noted border laird, John Johnstone of that Ilk, made Lord Warden of the West Marches in 1579 (*Reg. M. S.*, p. 207).

[3] A burgess of Edinburgh (*Reg. P. C.*, vol. ii. p. 726), or perhaps Gilbert Lauder of Whitslaid (*ib.* vol. iii. p. 630).

[4] Robert Colville, Laird of Cleish, co. Fife, who was attached to the Treasury under Lord Ruthven (*Reg. P. S.*, vol. ii. p. 324). In 1582 he was one of the 'Ruthven Raiders' (*ib.* vol. iii. p. 507). See also Sir J. Melville's *Memoirs*, pp. 205, etc.



[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] bowcheis

Arcus.

Item ane fra James Adamsone
Ane fra Thom. of Jhonstoun
Ane fra Gilbert Landelis

2. braces [illegible] [illegible]
2. golf clubbis [illegible]

Arrowis.

Ane dozen fra Jo. Carlile wt a quaver of grein velvet
Ane dozen fra Thom. of Jhonstoun wt ane quaver covrit wt blak ledder
Ane dozen fra James Adamsone / 2 dozen [illegible] of ~~[illegible]~~ ledder

BOWS, ARROWS, GOLF CLUBS, ETC., GIVEN TO JAMES VI

Ane pen and inkhorne of syluer.

Fra MY LORD B. OF CAITHNESS.

Item, ane fueillee of syluer to vret apon.

Fra MY SAID LORD.

Ane lettren coverit with grein veluet.

Ane escritoire of ledder stampit.

MY LORD OF RUTHVEN.

Ane mirrour.

Ane sand glass.

HEW TOD.

Ane glass with castell of wax therin.

THE LADY TULLIBARDIN.

19 doctours in smal papers,[1] quheroff my broder gave Viretus pictour.

A tre with brenches and leiues of wyre cled with silk of all hewis, beiring clowis and netmewgis.[2]

Entries on the fly-leaves in the hand of James VI.
(see Introduction, p. xii):—

fol. 3. Si quid honestum per laborem egeris, labor abit hon[estum] manet; si quid turpe per uoluptatem egeris, uoluptas [abit] turpe manet. Jacobus / Jacobus.R.

Si quid honestum per laborem egeris, labor abit honestum m[an]et; si quid turpe per uoluptatem egeris, uoluptas abit turpe man[et].

Si quid honestum per laborem egeris, labor abit honestum . . .

fol. 19. A . a . B . b . c. D. d . e . Ɛ. E . ee . F. f . G. g. H . h. J. i. K . k. L. l.
M . m . N . n . o . p . p . q . R . r . ß . ſ . s . T . tt . t . u . x . y . Z . z.
Jacobus.R̃.Scoto℞. Jaques.Roy.d'escoße. James.R̃.

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[1] Apparently portraits of theologians, 'Viretus' being the French Reformer, Pierre Viret, some of whose works appear above in James's library.

[2] This entry is in a hand very like that of James in later years, but it is more probably Young's hand, which varies considerably.

Entries on the fly-leaves and covers in the hand of Peter Young.

Apophthegmata Regis.[1]

fol. 1 *b.* Αἰτιατέον ὑμᾶς, waite wyt yourselfes.[2]

R[ex]. Erasmus de ciuilitate morum [puerilium]. 'Quamquam interdum nos deceat fieri polypos, Erasmus ipse in religione, alioquin vir magnus, dici potuit polypus.'[3]

R̃. * Comme est il possible de rien fere? Se tenir coy et assis? On pense lors, et penser est faire, pour ce que c'est vn verbe actif.

Actiones animi et corporis, thocht, vord, deid. Ergo differunt, vel superflua oratio. Actioǹs that men may persaif wtuartlie.

R̃. Prestre pour ce qu'il est prest à mal faire.

R̃. Apportez moy vne verge, mais une vierge.

* Exurge Domine, etc. Thay gar me speik latin ar I could speik Scotis.

* Canonicus regularis, sic ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς.

* Apon 2 Sam 18, as I was reading of Absalon, I began to extoll his fairnes. 'He was,' sayis R̃., 'felon fair aboue and fow fals in onder, lyke the unus ille nævus maid him a knæuus.'

To Capten Cocburn, quha tailed a lang taile with mony gestures and earnestnes, balbutiendo, etc.—'Je n'ay pas entendu vng seul mot de ce que vous disiez, et me semble estre vray que Mons. le Regent disoit, que vostre

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[1] This title is written by Young on the cover, and applies to most, if not all, the entries here printed. There are, however, many more not worth giving, being chiefly rough notes and commonplaces from classical and other authors, besides a few others which relate to the King, but are wholly, or for the most part, illegible. The writing generally is very minute and hard to decipher. In some cases an asterisk is prefixed, but its meaning is doubtful.

[2] This and some similar entries below are presumably punning translations by James. One would expect 'on' here instead of 'with.'

[3] The reference is apparently to the passage—'Eupolis virum polypum, hoc est ad omnem vitæ rationem accommodatum, πολίτην vocat: Ἀνὴρ πολίτης πολύπους εἰς τὸν τρόπον, id est, vir civilis qui moribus est polypus' (Ed. Antwerp, 1570, sig. A 2).

françoys ne valoit rien et vostre escossois gaires miex. Si est ce que i'estime le conte fort bon seulement en veoire vostre mine et grace.'

fol. 2. R̃. Viuifico, c'est vn mot fait par quelque begue—vi ui fi co.

Durstum quum legeret in D. Buchanani historia,[1] eius flagitiosa vita offensus, exclamauit, vernaculè alludens cum vocis sono—'How durst he be sa euil? Thai micht have callit him Curstus, because he was curst, and had acurst vs.'

Apophthegma Regis. Lisant le chapitre parlant des clefs, je dis que le pape prenoit ce passage pour luy, comme se disant successeur de St. Pierre, et pour tant auoit toute puissance en ciel et en terre en vertu de ses clefs. 'Mon maistre, puisqu'il a tant d'envie dauoir des clefs, nous luy donrons celle de science que Christ done aux scribes et Pharisées,[2] des queles [*sic*] ils ferment et n'ouurent point.'

Comme je luy racontois la fable de Sisyphe, il me dit, 'Pourquoy il ne se reposoit sur la pierre?' et le mesme trait est en Ovide 'sedit in saxo.'[3]

'Sanguine placastis ventos et virgine cæsa' [*Virg. Æn.* ii. 116]—'Mais quil deuoit plustost dire, "Taurum Neptuno."'

Lisant en Xenophon [*Cyrop.* v. 2, 28] que Gadate auoit esté chastré pour ce que la concubine du Roy l'auoit regardé de bon oeil, le Roy dit que la femme deuoit plustost estre chastrée.

Lisant en l'histoire de Mr. Buchanan [*lib.* viii. 40] qu'en la defaite des Anglais faite par le Roy Robert Brus Caxton dit que le nombre [des occis estoit] innumerabilis multitudo, 'Ce Caxton n'auoit pas bien compris son arithmétique.'

L'on disant qu'il se preparast bien a disputer d'autant que le ieune seigneur de Mar venoit, 'Age, nunc, age (inquit) Phormionem, qui volet, lacessito,' ex scena ult. act. 5 Phormionis.

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[1] Lib. iv. cap. 16, Durstus being an early king of Scotland. The entry, in slightly different wording, is repeated on f. 2.

[2] Rather to the lawyers, *cf.* Luke xi. 52.

[3] *Met.* x. 44. '. . . inque tuo sedisti, Sisyphe, saxo.'

A monsʳ le Regent, qui se pensoit de la charge des affaires, se disant estre vieux—'Pleist à Dieu que vous fussiez aussy ieune que le Seigneur d'Anguss, et aussy sage comme vous estez.'

Cuidam dicenti—'Ye suld neuer be angrie,'—'Than,' sayis he, 'I suld not waire ye lyoun in my armes bot rather a scheip,'—nobis tam odiosam esse τοῦ scheip appellationem quam Gallis τοῦ vn veau.

Tyran quasi tir[1] ane, a compilando, et spoliando.

Ayant parié au trou-madame[2] quelques bagues contre des damoiselles, comme Madame de Mar dit qu'elle feroit servir des petites bagues communes pour payer la debte, 'Non, non,' ce dit il, 'Quoy donc ? Je les voudrois,' ce dit il, 'auec des pierres qui fussent iolies et qui valussent le donner et bien faire ;' qu'elle deuisa y mettant l'or sur le champ, et respondit—'Now I haue payit ȝow, or remember ȝe ar payit.'

fol. 20. * Mak bane fyris. Cela vient de ce mot francoys esbanoy, qui vaut autant a dire comme esbat et esbanoyer s'esbattre, comme si nous disions faire les feux de joye. Jean le Maire en ses illustrations,[3] 'Les grans seigneurs faisoyent grand appareil pour mettre ses esbanoyes et tournois aux nopces de la princesse.'

fol. 20 *b.* Rex. 'Num ita miscenda sacra profanis ?' 'Quidem,' inquit Rex, 'miscenda, sed non comparanda.'

R. Virgile repris par le Roy, souuent fait a propos et nommeement lib. x. Æn. [591], 'At[4] pius Æneas dictis affatur amaris,'—'Quomodo pius in media cæde, imo potius furens?

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[1] See under 'Tirr' in Jamieson's *Etym. Dict. of Scottish Language*, ed. 1882, 'Metaph.—To strip one of his property,' *e.g.* the proverb, 'He caresna quha be tirr'd gin he be theikit.'

[2] A game answering to our bagatelle.

[3] See above, p. xxxviii, n. [10].

[4] Properly 'Quem ;' and so below, for 'victor' read 'ductor.'

Ut paulo post, parum sibi constans, poëta dicit [*Æn.* x. 602],

> “Talia per campos edebat funera victor
> Dardanius torrentis aquæ vel turbinis atri
> More furens?”

Deinde quî conueniunt amara dicta pio Æneæ?’ Ibidem succensit Jouis inconstantiæ, qui modo ab his modo ab illis partibus stat, dum modo Æneæ Veneris precibus inductus, modo Junonis suasu Turno fauet. ‘Uxorie,’ inquit, ‘Jupiter!’

fol. 21 b. * *ἀφ’ οὗ*, all fou. *ἀφίημι*, all fie of me.

R. * He had made sum litle faltes. I refusit to lett him reid the chapter, psal. 119, ‘Comment pourront ieunes gens s’amender?’

DOCUMENTS
ILLUSTRATING CATHOLIC POLICY
IN THE REIGN OF JAMES VI

I

SUMMARY OF MEMORIALS PRESENTED TO THE KING OF SPAIN, by JOHN OGILVY of Poury and Dr. JOHN CECIL. 1596

II

APOLOGY AND DEFENCE OF THE KING OF SCOTLAND, by Father WILLIAM CREIGHTON, S.J. 1598

Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by

THOMAS GRAVES LAW

INTRODUCTION

The following documents deal with one of the many mysterious transactions into which James vi. entered, or is said to have entered, with foreign Catholic powers in the hope of gaining their help towards securing for himself the succession to the English crown. They also incidentally illustrate the dissensions which arose among the Catholic missionaries and exiles, both Scottish and English, with regard to the policy of favouring the King's designs.

The outline of the story on the surface is briefly this.

John Ogilvy of Poury, a Scottish laird of good family, representing himself to be the agent of James, comes from Rome into Spain in 1595, to conclude certain negotiations with King Philip. He is followed or accompanied by Dr. John Cecil, an English secular priest, who had passed some time in Scotland, and was conversant with Scottish affairs. The terms of Ogilvy's proposed treaty, based upon the declaration of James's intention to reconcile himself and his kingdom to the Catholic Church, are set down in detail in the 'Summary of the Memorials' (1596), the first document here printed, together with the adverse criticisms of Dr. Cecil, who appears as representing the interests and policy of the Catholic earls, James's rebellious subjects. The 'Memorials,' shortly afterwards, came under the notice of Father William Creighton, the Jesuit missionary and political agent, then residing in Flanders. Creighton held rather a singular position among his Jesuit brethren at this time, inasmuch as he put great faith in James's supposed Catholic proclivities, and, on this ground, was a strong advocate for his succession to the throne of Elizabeth, and an opponent of the Spanish policy represented by Father Parsons, and others of his Order. He therefore resented this attack of Dr. Cecil upon King James; and wrote, or caused to be written, the curious and violent paper, 'An Apologie and Defence of the King of Scotland,' which is the second document here edited (1598). To this Cecil replied in print in the extremely rare tract, of which only one copy, preserved in the British Museum, is generally known to exist. This tract is entitled:—

> A Discoverye of the errors committed and inivryes don to his MA. off Scotlande and Nobilitye off the same realme and Iohn Cecyll Pryest and D. off diuinitye, by a malitious Mythologie titled an Apologie and cōpiled by William Criton Pryest and professed Iesuite, whose habit and behauioure whose cote and cōditions, are as sutable, as Esau his hādes, and Iacob his voice.

The headlines of the first part of the volume run, 'A detection of Criton's Falshoodes,' and of the second part, 'A Correction of Criton's Follyes.' The Preface is dated 'from the monastery of Montmartre, this holy festivity of St. Lawrence [Aug. 10], 1599. Your unjustly accused and unworthily abused brother and servant in our Lord, John Cecyll, Priest.'

It will be seen from the 'Memorials' that Dr. Cecil threw doubt upon the integrity of Ogilvy and the genuineness of his credentials; and from the concluding paragraph we learn that the arrival in Spain of Stephen d'Ibarra, Philip's secretary at war in Flanders, with disclosures concerning Ogilvy's previous negotiations in those parts, led to the Scotsman's imprisonment in Barcelona upon suspicion.

So far, then, the story of Ogilvy's Spanish embassy, though it is but scantily noticed in our published histories,[1] may be gathered from these documents. But there is a great deal behind, in the career both of Ogilvy and of Cecil, which is very characteristic of the diplomacy of the time, and which deserves fuller treatment. It may be impossible to say for certain whether James gave any definite commission to Ogilvy, but the facts which may be gleaned regarding the character and conduct of this adventurer may help the reader to form a probable opinion on the point; and certain incidents in the previous career of Dr. Cecil will enable us to understand better the part he played in the exposure of his fellow-traveller, and will give us some insight into the secret service of the English government.

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[1] Tytler (vol. ix. p. 392) gives a brief paragraph to this mission of Ogilvy. Burton, in a note (vol. v. p. 286, edit. 1873), suggests with a 'perhaps' that he was the John Ogilvy, Jesuit, executed at Glasgow in 1615. But the Jesuit was a very different person.

John Ogilvy, who was known in Scotland as a Roman Catholic, and who got into trouble on that account,[1] appears—if we may trust a paper preserved among the MSS. of Lord Salisbury, and lately brought to light by the Commissioners on Historical MSS.—to have been selected by James in 1592, as the bearer of a secret despatch,[2] in which the King discusses the advantages and disadvantages of co-operating with King Philip in an invasion of England in the summer of that year.[3] Ogilvy, however, was prevented from undertaking the mission; and the despatch in question came into the hands of George Kerr, upon whom it was found, on his capture, with the 'Spanish Blanks,' December 27. We next hear of Ogilvy in June 1595, on his arrival in the Low Countries, on his way to Italy, when, in the character of an accredited agent of the King of Scotland, he had interviews not only with Stephen d'Ibarra, but with Charles Paget and Dr. Gifford, the leaders of the Scottish faction among the English exiles. He then visited Venice, Milan, and Florence, and reached Rome before

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[1] *Reg. Privy Council*, v. 172.

[2] *Hatfield MSS.*, iv. 514; reprinted in *Scottish Review*, art. 'The Spanish Blanks,' July 1893.

[3] Ogilvy's intention of going to Spain was reported to the English Government by Bowes as early as March 7.

October. To the Pope he presented on behalf of James certain petitions,[1] in which the King humbly begs his Holiness to give credit to Dr. Lewis, Bishop of Cassano,[2] and 'to John Ogleby, the bearer of this letter.' For the Bishop the King solicits the cardinal's hat in succession to Cardinal Allen, who had recently died. He desires strict secrecy in regard to all concerned in this negotiation. For himself he asks 2000 gold crowns a month for the raising of troops to withstand the rebels in his kingdom, a sum which would require to be raised to 4000 crowns when he has made public profession of the Catholic faith, for then he will need to fight England as well as his own subjects. The King also prays for Papal confirmation of his right to the English throne, and the excommunication of all who should presume to oppose him.

The Papal Court may not have been prepared for so sudden a change of front on the part of James. Only twelve months ago he had waged war against the Catholic earls, destroyed their castles, and driven them to flight or exile. Father Tyrie, the old opponent of John Knox, was then residing at Rome as Assistant to the General for the French Province, and he plainly expressed his opinion to Cardinal Cajetan that the supposed religious views of the King were all 'invention and deceit.' In any case, Ogilvy now produced a second paper, 'Considerations to show the good disposition of the King of Scotland towards Catholics.'[3] The writer maintains that James had never persecuted, though the Queen of England had incited him to do so for the last seventeen years; that he retains Catholics in places of honour about him, and is wont to say that there is more honesty in one Catholic than in twenty heretics. The King aspires to the English throne, and sees that he can only secure it by favour of the nobility, the greater part of whom in both kingdoms are Catholics. On the other hand, he sees his Presbyterian ministers are aiming at democracy, and he therefore hates them. Although brought up among Calvinists, he does not hold all their doctrines, and he might easily be converted by an able and good man. He has shown his goodwill towards the missionaries by setting free from prison Father Morton, S.J. The Queen of England has sought by means of certain English Catholics, *e.g.* Hugh Owen, to get James excommunicated by the Pope; and she urges the King to persecute, in order the more readily to gain her purpose. Owen would not have dared to attempt this if he was not backed by Spain. Ogilvy ends by insinuating his suspicions of Dr. Cecil. This Cecil, he says, possesses middling abilities, but is not honest. He is unfit to conduct the affairs of the King of Scotland, especially for this reason, that he was sent upon the mission from Spain by Father Parsons; and Father Parsons is an enemy of James, as is evident from his book on the Succession.

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[1] Petitiones quædam Ser^{mi} Regis Scotorum quas a Sanct^{mo} Patre Clemente Papa perimpleri exoptat.—*State Papers*, *Scot.* lviii. 83.

[2] The Bishop died October 14, 1595.

[3] Considerationes nonnullæ bonum affectum Regis Scotiæ erga Catholicos comprobantes.—*State Papers*, *Scot.* lviii. 84.

But while Ogilvy was thus treating with the Pope, in a sense unfavourable to the Spanish policy, he was negotiating on somewhat different lines with the Duke of Sesa, Philip's ambassador at Rome, visiting him by night for the sake of secrecy. There were flitting about Rome at the same time, under Spanish names, two other Scotsmen, agents of the Catholic earls, Sir Walter Lindsay as Don Balthazar, and apparently Hugh Barclay of Ladyland as Don Ugo.[1] The Duke of Sesa was bewildered by the conflicting accounts of Scottish affairs which were brought to him. He found too that Ogilvy kept back from him matters which he had divulged to Cecil, and that, on the other hand, he did not let Cecil know what passed in his secret conferences with the Duke. Cecil was apparently more open, and was accordingly more trusted by the ambassador. It is not necessary to go into the details of the negotiations. Ogilvy, under much protestation, communicated the plan, which he had previously discussed with Stephen d'Ibarra, of handing over certain strong places in Scotland to Spain, and delivering the young Prince Henry into the custody of Philip as a pledge of James's good faith. When at last Ogilvy talked wildly of a project of Elizabeth to induce the King of France to get rid of his wife and to marry him to Arabella Stuart, whom she wished to succeed to the English throne; and further of the Queen's intention, if outwitted by Spain, to send to Rome and feign herself a Catholic, the Duke came to the sensible conclusion that 'this man cometh hither furnished with inventions and cunning.' He was perhaps, also, not favourably impressed by Ogilvy's urgent request to be employed in the service of the King of Spain at a salary of 100 crowns a month. Sesa therefore sent for Dr. Cecil, and they settled between them that Ogilvy should be persuaded to leave Rome (as, it was said, he had been instructed to do by James, if unsuccessful there), and to proceed to the court of Spain. Cecil was to go with him and contrive on the road to extract his secrets. The ambassador gave Ogilvy many fine words and a gold chain of great value. The Scotsman fell into the trap, and the two men, as we have seen, arrived in due time at their destination, and the result was the 'Memorials.'

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[1] Barclay of Ladyland in 1597 seized and fortified Ailsa Craig, was attacked there by Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, and put an end to his life by throwing himself into the sea.

How long Ogilvy remained in prison at Barcelona does not appear. But meanwhile the Queen of England appeared well informed of all that had gone on at Rome. She knew of Don Bathazar and Don Ugo, of 'John Ogilby otherwise Pury, entitled a baron of Scotland,' and of Cecil, 'a fugitive from England, who was last year in Scotland practising in favour of the King of Spain,' she knew the report of her supposed project to marry the French King to Arabella, in fact she knew the whole story as if she had been looking over the Duke of Sesa's shoulder as he wrote his despatches to his king.

This is, however, easily explained. An intelligencer in the employ of the English government at Rome was watching all the parties concerned. Moreover, the papers of the Spanish ambassador, conveyed in a ship which fell into the hands of the French, found their way to Paris, and finally by the friendly offices of the King of France to Scotland, and thence to England.[1] Elizabeth lost no time in directing the faithful Bowes to require an explanation from James; and James, as might be expected, denied having given any commission whatever to Ogilvy.

We now lose sight of Ogilvy for some four years. He was still a prisoner at Barcelona in August 1598, when Erskine, his brother-in-law, went to Spain to intercede for him. In December 1600 he was back in Scotland, and in the pay of Sir Robert Cecil. On the 14th of that month the Scottish patriot acknowledges the receipt of £30 from the English Secretary, and, in the February following, of another £20. But he is presently in custody and under examination in Edinburgh, and there is question whether the King will not have him hanged. However, he has many friends, and James apparently does not care to proceed to extremities. In March 1601, Ogilvy makes his escape. He exasperates the King by a letter, the contents of which have not been made public, and now in vain solicits further help from Sir Robert Cecil. In July he complains that he is compelled to buy peace from the Scottish King in order to get away to Flanders, and at the same time he writes to James stoutly denying that he had ever used his Majesty's commission to foreign princes, either in Flanders, Italy, or Spain.[2]

We must now turn to Dr. John Cecil, the ultra-Catholic partisan of the 'Memorials,' and the active, if somewhat suspected, ally of the Spanish ambassador. Cecil was possessed of more talents than Ogilvy gave him credit for. He is unfortunate in having no biographer to chronicle his exploits in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and even Mr. Gillow, in his very full *Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, has passed over in silence both the man and his book. The man came of a Worcestershire family, was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, became a Roman Catholic, and in 1584, when twenty-six years of age, joined first the seminary at Rheims, and then the English College at Rome, where he was prepared for the priesthood.[1] In 1587 he was appointed one of the household of Cardinal Allen, acted as his Latin secretary, and afterwards spent two years in Spain. He had apparently taken his degree of Doctor of Divinity at the university of Paris. From Spain he was despatched into England by Father Parsons early in 1592. In October of that year, though a great deal had happened meanwhile, we meet him in the house of Lord Seton, near Edinburgh; and one of his letters written thence to Father Parsons was found upon George Kerr on his capture with the 'Spanish Blanks.' At this time he acted as the spiritual director of Barclay of Ladyland. Ten years later (1602) he took a leading part in the quarrel between the Jesuits and the Secular clergy, and he was one of the four delegates of the appellant priests sent to Rome to prosecute their appeal against the misrule of the archpriest Blackwell and the statecraft of Father Parsons. He acquitted himself on this occasion so creditably that his brethren despatched him to Rome once more, in 1606, in company with the learned Dr. Champney, to petition the Pope for the appointment of a Catholic bishop in England. On his return he was made confessor and almoner to a princess of the royal family of France.

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[1] Bowes to Hudson.—*Bib. Birch.* Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 4120; *S. P.*, *Scot.* lix. 6.
[2] *Cal. S.P.*, *Scot.* lxvi. 110, 115; lxvii. 8, 13, 28, 30, 69, 70.

But Dr. Cecil was not immaculate. When he was at Rome in 1602 Father Parsons denounced him to the Pope as a swindler, a forger, a spy, the friend of heretics and persecutors, and the betrayer of his brethren.[1] The great Jesuit has too often spoilt the edge of his invective by coarse exaggeration. Evidence is at least wanting in support of the charges of forgery and swindling. Nevertheless, John Cecil, like some others of his cloth in those hard times, undoubtedly led a double life. One of these two lives he passed under the name of Snowden; and the writer of the 'Apologie' correctly describes him as 'Intelligencer to Treasurer Cecil;' for John Cecil *alias* Snowden is proved to have been a traitor to his brethren, and a political spy in the employment of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and his son, Sir Robert, at the very time that he was pretending to act in the interests of the Scottish Catholics and the King of Spain.

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[1] Cecil says he left England in 1582, but the *Douay Diaries* (pp. 197, 363) are against him. For his early life compare Dodd, ii. 397; Foley, *Diary of English Coll.* p. 164; and *Cal. S.P., Dom. Eliz.* cccxxviii. 160 *seq.*

A letter written by Father Parsons (Feb. 20, 1591) from Valladolid to a brother Jesuit, asking him to make arrangements for John Cecil's reception in London, and suggesting *Thomas Paine's house, haberdasher, just over against the Counter in the Poultry* as a convenient lodging, was intercepted by Burghley, who underlined the address indicated.[2] Burghley may have taken a dangerous interest in the movements of his priestly namesake. However, it was not necessary to watch the haberdasher's house; for H.M.S. *Hope* cruising in the Channel had meanwhile seized the Spanish ship which was conveying Cecil and his companion, another priest, disguised as soldiers, to Amsterdam. Cecil, who on his own confession had been, under the name of Juan de Campo, in secret communication with Sir Francis Walsingham in 1588, at once came to terms with his captors. Interesting particulars of his movements and intrigues will be found in his examinations and correspondence, during the month of May 1591, printed in the *Calendar of State Papers*.[3]

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[1] *Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Elizabeth*, by T. G. Law (p. cx.). Foley, *Records S.J.* (i. 397), inaccurately calls Cecil 'an apostate priest.'

[2] Foley, *Records*, vi. 142.

[3] *Dom. Eliz.* ccxxviii. *et seq.*, May 21-June 1; and *Scot.* xlvii. 48. Compare *Hatfield MSS.* iv. 115, 473, 478, 479.

He protested that he had always disliked the Spanish policy of his friends, had resolved to do his utmost to thwart their attempts, and volunteered (as Sir Robert Cecil wrote to his father) 'to do, both here awhile and abroad after (especially in Spain if he shall go over), some good and acceptable services as you shall think good to direct him. In the meantime he will go to such Jesuits and seminaries as be restrained or at liberty, and as a Catholic, insinuate into their purposes and advertize.' 'Snowden' gave much information as to the residences and proceedings of his former associates and leaders, but earnestly refused to betray 'catholic as catholic, or priest as priest, unless he be an evil subject.' He seemed anxious to be employed out of England, and manifested a great dread lest his correspondence with the Government should be discovered. It may have been arranged on this account that the trial of his new vocation should be first made in Scotland. In March 1593 we find him again in secret communication with Sir Francis Drake and Sir Robert Cecil, who make much of him; and in the next year he is able to boast to the Earl of Essex of his past services, and how he had discovered the principal plots of the enemy by bringing their letters to the Lord Treasurer. In this same year, 1594, he was once more in Spain with Father Parsons; and it is, no doubt, to the skill of Dr. Cecil that our Record Office is indebted for many a letter of the Jesuit there preserved.

A long letter written by this adventurous spy from Plymouth to Sir Robert Cecil (dated conjecturally in the *Calendar* 'December 30 (?) 1595') gives a curious insight into his conduct and character. He refers to his last letter, written from Milan, in which he had explained that he was disabled from serving Sir Robert until he (the writer) had recovered his credit 'with the principal agents against our estate and country.' He adds, 'when in Spain I gave such satisfaction that I was employed by the contrary party to give information of the estate of Scotland, and to see if the king [of Spain]

really 1597

would be brought to do anything to succour the nobility there and in Ireland.' To prove that his relations were not fables Cecil brought with him 'certain letters of Father Parsons' and Sir Francis Englefield's own hand.' His letters of credit are to divers of the Society of Jesus under feigned names. He hopes, 'therefore, to be able to discover time, persons, and provisions when anything is to be put in execution.' He delivered to Sir Francis Drake 'Father Parsons' open letters, as also those sealed letters as are in my favour, and whereby I hope to be as in good estate as ever to serve, having been used as an instrument in the Court of Spain for the surprising of Guernsey and Jersey. . . . As to Scottish affairs I will give notice when any attempt draws near to execution and write to Sir Francis[1] and Mr. Edgecombe to be very secret, lest I be hindered from doing the service desired. When last in Spain words were laid to my charge, spoken of me by you at your own table, to a kinsman and confident friend, which had like to have cost me my life. All is now settled, and I am again ready to serve you, *always reserving my own conscience; not a leaf shall wag in Scotland but you shall know.* . . . I will come up [to London] if required, but fear I should be known as employed by you. Fitzjames, an ambassador, was also sent from Scotland, coming at that time from Bordeaux to Spain, and the Scotchman not knowing the tongue, I was willing to assist him. I did not refuse, being desirous to be admitted to secrets of such quality as might be to your service. If allowed to pursue my voyage, I will either give such relations of Scottish affairs as may utterly discourage them, or, if they attempt anything I will advertize it long before any execution.'[2]

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[1] Sir Francis Drake died November 1595.

[2] Dr. Cecil felt keenly being publicly stigmatised by Creighton as an 'Intelligencer' to the English government, and declared it was done to ruin him, especially as he was then passing into Scotland, where the charge might be his death. In the *Discovery* he touches briefly on the circumstances of his capture, and insinuates that he was connected by family with Lord Burghley. 'Another

It would be interesting to further unravel the web of this man's diplomatic entanglements, and to learn how he obtained his high reputation with the secular clergy, and his final appointment of chaplain to the French princess. But enough has been said to explain his position at the Court of Spain in 1596 as a paid agent of the English Government, and acting at that moment as a spy upon John Ogilvy, who was himself, as we have seen, both spy and conspirator.

Clearly the most honest and straightforward of the three men with whom we are concerned in these documents is William Creighton, the Jesuit. He had been involved in a series of plots on behalf of Queen Mary or her son since 1582. He had experience of two years' imprisonment in the Tower of London, and during a subsequent residence in Spain had hatched the abortive conspiracy of the 'Spanish Blanks;' but he was a true Scot, and was always known as 'a forward man for his king.' He disliked Parsons' book on the Succession, and plainly told him that it had, to his knowledge, done much harm and no good. Some years later, in reference to the Balmerino and Drummond affair, with which Creighton had something to do, he warned both Parsons and the Pope that as the King of Scots now sought them and was refused, so one day they would seek him and likewise in vain.[1]

Holding such opinions and hopes as he did in 1596, Creighton would have regarded Cecil's outspoken denunciation

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verity is, that being embarked for Calais or Amsterdam or both, some six or seven years past, I was taken at sea, imprisoned, and brought before them that had *potestatem vitæ et necis*: I was examined, found free from practice, not within the compass of the laws, no mere stranger or direct foe to their families in whose hands I was: they showed me favour, they dismissed me: If, in the examinations made, they found me no enemy to their state, no advancer of violent courses and invasions, if they found me precise to the death to give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's and God what is God's, if the memory of some little favours and good offices, shewed some of theirs in Italy, did move them to compassion,—what have I committed in acceptation of so great a benefit as my life and liberty, scandalous, suspicious or prejudicious to the credit, habit, or reputation of a true Catholic priest?'

[1] Tierney edition of Dodd's *Church Hist.* iv. 153, 154.

of James with the utmost indignation. Hence the ‘Apologie,’ which was written while Ogilvy was still a prisoner awaiting his trial in Spain. The actual authorship of the tract, however, has not been beyond dispute. There are three copies of it in the Record Office; and added to them are some memoranda or notes, from which we learn that in the last copy of the ‘Apologie’ the author gives his name as Robert More. It is said too that this Robert More had declared that the matter was supplied to him by Lord Sanquhar and Father Creighton, but that he himself had, on his own responsibility, inserted the last article ‘on the K. of Spaine's intention for England.’[1] Mr. Thorpe (*Cal. S. P.*, *Scotland*, i. 800), on the strength of these memoranda, ascribes the ‘Apologie,’ without reference to any contrary opinion, to More, and in a footnote suggests that he is probably the ‘Dominus Robertus More, Regis

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[1] Another note, it will be seen, refers to ‘his last edition,’ in which the author ‘laboureth much to prove the K. of Scotl. no heretick.’ But, although ‘last edition’ is a strange and unlikely term to be used of any unprinted document, there has been discovered no evidence of the ‘Apologie’ ever having been printed. It was evidently circulated, and widely circulated, in MS. only. John Petit, the intelligencer, writes to Peter Halins, *alias* Thos. Phelippes, the decipherer, from Antwerp, Jan. 22, 1598: ‘I think you can call to remembrance that in the paper I sent unto you of Pury Ogleby's propositions to the K. of Spain, there were certain opposite arguments therewith presented also to the King by one John Cecil, a priest then in Spain, against the said Ogleby and his King; and now, good sir, is come forth *in written hand* a little pamphlet in answer to the same of Cecil's, in which he doth, me thinks, but so so, but doth threaten that the Q. of Scots' death shall be avenged.’ He writes again (April 29): ‘I sent some months past certain discourses *made by a Scotsman* in answer to certain objections delivered in Spain, against the K. of Scotland and one Pury Ogleby, by one John Cecil; but you have not acknowledged the receipt thereof, nor of another short note which was given to the Cardinal at Bruges in favour of the said King. . . . I am informed by one that had it from the party who wrote the discourse against Jho. Cecil that the same is amplified and set out in Latin and English, [they] have taken out somewhat which was against the Q. Majesty of England and do take more pains than afore to prove that the K. of Scotland is no heretic, so soon as it cometh to my hands you shall have a copy.’ In a marginal note to the first of these letters Petit had remarked that ‘some Englishman had his hand [in the pamphlet] as it appeareth by the terms.’ A month later (June 4) his information is more definite: ‘It is now known that Fa. Criton was the author and one Robt. More the writer, a student in the Scottish seminary at Louvain. This Robt. More dwelled long in England and so he writeth more southernly.’—*State Papers*, *Flanders*, vol. xxxiv.

Jacobi Doryphorus,' of whom mention is made in the dedication to the *Biblii Summula*, published in 1621, by John Shaw of Queen's College, Oxford. But Mr. Thorpe does not appear to have seen or known the title of Cecil's *Discovery*; and certainly the direct evidence of Cecil, whose business as well as interest it was to make sure of the real author, is of the greatest weight. Father Creighton may have wished to conceal his authorship or to divest himself of its responsibility, and therefore employed the pen of an Englishman.

It may be assumed, then, that Creighton was responsible for the production of the tract, and was substantially its author, if he did not write every word of it. This assumption is strongly confirmed by the contemporary references to the controversy on the part of the Jesuits. The rumour of Dr. Cecil's intended publication in refutation of Creighton reached the ears of Father Parsons, who, naturally fearing the unpleasant exposure of political differences, induced Father Warford, an old friend and fellow-student of Cecil's at Oxford, to try and dissuade him from it. In complying with Parsons' request,[1] Warford does not say to Cecil, 'You are attacking the wrong person,' but appeals to his 'good-nature to spare a virtuous and religious old man, even if he had committed some error in matters of negotiation. But put the case,' he writes '(which, for my own part, I think, will never be believed), that Father Criton hath committed in civil affairs some important and notorious error; yet is there no other means to correct him or chastise him but by public infamy? And is there none other bellman to make his cry but my old friend John Cecil?'

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[1] Warford's letter is dated Rome, September 4, 1599 (Foley iv. 579). The 'Apologie' had appeared before Jan. 22, 1598, as is evident from Petit's letter of that date. See preceding note. Mr. Thorpe in the *Calendar of S. P., Scotland* (ii. 800), places the 'Apologie,' with a query, under 1601. Cecil's *Discovery*, in reply to it, was certainly published before January 20, 1600, for an anonymous letter-writer reports under that date, 'Dr. Cecil's book offends more than he looked for, because it dishonours the King of Scots rather than discredits Crichton.'—*Cal. S. P., Scot.*, ii. 780. The preface, as we have seen, was written Aug. 10, 1599, three weeks before the date of Warford's expostulation.

Warford then imagines their old Oxford friends exclaiming, '*Vide* that Catholic priest, that seminary priest, that jolly scholar, that famous traveller, that notable wit, whom many men hoped to be another Blackwell, a second Saunders, etc., languisheth about private and politic quarrels, and can find no better butt to shoot all his arrows against but a poor old Jesuit, which neither for his age is able,[1] nor for his modesty will, nor for his profession can ever have leave to make answer.'

Dr. Cecil's own statement as to the authorship is as follows:—'It is also an undoubted verity that F. Criton is the author of the Mythology called an Apology. It is evident first by the effects, *being for this delict banished Flanders*, next by confession and assertion of a friend of his, an honourable personage of good conscience and real dealing in all his proceedings, that reporteth that after F. Criton had gratified him with a sight of that pamphlet he took pepper in the nose when the said gentleman required greater modesty and less acerbity between men of our vocation; lastly his Anagnost or secretary (*O primæ spei et egregiæ indolis adolescens!*), for the present in Paris, hath confessed to divers virtuous and grave men *the copying, translating and dispersing*[2] of the said cacology.' (*Discoverie*, fo. 11^b.) The banishment from Flanders, if not caused by the 'Apologie,' may well have been accelerated by this indiscreet manifesto. The 'delict' also may have in part consisted in an attempt to evade the rule requiring the permission of superiors before making public any such writing: if this were so, the offence would be aggravated by the unpopularity of the political views therein advocated. Moreover, it must be remembered that the General Congregation of the Society had in 1593, by a solemn decree, prohibited under pain of mortal sin any Jesuit from taking part in affairs of state, and if this 'Apologie' were brought home to Creighton he could hardly escape censure.[1] Nevertheless his banishment appears to have been contemplated before the 'Apologie' had been written. Tierney (vol. iv. p. 53) prints with a translation a letter of the Duke of Feria to the King of Spain (dated Barcelona, Jan. 3, 1597), which makes this clear; and the letter, which is full of interest, so bears upon the subject of Creighton's position that a few sentences may be here quoted: 'Your Majesty will have seen my opinion as to the removal of the dissensions prevalent among the English who, with great scandal, and to the detriment of your Majesty's service, continue to be divided and split into separate factions. The evil is increasing in a manner that will admit of no delay in the application of a remedy: and the only remedy that has ever occurred to me is to remove the principal agitators from Flanders, all of whom are supported by your Majesty's bounty. . . . The object in all this is evidently to further the interests of the Scottish King. Nay, some, irritated by the book on the Succession, have so far forgotten themselves as even to speak openly in favour of that monarch, to denounce the obnoxious work as written to support the claims of your Majesty and the infanta, and thus at once to discredit the holy purposes of your Majesty, and to promote by all possible means the cause of the Scottish King. Hence it will be well to remove the chiefs of the party, particularly Charles Paget, William Tresham, and Ralph Ligon. . . . It is a matter of no less importance that your Majesty should command the General of the Society of Jesus to avail himself of some favourable opportunity for removing Father Creighton, a member of that Society, who is not only an avowed advocate of the King of Scots, but who has also frequently spoken to me with the most passionate feeling on the subject of that monarch's affairs. As a man, in fact, of vehement temperament, religious, however, in his principles, and esteemed by many for his exemplary demeanour, his influence is capable of producing the most injurious consequences in Flanders; and his place, therefore, would be advantageously supplied by Father Gordon, a Scotsman, and uncle to the Earl of Huntly, a quiet and dispassionate person, *divested of prepossessions in favour of his own sovereign*, and agreeing with those among the English who are proceeding in the right road.'

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[1] According to the *Discovery* Creighton was at this time seventy years of age. Mr. Foley, in his *Records of the English Province, S. J.*, was not able to give the date of his death. Father Sommervogel has since discovered that he died at Lyons on July 9, 1615.—*Bibliothèque de la Comp. de Jesus.* In this new edition of De Backer's great work there is no reference (*sub voce* Creighton) to the 'Apologie,' or to its attribution to the Jesuit by Cecil. Perhaps neither De Backer nor Sommervogel knew of the existence of the *Discovery*.

[2] The words which I have printed in italics are well-nigh conclusive proof that the 'Apologie' was circulated in MS.

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[1] This Decree (the 47th of the Fifth General Congregation) regards the handling of 'things that are secular, and belong to politics and state government' as 'repugnant to the profession' of a Jesuit, and therefore 'gravely and severely forbids all of Ours to mix themselves in any way in public affairs of this kind, even though they may be invited or enticed,' etc. If Superiors should see any one to have a propensity to such dealings, the Provincial was at once to be informed, and he was to remove such persons from the place. See an article by the Rev. John Morris, S.J., in the *Dublin Review* for April 1890. It is, however, very difficult to understand how certain Jesuits, English and Scottish, reconciled in this matter their conduct with their consciences after 1593.

The 'passionate feeling' and 'vehement temperament' are sufficiently manifest in the 'Apologie,' though on the supposition that a friend held his pen it would be perhaps unfair to fasten such expressions as 'the confounded brains of your hateful head' upon Father Creighton himself. Dr. Cecil affects to be shocked at his adversary's tone. 'In answer,' he says, 'of a perverse and paltry pamphlet, or rather a childish and ridiculous declaration, divulged in Flanders some years past by F. Criton, I mind to avoid all acerbity and bitterness of speech, and to use a necessary and almost unvoluntary defence of mine honour and innocency, with as much modesty and candour as the cartloads of his contumelious speeches will permit me.' The modesty and candour, however, do not appear, nor is the 'innocency' satisfactorily established.

The 'Apologie' has been edited by a collation of all three copies in the Record Office.[1] The first is most neatly written but full of errors, at least in the proper names, such as 'Oxum, Whassa' for Drumwhassle, 'Idraslode' for Johnstoune, and 'Hotman' for Doleman. These and other clerical errors are for the most part correctly rendered in the third copy, which appears to have been that sent to England by John Petit, and said to be in the handwriting of 'a principall scribant of Liège,' who was evidently a Scot. Only a partial attempt has been made to mend the very irregular punctuation of the interminable sentences. For the sake of clearness, however, some long paragraphs have been divided; and marginal notes, not in the original, have been added.

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[1] *State Papers, Scotland*, vol. lxvii. 74, 75, 76

It has not been thought necessary to largely annotate either the 'Memorials' or the 'Apologie.' The latter indeed supplies a sufficient commentary upon the former. As, however, the *Discovery* is as rare and as inaccessible to the general reader as the 'Apologie' itself, some extracts from the printed book illustrating or controverting Creighton's statements are quoted in the footnotes. In this curious little volume there is much else which is characteristic of the times and instructive; and it is pleasant to be able to announce that Mrs. Lilias J. Graham, who has given much help in the present work, is preparing for the press a reprint of the *Discovery*.

I have to express my cordial thanks to the Rev. J. Sutherland Black, LL.D., for the care he has taken in preparing for the press the Spanish text of the 'Memorials' from the very corrupt copy in the Record Office, and also for the revision of the English translation, which had, in the first instance, been made from a contemporary French version.[1]

To the kindness of Mrs. Graham I am also indebted for the transcripts of the documents here printed, the Duke of Sesa's letters, and several other unedited papers from the Record Office and British Museum.

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[1] *State Papers, Scotland*, lix. 81. Some variations of the French text have been noticed in the footnotes to the translation.

I

SUMMA DE LOS MEMORIALES que JUAN OGLEBY, Baron Escoces, embiado por el Rey[1] de Escocia, dio a su Mag^{d} Catholica en favor de una Liga entre los dos Reyes, y lo que JUAN CECILIO, sacerdote Ingles, de parte de los Condes y otros Señores Catholicos de Escocia, exhibio en contraria en la ciudad de Toledo en los meses de Mayo y Junio 1596.

EN el mes de Mayo de este anno 1596 vino de Roma a España Juan Ogleby, Escoces, el qual decia que venia embiado por el Rey de Escocia en comision de tratar una amistad, liga y confederacion de parte del dicho Rey con su Mag^{d} Cathol. Pues decia que el Rey de Escocia queria ser catholico y confederarse con Su Santidad y con su Mag^{d} Cath. contra la Reyna de Inglat^{a}, y mostro una cierta carta de confiança y creencia del dicho Rey de Escocia, dando differentes memoriales a este efecto con la conformidad siguiente.

Las razones que mueven el Invictiss^{o} Rey de Escocia a reconciliarse con la Sede Apostolica, y a buscar la confederacion de España.

1. El deseo que ha tenido el dicho Rey de vengar la muerte de su madre contra la Reyna y herejes de Inglat^{a}, aunque hasta ahora por algunas causas lo haya dissimulado y dilatado pues la dicha muerte que (*sic*) fue dado por un verdugo publico con tal indignidad y tal desprecio que toca la honra tambien del Rey su hijo y de todos los mas Reyes Christianos que recibieron affrenta en este hecho.

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[1] 'Il Re' here, and occasionally elsewhere in MS. A few other obvious Italicisms (or Gallicisms) have been silently corrected in the text. The translation will be found on page 32.

2. El decreto Parlamentario que hicieron los Ingleses en las cortes de Inglat^a poco antes de la condenacion y muerte de su madre, quando decretaron que ninguna persona o personas pudiessen heredar al Reyno de Inglat^a que fuessen descendido de parientes condenados de conspiracion contra la Reyna, el qual decreto claramente se hizo para excluir al dicho Rey de Escocia de la sucesion de la corona de Inglat^a.

3. El engaño que la Reyna uso en el año 88 con el dicho Rey de Escocia quando venia la armada de España contra Inglat^a; porque entonces la dicha Reyna le embio a Escocia un Ambaxador, llamado Ashby, prometiendo y assegurando al dicho Rey que, luego en pasando la armada, le mandaria pregonar y publicar por sucesor de Reyno y le haria Principe de Walia, y mas, le daria el estado de su padre que tenia en Inglat^a, y otras cosas semejantes, para que se juntasse con ella contra los Españoles; pero luego en pasando el peligro se rio la Reyna del y no quiso cumplir cosa alguna, antes dixo que su Ambaxador habia escedido la comision que se le dio.

4. La sospecha que es publica por toda la Christianidad de haber procurado y efectuado la Reyna de Inglat^a la muerte de su padre del Rey, que era el Conde de Lenox, por manos de algunos inquietos parciales de la dicha Reyna en Escocia; de manera que la dicha Reyna haya dado la muerte al padre y a la madre del dicho Rey, y puesto tambien en peligro della muchas vezes al dicho Rey, por las muchas rebueltas que ha causado y procurado la dicha Reyna en el reyno de Escocia durante la menoredad del dicho Rey y despues.

5. Que la dicha Reyna ha amparado siempre a los contrarios y rebeldes del dicho Rey, y por su medio le ha hecho prender tres o quatro vezes al dicho Rey y quedar en poder y mano de los dichos subditos rebeldes con notable deshonra y peligro de la persona del dicho Rey, como ultimamente ha parecido en lo que ha favorecido y amparado la dicha Reyna al conde de Bodwell, Escoces, rebelde y enemigo del dicho Rey.

6. La dicha Reyna de Inglat^a ha favorecido y sustentado siempre a los ministros y predicatores rebueltores de Escocia, dandoles mano contra el Rey mismo, y procurando por su medio de tener mas mando en Escocia que el dicho Rey; y quando fue

el dicho Rey a Dinamarca a casarse, le aguardaron los Ingleses de camino para prenderle y levarle preso a Inglatª.

7. La dicha Reyna de Inglatª nunca ha querido dar al dicho Rey el estado de su padre que le tocava en Inglatª, ni le quiso entregar Arbella, hija de su tio, para casarla con el Duque de Lenox en Escocia, quando el dicho Rey, no teniendo hijo, pretendia hazer al dicho Duque su pariente sucesor de la corona de Escocia; en el qual tiempo la Reyna uso palabras muy asperas y de mucho desprecio contra el dicho Rey de Escocia.

8. Ultimamente la dicha Reyna ha procurado por medio de sus parciales en Escocia de tirar en su poder al hijo niño del dicho Rey, principe que es ahora de Escocia, con pretesto que estaria mas seguro en Inglatª; pero la verdad es que la Inglesa queria hazer otro tanto a este Rey, por medio deste hijo suyo, si le tuviesse entre las manos, que hizo al padre y a la madre del mismo Rey por medio suyo quando estava apoderada del: que fue quitarles el reyno y la vida; y asi no tiene el Rey de Escocia otro refugio para librarse destos peligros que procurar de unirse con la Sede Apostolica y con el Rey de España, y por esto manda el dicho Rey proponer los conciertos y partidos siguientes para la confederacion con España.

Lo que offrece el Invictissº Rey de Escocia a su Magᵈ Catholica por bien de entrambos Reyes y Reynos.

1. Lo primero: de reconciliarse y su reyno con la Sede Apostolica y dar satisfaction a su Santidad en este particular; y de concurrir a la extirpacion de todos hereyas[1] en los reynos de Escocia, Inglatª y Irlanda.

2. De hazer liga ofensiva y defensiva con el Rey de España contra todos los Principes del mundo, de qualquiera suerte que sean.

3. De hazer guerra luego contra la Reyna de Inglatª y declararse por enemigo de ella, y opponiendose (*sic*) a todas sus cosas en Escocia, Inglatª, Irlanda y otras partes.

4. Reconciliarse luego con todos los Condes y otros Señores Catholicos Escoceses que han tomado armas por la Religion

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[1] So in MS. It is not clear whether 'todas herejias' (all heresies) or 'todos herejes' (all heretics) be intended.

Catholica y estan desterrados por ella; los quales todos seran restituidos luego a sus estados bienes y honores, y el Rey se unira con ellos y se gobernara por su consejo dellos y les honrara defendera y reglara, y a todos los demas que sean Catholicos.

5. Dara el Rey amparo y socorro a todos los Catholicos Ingleses y Irlandeses que huyeran de la persecucion de la Inglesa y les dara libertad y seguridad de vivir catholicamente en todos sus estados de Escocia.

6. Retirara de los Estados de Flandes y Francia a todos los Escoceses que sirven a los herejes o contra el Rey de España, y mandara so pena de la vida que no sirven mas a ningun principe contra el dicho Rey.

7. Ayudara al dicho Rey de España con 10000 hombres de guerra contra qualquier enemigo suyo; y esto a costa del dicho Rey de España mientras que el dicho Rey de Escocia no alcança la corona de Inglat^{a}, pero en alcançandola ayudara con el mismo numero a su costa hasta que el Rey de España haya acabado las guerras de Flandes.

8. Embiara el Rey de Escocia dos Ambaxadores de gente muy principal y de los mayores de su Reyno para residir en las dos cortes de España y de Flandes, y por su medio de estos se assentaran las cosas mas en particular.

9. Mas desto, offrece el Rey de Escocia de entregar al Rey de España su hijo el Principe de Escocia para mayor seguridad de todos estos conciertos; y que este se hara luego si su Mag^{d} Catholica sera servido assentar esta liga y consentir a las cosas que se piden, que son las siguientes.

Las cosas que el Invictiss^{o} Rey de Escocia pide a su Mag^{d} Catholica para assiento de la liga y por bien de entrambos Reyes y Reynos.

1. Lo primero: que ni el Rey de España ni otra persona, por su derecho, ni por su medio favor y ayuda, pretende derecho a las coronas de Inglat^{a} Escocia o Irlanda por qualquiera via de sucesion, admission, conquista, o en otra manera de pretencion.

2. Que el Rey de España ayude llanamente y sinceramente

al Rey de Escocia para alcançar la corona de Inglat^{a} y de Escocia; y que para esto se ha de dar doze mil hombres armados y pagados mientras que durara el tiempo de la guerra contra la Reyna de Inglat^{a} y mas desto quinientos mil ducados en dinero pagados al dicho Rey de Escocia para principiar la guerra dicha.

3. Que el Rey de España de aqui adelante ha de tratar con el Rey de Escocia solo y los ministros que señalara en las cosas que perteneciesen a esta liga, y no con otros vassallos suyos, aunque sean Condes y grandes Señores y Catholicos, sin su licencia y consentimiento; pues es justo que el Rey sea preferido a todos sus vassallos.

4. Que el Rey de España mande assentar en sus reynos y estados una cierta forma de comercio y contrato por los mercadores Escoceses, como tienen en otras partes con nombre de Estable; y que tengan sus jueces, fuerzas,[1] fueros y privilegios de contratacion en provecho de entrambos Reynos.

5. Que su Mag^{d} Catholica mande embiar a Escocia un Ambaxador que seria en aquella corte y guye las cosas a gusto de su Mag^{d}.

6. Que el Colonel Semple, Escoces, se embie luego a Flandes para que el Rey de Escocia se sirve del en estas occasiones.

7. Que su Mag^{d} Catholica mande embiar a Escocia con este agente y comissario del Rey algun hombre confidente, prudente, y politico, el qual vea las cosas como estan, y hable con el Rey de Escocia y trayga resolucion en todo de la possibilitad, facilidad, dificultad que haya para cumplir todos estos conciertos y offrecimientos.

En Toledo a quinze de Junio 1596.
JUAN OGLEBY.

Lo que opponia Juan Cecilio, Sacerdote Ingles, contra los offrecimientos de Juan Ogleby ya propuestos.

Juntamente con este agente del Rey de Escocia, Ogleby, vino en su compañia desde Roma Juan Cecilio, Ingles, el qual habia vivido muchos años en Escocia, y conocia y habia tratado mucho a los Condes de Anguis, Arolli, Huntley, y otros Señores que se habian declarando en favor de la Religion Catholica, y por ellos era embiado, a España primero y despues a Roma, para contradecir a toda esta negociacion y faction del Rey de Escocia, y de algunos politicos y herejes Ingleses que le ponian al Rey en ella para assegurar por esta via la sucesion que el pretende a la corona de Inglat^a^, y para esto efecto el dicho Cecilio dio differentes memoriales a su Mag^d^ Catholica en la conformidad siguiente.

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[1] So in MS. Perhaps a doublet of the following 'fueros'?

Contra la persona de Pury Ogleby, o de Juan Ogleby, Escoces, y su negociacion.

1. Primeramente dixo que este agente, aunque la religion que tiene deve ser Catholico, todavia nunca hubo mucha confiança del entre los Catholicos de Escocia; antes ha habido siempre mucha sospecha de su trato, parte por haver estado el en Inglaterra y sido muy intimo con algunos ministros principales de la Reyna, y parte porque el padre deste Ogleby y sus deudos y amigos mas cercanos son conocidamente herejes.

2. Lo segundo: se sospecha que la carta de confiança que trae este cavallero del Rey de Escocia, o es fingida, o sacada por arte sin que el Rey haya advertido mucho en ella, y esto por medio de un cierto Thomas Heskin, casado con hermana deste cavallero, el qual Heskin priva mucho con el Rey de Escocia; y mas, este agente ha confesado que el y muchos otros Escoceses saben contrahazer el sello y firma del Rey quando es menester.

3. Lo tercero: la manera de negociar deste agente es muy variable aguda y subjeta a sospechas; porque en Flandes negocio primero con Carlos Pagetto y con el Doctor Giffordo y con otros de aquella parcialidad de Ingleses politicos que siguen el Rey de Escocia, y con su direction fue a Italia para tratar con diversos Principes en favor del Rey de Escocia, con muchas quexas contra los fautores del Rey de España, y de la otra parte al mismo tiempo trato muy en secreto y con mucho calor con Estevan d'Ibarra, secretario y ministro de su Mag^d^ en Roma, y con todo esto huyo quanto pudo de juntarse con Juan Cecilio y de venir con el a España, por saber que el entendia bien las cosas de Escocia; que es señal que no lleva muy derecha intencion en las cosas de la Religion Catholica.

4. Lo quarto: este hombre no esta bien con los Condes y otros Señores Catholicos que se han levantado por la Religion Catholica en Escocia, como bien parece en tanto que pide al Rey de Espana en nombre de su Rey que no sean oidos; [á mas de] esto no habla bien de los trabajos de los padres Escoceses de la Compañia de Jesus, que han aprovechado mucho a la Religion Catholica en aquel reyno, y mucho menos esta bien con las cosas de Cardinal Alano (que sea en gloria) y del padre Personio, y del padre Holto, y de otros qui siguen el mismo camino para la verdadera reduction de Inglat^{a}; de donde se puede colegir que esta negociacion de Juan Ogleby no tiene mucho fundamento sino para contratenir el tiempo y resolver humores (*sic*) en el mundo.

Difficultades de la parte del Rey de Escocia.

1. Tampoco parece que de la parte del Rey de Escocia, y de su persona hay alguna firme disposicion para este tratado con su Santidad, o con su Mag^{d} Cathol. Lo primero: porque en todo esto tiempo y discurso de la vida del Rey despues que llego a años de discrecion, que son ya mas que 12, ha mostrado jamas señal alguno de querer ser Catholico, no obstante todas las diligencias que se han hecho, tanto por los padres de la Compañia de entrambos naciones Inglesa y Escocesa, que son muchissimos, quanto por otras personas, prelados y principes, que han deseado y procurado su bien del dicho Rey por letras, mensageros, presentes, y otros medios, pero siempre sin fruto.

2. El ha escrito libros de su mano contra la Religion Catholica, ha hecho y publicado edictos, ha desterrado muchos, ha matado algunos, ha conspirado con la Reyna de Inglat^{a} y seguido su traca en todo, se ha dado en poder de los ministros y predicadores suyos, se ha casado con Reyna Lutherana, apenas a visto o leido libro Catholico en su vida, ni quiere conferir ni oyir hombre catholico de nuestra parte, todos sus deudos, amigos y familiares son herejes. Luego: como es possible que este hombre se haga Catholico de repente?

3. Y conforme a esto entre los motivos y razones que este hombre pone de la parte del Rey para moverse a la aliança y amistad con el Rey de España y union con la Sede Apostolica,

ninguno se hallara de Religion Catholica, sino que todos los respetos son de venganza por daños recebidos; los quales respetos todavia pueden tampoco con este Rey (como se ha visto por la experiencia de tantos años que han pasado despues de la muerte de su madre y de los demas agravios recebidos, los quales se puede pensar que se quenten mas presto para mostrar lo que un Rey habia de sentirlos) que no llegan alguna impression en el pecho del Rey de Escocia, el qual se tiene por muy lexos del sentimiento que aqui su agente quiere mostrar tener su amo. Pues se tiene por muy cierto que el no solamente consintio a la muerte de su madre, escribiendo una carta a la Inglesa que començava con estas palabras, 'Mortui non Mordent,' etc., sino solicito y procuro lo mismo por medio de su Ambaxador el Maester de Gray, catholico politico que entonces residia en Londres, como el mismo ha confesado y afirmado.

4. Mas desto, los Catholicos de Escocia le tienen no solamente por hereje muy obstinado y resuelto en sus herejias, a mas presto por hombre que no se da nada de religion alguna, sino tambien por hombre inconstante, variable, mal condicionado, que no guarda ley ni promesa ni palabra alguna, sino en quanto su provecho le mueve; y deste tienen largas experiencias y muchos exemplos, como seria que el dio los (*sic*) años atras su palabra por escrito al Conde de Anguis y a los señores de Fentry y de Ladilanda, todos tres Catholicos, de que no serian molestados por la Religion Catholica, y luego dio otras cedulas firmadas tambien de su mano para que fuessen presos y muertos, y assi les succediera si los dos no fuessen escapado fuera de los carceles, pero el tercero (que fue el señor de Fentry) se dio la muerte.

5. La misma infidelidad del Rey se nota por muchos otros exemplos, como del obispo de Dumblayna, Escoces, y del padre Guilielmo Holto, Ingles, y del Coronel Simple, Escoces, los quales andando a tratar con el en Escocia en cosas de gran servicio suyo debaxo de la seguridad de su palabra, caeron en grandes peligros porque el no les quiso mantener palabra ninguna.

6. La misma infidelidad mostro el Rey de Escocia a los dos obispos Escoceses de Glasco y de Ross, escribiendoles luego

despues de la muerte de la Reyna su madre que quediaran por sus Ambaxadores en Francia, y que les volveria sus obispados y bienes en Escocia por los servicios grandes que le habian hecho y a su madre; pero luego despues les quebro la palabra y no cumplio nada, antes les confisco todos los bienes que en Escocia tenian.

7. Muerta la Reyna su madre en Inglat^a^, el, por dissimular mas y fingir sentimiento, hizo jurar a toda su nobleza la vengança de la dicha muerte, pero nunca lo quiso executar, antes a todos los que desto entendia ser deseosos perseguio nombrada^te^ y les yva confiscando los bienes.

8. Pocos años ha que, entendiendo que los Catholicos execian [crecian ?] mucho en Escocia, les esorto por sus cartas que se juntassen en la villa de S^t^ Johnston no lexos de la corte, diciendo que con esta occasion el tambien se juntaria con ellos para hazer guerra a la Inglesa en vengança de la muerte de su madre; pero juntos que les vio, el junto en otra parte las cortes del reyno, y les acuso y condeno de traicion, confiscandoles los bienes y levantando un exercito contra ellos.

9. El Conde o Señor de Ororix, Irlandes, vino de Irlanda a Escocia tres o quatro años abaxo de la palabra y seguridad deste Rey; y luego, porque la Reyna de Inglat^a^ offrecio mas dinero para que se le entregasse, el Rey contra jus gentium le mando entregar, y le fue cortada la cabeça en Londres.

Poco tiempo ha que estava con necessidad de dineros este Rey, y que un padre de la Compañia de Jesus, llamado Jacobo Gordon, tio del conde de Huntley, fuesse a Roma a pedir a Su Santidad dineros y socorros con promesa que el se juntara con los Catholicos; y volviendo el dicho padre a Escocia con muy buenos recaudos cayo en muy grandes peligros porque el Rey le quebro la palabra y aviso a la Inglesa de los recaudos del Papa para ver si ella los queria mejorar, y assi le embiaron de Inglat^a^ 5000 angelotes y goço el Rey del dinero del vno y del otro principe, pero favorecio como siempre a los herejes y desamparo a los Catholicos. Y con esto se ve lo que se puede fiar de la palabra deste Rey; pero mucho menos se puede fiar de su valor, pues seis o siete veces ya se ha dexado prender y tener preso de sus vassallos sin remedio ninguno ni sentimiento que aya hecho dello, o de la dishonra o peligro de su persona;

de donde se saca de quan poca importancia sea la liga que se puede hazer con el para los Catholicos, y de quan poco provecho que sea Rey de tres Reynos tales como son los de Inglaterra, Escocia y Irlanda.

La verdadera causa que realmente ha movido al Rey de Escocia y a algunos politicos que le favorecen a monstrar de querer reducirse a la Religion Catholica en esta sazon, es el libro de Dolman que se escribio el año pasado sobre la sucesion de Inglat^{a}, en el qual pues se declara que el Rey de Escocia tiene muchos compañeros en la pretencion de aquella sucesion, y que todos tienen sus derechos muy probables, y despues que ningun pretensor se puede admitir por los Catholicos, qualquier derecho que tenga de sangre, sino sea conocidamente Catholico. Ha sabido el Rey de Escocia que este libro ha hecho grandes impressiones en toda suerte de gente, y asi queria asegurar ahora su partido por esta via de liga y union con Su Santidad y con su Mag^{d} Catholica. Lo qual no seria mal medio, quando de la parte del Rey y de los suyos hubiesse verdad y intencion sincera, pero, si no hay mas que palabra, se puede tambien con palabras pagarselo, y embiar un hombre a Escocia con este agente como el se lo pide, y hasta que vuelva y trayga la relacion cierta de lo que hay por alla para el cumplimiento de los offrecimientos que se han hecho, y hasta que se de plena satisfaction a Su Santidad en el negocio de la religion, puede su Mag^{d} suspender el juicio y consultar el caso como fuere servido.

Ita sentio,

JUAN CECILIO.

Comforme a esto se despacho el agente Ogleby y se le señalo en Madrid un caballero Portugues que fuesse a Escocia con el conforme a lo que el mismo habia pedido; pero despues el agente se mudo y, habiendo acceptado el dicho compañero, le dexo y planto en Madrid, y se partio sin despedirse para Valencia y Barcelona, y rehuzo una cadena de oro de 500 ducados que el secretario del Rey, Francisco Idiaques, le presento de la parte de su Mag^{d}. Y pocas dias despues llego a la corte de Madrid el secretario Estevan d'Ybarra con quien Ogleby habia tratado mucho en Flandes y, avisando despues lo que habia propuesto y tratado con su Mag^{d}, hallo que era muy differente de lo que habia tratado con el en Flandes; porque dixo Estevan d'Ybarra que Ogleby le confeso que el yva a Italia embiado por le Rey de Escocia y por algunos herejes y politicos para revolver[1] humores de algunos Principes en favor del Rey de Escocia contra el Rey de España, y que el habia conferido con Pagetto y Giffordo y otros Ingleses de aquella liga, pero que el savia que toda era parcialidad y passion y que el Rey de Escocia era hereje, y por ser este agente catholico trataria los negocios al revez de lo que los herejes y politicos pretendian; y con esto recibia promesa del dicho secretario de 1000 ducados de entretenimiento por cada mes, y con esta fue a Italia. Y entendiendo despues el dicho secretario que este hombre habia negociado lo contrario de lo que habia prometido, pidio que por su descargo se detuviesse hasta averiguar las cosas, y asi se detiene hoy dia en Barcelona, aunque con muy buen tratamiento, hasta que se sepa si el Rey de Escocia le embio o le dio tal commission o carta de creanza, y esto es todo que hasta ahora ha pasado en este negocio.

(En Madrid, 1 de Diciembre 1596.)

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[1] Or 'resolver.'

TRANSLATION

Summary of the Memorials that John Ogilvy, Scottish baron, sent by the King of Scotland, gave to his Catholic Majesty in favour of a League between the two Kings; and what John Cecill, priest, an Englishman, on the part of the Earls and other Catholic lords of Scotland, set forth to the contrary in the city of Toledo, in the months of May and June 1596.

In the month of May of the present year, 1596, there came from Rome into Spain, John Ogilvy, Scotsman, who said that he had been sent by the King of Scotland, charged to treat for an amity, league, and confederation on the part of the said King of Scotland with his Catholic Majesty.

He also said that the King of Scotland desired to become a Catholic, and to confederate himself with His Holiness and his Catholic Majesty against the Queen of England, and he shewed a certain letter of credit and confidence from the said King of Scotland, giving him divers memorials to this effect and of the following tenor.

Reasons which move the Most Invincible King of Scotland to become reconciled with the Apostolic See, and to seek the alliance of the King of Spain.

6 year of may

1. The desire of the said King of Scotland for vengeance for the death of the Queen, his mother, against the Queen and the heretics of England, although for certain causes he has dissembled and deferred acting until now since the said death, which was given by the public executioner with such indignity and contumely that it touches alike as much the honour of the King her son as that of all Christian kings who have received an affront by this deed.

motive

2. The Parliamentary decree made by the Estates of England shortly before the condemnation and death of his mother, that no person or persons might inherit the kingdom of England who should be the descendants of parents found guilty of conspiring against the queen, which decree was clearly made to exclude the said King of Scotland from the succession to the crown of England.

3. The deceit that the Queen of England used in her dealings with the said King of Scotland in the year 88, when the Spanish Armada came against England, inasmuch as the said Queen sent him an ambassador

called Ashby, promising and assuring the said King that as soon as the Armada should pass she would proclaim and publish him as her successor to the Kingdom of England, and would make him Prince of Wales, and, moreover, would give him the estate of his father which he held in England, with other things of the same nature, so that he might join with her against the Spaniards. But as soon as the peril was past the Queen laughed at him, and would not fulfil anything, but said that her ambassador had exceeded the commission that had been given to him.

4. The suspicion there is throughout Christendom that the Queen of England procured the death of the Earl of Lennox, father of the said King, by the hands of certain turbulent partisans in Scotland of the said Queen; in sort that the said Queen hath caused the death both of the father and of the mother of the said King, and also several times placed the said King himself in peril of death, by the frequent revolts in the Kingdom of Scotland that the said Queen hath caused and procured during the minority of the said King and since.

5. That the said Queen hath always sheltered the enemies and rebels of the said King, and by their means hath seized the said King three or four times, who remained in the power and under the command of the ~~said rebels~~, with notable dishonour and peril to the person of the said King, as latterly hath been made plain in the favour and protection extended by the said Queen to the Earl of Bothwell, Scotsman, rebel and enemy of the said King.

6. The Queen of England hath always favoured and sustained the turbulent ministers and preachers of Scotland, giving them a helping hand against the King himself, and by their means seeking to have greater ascendancy in Scotland than the King; and, when the King went to Denmark for his marriage, the English lay in wait for him on the road, to seize him and take him prisoner into England.

7. The Queen of England hath never given to the King the estate of his father which he had in England, and would never give him Arabella, daughter of his uncle, that he might marry her to the Duke of Lennox in Scotland. When the said King, not having a son, wished to make the said Duke, his relation, his successor to the crown of Scotland, the said Queen used very bitter and scornful words against the said King of Scotland.

8. Finally, the said Queen has sought, by means of her partisans in Scotland, to draw into her power the said King of Scotland's little son, the present prince of Scotland, under the pretext that he will be safer in England. But the truth is that the Englishwoman would like to do as ~~much to~~ the said King by means of his son, should he come into her hands, as she hath done to the father and to the mother of the same King when she seized [her], which was to deprive them of kingdom and of life. And so the King of Scotland has no other way of delivering himself from the aforesaid perils but in seeking to unite himself with the

Apostolic See and with the King of Spain, wherefor the said King sends to submit the following articles and conventions for his confederation with Spain.

What the Most Invincible King of Scotland offers to his Catholic Majesty for the mutual good of the two Kings and of the two Kingdoms.

1. First, to reconcile himself and his Kingdom with the Apostolic See, and to give satisfaction to his Holiness in this particular, and to aid in the extirpation of all heresies in the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland.

2. To make an offensive and defensive league with the King of Spain against all enemies, of whatever condition they may be.

3. To make war forthwith against the Queen of England, declare himself her enemy, and oppose her at every point in Scotland, England, Ireland, and elsewhere.

4. To reconcile himself at once with all the earls and other Catholic lords who have taken arms for religion, or have been banished for this cause. All shall at once have their estates, goods, and honours restored to them, and the King will unite himself with them, and will be guided by their counsel, and will honour, defend, and cherish them, as also all others who are Catholics.

5. The King will grant shelter and protection to all those Catholics, English and Irish, who shall have fled from the persecution of the Englishwoman, and will give them liberty and security in the exercise of their religion in all the States of Scotland.

6. He will recall from the States of Flanders and of France all Scotsmen in the service of the heretics, or against the King of Spain, and will command them, under pain of death, to serve no longer under any Prince against the said King.

7. He will assist the said King of Spain with 10,000 fighting men against whomsoever of his enemies, and that at the expense of the said King of Spain, until the said King of Scotland shall obtain the English Crown. But when he obtains it, he will assist with the same number of men at his own expense, until the said King of Spain shall have brought to an end the Flemish wars.

8. The King of Scotland will send two Ambassadors from among the principal and greatest men of his Kingdom to reside in the two Courts of Spain and Flanders, through whom matters will be arranged more in detail.

9. Over and above this, the King of Scotland offers to give into the hands of the King of Spain his son, the prince of Scotland, as greater security for all these conventions, and this shall be done at once if his Catholic Majesty agrees to settle this League, and consents to the things which are asked of him, as follows.

The things which the Most Invincible King of Scotland demands of his Catholic Majesty for the settlement of the League, and for the mutual good of both Kings and kingdoms.

1. Firstly, that neither the King of Spain nor any other person in his right, or by his instrumentality, favour, or help, shall put forward any pretensions to the crowns of England, Scotland, or Ireland, by any way whatsoever of succession, admission, conquest, or any other manner of pretension. ①

2. That the King of Spain shall assist frankly and sincerely the King of Scotland to obtain the English Crown and that of Scotland;[1] and, to effect this, that he shall supply, and pay, 12,000 armed men during the whole continuance of the war against the Queen of England, and also that he shall give five hundred thousand ducats in money, payable to the King of Scotland, with which to commence the said war. ②

3. That the King of Spain from henceforth shall only treat with the King of Scotland himself and with officers of his nomination in all affairs belonging to this league, and with none of his vassals, whether they be Earls or great Catholic lords, without his licence and consent, inasmuch as it is reasonable that preference should be given to the king before all his vassals. ③

4. That the King of Spain shall order and secure, in his estates and realms, such liberty of commerce and contract for Scottish merchants as they have in other places under the name of the Staple, and that they shall have their own judges, actions, charters, and privileges of contract for the profit of the two kingdoms.

5. That his Catholic Majesty shall cause to be sent into Scotland an ambassador to live in the capital there, and conduct affairs according to the pleasure of his Majesty.

6. That Colonel Semple, Scotsman, shall at once be sent to Flanders, so that the King of Scotland may make use of him when required.

7. That his Catholic Majesty shall order the sending into Scotland along with this agent and commissioner of the King, some confidential, prudent, and politic man, who will see how matters really stand, and speak with the King of Scotland and determine in all things as to the possibility, facility, or difficulty there may be in the accomplishment of these treaties and proposals.

At Toledo, June 15th, 1596.
John Ogilvy.

What John Cecill, Englishman, priest, alleged against the above proposals of John Ogilvy.

With this agent of the King of Scotland, Ogilvy, there came in his company from Rome, John Cecil, Englishman, who had lived many years in Scotland, and knew and had treated much with the earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntly, and with other lords who had declared themselves in favour of the Catholic religion, and had by them already been sent into Spain, and afterwards to Rome, to counteract all this negotiation and faction of the King of Scotland, and of certain English politicians and heretics whom the King put upon this negotiation to assure the succession that he claims to the crown of England by this way. And for this reason the said Cecil gave contrary memorials to his Catholic Majesty of the following tenor:

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[1] The French MS. has 'Irlande.'

Against the person of Pury Ogilvy or of John Ogilvy, Scotsman, and his negotiation.

1. Firstly, he said that, although according to his profession he ought to be a Catholic, nevertheless no one among the Scottish Catholics had ever had much faith in him. On the contrary, there had always been great suspicion of his manner of working, partly because he had been in England, where he was very intimate with some of the queen's principal officers, and partly because the said Ogilvy's father, relations, and nearest friends are notoriously heretics.

2. Secondly, there are suspicions that the letter of credit brought by this gentleman from the King of Scotland was either forged or obtained by fraud without having received the King's special attention, and that by means of a certain Thomas Erskine, married to the sister of the said gentleman, who is very intimate with the King of Scotland, and, further, the said agent hath confessed that himself and many other Scotsmen know how to counterfeit the seal and signature of the King when it is needful.[1]

Forged
all

3. Thirdly, the manner in which this agent practises is very shifty, sharp, and open to suspicion. When in Flanders he negotiated first with Charles Paget and Doctor Gifford and other members of the party of English politicians who follow the King of Scotland [without regard for their Religion],[2] and for some of them he brought letters from the King of Scotland, and so cunningly he came into Italy to treat with various princes in favour of the King of Scotland, with many complaints against the abettors of the King of Spain; and, on the other side, at the same time he treated very secretly and with much zeal with Stephen d'Ibarra, his Catholic Majesty's principal secretary in [Flanders, and in the same way with the duke of Sesa, His Majesty's ambassador in] Rome; and, moreover, he avoided as much as possible meeting with John Cecil and coming with him into Spain, because he well knew that the said Cecil understood Scotch affairs, which is a sign that he had no upright intention in the interests of the Catholic Religion.

4. Fourthly, this man is not on good terms with the Earls and other Catholic lords who have risen in arms for the Catholic Religion in

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[1] James's seal was attached to the *Petitiones* presented by Ogilvy to the Pope.

[2] The words in brackets are found in the French but not in the Spanish.

Scotland, as is plain from the fact that he asks the King of Spain in the name of his King that they should not be heard; moreover, he has no good word for the labours of the Scottish fathers of the Society of Jesus, who have much profited the Catholic Church in that Kingdom. And still less does he stand well towards the affairs of Cardinal Allen (may he be in glory) and of father Parsons and father Holt, with others who follow the same way for the true restoration of England. From this it may be gathered that this negotiation of John Ogilvy hath not much foundation except to pass the time, and to stir up the humours of the world.

Difficulties on the part of the King of Scotland.[1]

Neither does it appear that on the side of the King of Scotland for his own proper part is there any settled disposition for this treaty with his Holiness and his Catholic Majesty.

1. In the first place, during the whole life of the King, since he came to years of discretion (which was about twelve years ago), he has never shown any sign of wishing to become a Catholic, notwithstanding the diligence with which the fathers of the Society, both of the English and of the Scottish nation (and they are many) have laboured, as well as other persons, prelates, and princes, who have desired and sought the welfare of the said King by letters, messengers, presents, and other means, but always without any result.

2. He hath with his own hand written books against the Catholic Religion. He hath made and published edicts. He hath banished many persons. He hath killed some. He hath conspired with the Queen of England, and hath followed her lead in everything. He hath put himself into the power of his ministers and preachers. He hath married a Lutheran queen. He hath hardly seen or read a Catholic book in his life. He will not confer with or listen to any Catholic person on our side. All his relations, friends, and familiars are heretics. How then is it possible that this man should become a Catholic all of a sudden?

3. And conformably with this, among all the motives and reasons put forward by this person, on behalf of the king, for seeking alliance and amity with the King of Spain, and union with the Apostolic See, there will not be found any proceeding from Catholic Religion. All of them have reference only to injuries received, which considerations, however, have little weight with the King, as may be seen from the experience of the many years that have passed since the death of his mother, and the various other grievances he has suffered,—grievances which, one thinks, may very well be taken into account as indicating what are the feelings of a King;[2] but they leave no impression on the heart of the

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[1] The French has 'Espagne.'

[2] This seems to be the general meaning of the passage, but the text is somewhat obscure.

King of Scotland, who is far from sharing the feelings that his agent would try to show he possesses. Indeed, it is held for a certain fact not only that he consented to the death of his mother, writing a letter to the Englishwoman beginning with these words 'Mortui non Mordent,' but that he solicited and procured the same by means of his ambassador, the Master[1] of Gray, a Catholic politician then residing in London, as he himself has since confessed and affirmed.

4. Further, the Scottish Catholics look upon him not only as a heretic, very obstinate and determined in his heresy, or rather as a man who does not trouble himself about any religion, but also as an inconstant, fickle, and ill-conditioned person who respects neither law nor promise nor any word whatsoever, unless in so far as his own profit moves him; and of that they have had great experience and many examples, as, for instance, when years ago he gave his word in writing to the Earl of Angus and to the lords of Fintry and Ladyland, Catholics all three, that they should not be molested for their religion, and then gave other letters, equally signed by his own hand, to have them taken and put to death, and this would have happened if two had not escaped from prison; the third, however, the lord of Fintry, was actually made to die.

5. The same infidelity of the King is to be remarked in many other instances, such as that of the Bishop of Dunblane, Scotsman, and that of father William Holt, Englishman, and Colonel Sempill, Scotsman, who went to Scotland to treat with him about an affair of great importance to himself under the security of his word, but fell into great perils because he would not keep any faith with them.

6. The King shewed the same infidelity to the two bishops of Glasgow and Ross, writing to them immediately after the death of his mother that they should live in France as his ambassadors, and that he would give them back their bishoprics and possessions in Scotland for the great services they had rendered to himself and his mother. But he soon afterwards broke his word to them, and performed none of his promises, but confiscated the possessions they had in Scotland.

7. The Queen, his mother, being dead in England, he, to better dissemble and feign his sentiments, made all his nobility take an oath of vengeance for the said death, yet he never attempted to fulfil this oath, but, on the contrary, has particularly persecuted all those whom he understood to be desirous of it, and went on confiscating their possessions.

8. A few years ago, hearing that the Catholics were increasing greatly in Scotland, he exhorted them in letters that they should muster in the city of S^t Johnston [Perth], not far from the Court, saying that when they did so he would call together his forces, and that together they would make war on the Englishwoman to avenge the death of his mother. But as soon as he knew they had assembled he summoned his

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[1] The French has 'Comte.'

parliament in another part of the kingdom, accused and condemned them for treason, confiscating their possessions, and raising an army against them.

9. The Earl or Lord O'Rourke, Irishman, came from Ireland to Scotland three or four years ago under the word and safe-conduct of the King. Suddenly, because the Queen of England offered him more money if he would deliver him to her, the King, contrary to the law of nations, commanded that he should be given into her hands, and he was beheaded in London.

A short time ago, the King having need of money, a certain father of the Society of Jesus named James Gordon, uncle to the Earl of Huntly, went to Rome to request his Holiness to give money and help, with promise that he (the King) would join the Catholics. The said father returning to Scotland with good supplies fell into great danger because the King broke his word to him, and informed the Queen of these supplies from the Pope to see if she would bid higher, and so she sent him from England 5000[1] angels. Thus the said King appropriated the money of both sovereigns, but, as always, he continued to favour the heretics and left the Catholics unprotected. By this it may be seen how much the word of the King may be relied on. Still less can one rely on the valour of the said King, for he has already six or seven times let himself be seized by his own vassals without seeking any redress or showing any feeling for this dishonour and peril to his person.

From this may be judged how small is the importance any league made with him would have for the Catholics, and how little would be the gain were he to become King of three such Kingdoms as England, Ireland, and Scotland.

The true cause that has really moved the King of Scotland, and certain politicians who countenance him, to shew a desire of submitting themselves to the Catholic Religion at this time, is the book of Dolman which was written last year on the English succession. Here it is declared that the King of Scotland hath many fellow-pretenders to the same succession, and that all have very probable rights, and, further, that no claimant will be admitted by the Catholics, whatever may be his right by birth, unless he is manifestly a Catholic. The King of Scotland hath come to know that this book hath made a great impression on all sorts of people, and, therefore, he would now assure his interest by means of this league and union with his Catholic Majesty and his Holiness. This would not be a bad method, if only the King and his followers had shewn truth and sincerity of intention. But if one is to have nothing but words, one may as well pay with words, and send a man to Scotland along with this agent as desired, and until he returns and brings with him an assured report of the chance there is of the accomplishment of the offers made, and until he has given full satisfaction to his Holiness in religious affairs.

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[1] The French has '1800.'

his Majesty may well withhold his decision and deliberate on the case as seems good to him.

Ita Sentio,

JUAN CECILIO.

According to the above the agent Ogilvy was despatched, and a Portuguese gentleman was nominated in Madrid to go to Scotland with him as he himself had desired. But shortly afterwards the agent changed his mind, and after having accepted the said companion, left him in the lurch in Madrid, and went off without taking leave by Valencia and Barcelona, and refused a golden chain of 500 ducats which the Secretary of the King, Francisco Idiaquez, had designed to present him with from his Majesty. A few days afterwards there arrived at the Court of Madrid the Secretary Stephen d'Ybarra, with whom Ogilvy had largely negotiated in Flanders, who, learning what he had proposed and negotiated with his Majesty, found that it was very different from what he had negotiated with himself in Flanders, for the said Stephen d'Ybarra said that Ogilvy had told him that he went to Italy at the instance of the King of Scotland and certain heretics and politicians to move the inclinations of various Princes in favour of the King of Scotland against the King of Spain, and that he had conferred with Paget and Gifford and other Englishmen about the said league; but that he well knew that it was all passion and faction, and that the King of Scotland was a heretic, and that, being Catholic, he would manage affairs in an opposite sense to that which the heretics and politicians were aiming at. And with this the said secretary promised him a thousand ducats each month as maintenance, whereupon he had gone to Italy. The said Secretary afterwards hearing that this man had negotiated the contrary to that which he had promised, demanded for his own exoneration that he [Ogilvy] should be detained at once until this matter should be cleared up. And thus he is detained to the present hour (though with very good treatment) in Barcelona until it is known whether the King of Scotland sent him or gave him any such commission or letter of credit. And this is all that up to this hour has happened in this affair.

At Madrid, December 1st, 1596.

II.

An Apologie and Defence of the K. of Scotlande against the infamous libell[1] forged by John Cecill, English Priest, Intelligencer to Treasurer Cecill of England.

If diuine reason had dominion and absolute obedience in the myndes of all men, none should neede to answere the odious calumnies of infamous authors. But since humane opinion, the base daughter of imagination and sence, doth often exalt herself and ambitiously usurpe the authoritie of sacred reason, deceiptfully concluding falsehoode for truth, I hope I shall not offende in taking the defence (according to my small habilitie) of this noble Prince, his true vertue and honor: for vertue of herself, in whatsoeuer subiect she be, is honorable, but most honorable in the person of a Prince; for in Princes the wise men of the world haue and doe continualy celebrate the worthie prayses of vertue, in Princes, not only Christians but also

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[1] 'The supposed articles (writes Cecil in the *Discovery*) could by no art or artifice be drawn within the compass or nature of a Libel, having never before this inquisition and vindication of F. Criton's passed the hands of three or four, being not set down with mind to defame, but with meaning to have men satisfied therein . . . The supposed articles are not mine, albeit they may appear recollected under my hand at the request of the L. Pury Ogelbye.' Cecil further states that Pury Ogilvy requested Colonel Semple, F. Parsons, F. Creswell, and Sir Francis Englefield, to collect these articles 'whereof the most odious were chickens of F. Criton's own hatching' . . . that of F. Holt's and the Colonel's usage was their own: that of F. Gordon and his negotiation Ladyland's; that of the nobleman, wherein I was also somewhat galled, I deny not but to be mine; . . . these articles that concern Baron Pury Ogelbye's person and negotiation were by Holt and others.' He speaks elsewhere of these articles or memorials as a 'private discourse which never saw the sun.'

Heathen and of Idolatrous antiquitie, whose morall Vertues we honor and admire in the rolles and traditions of eternall fame. We honor the Valor of Alexander the great, we prayse the pollicie of Octauius Cæsar, we admire the deuotion of Numa Pompilius. I might alledge and produce a legion of Exemples, moderne and auncient, but the Justice of my cause in generall seemeth to admitt no contradiction, and I abound in arguments for approbation of my special dutie, bound to defend the Vertue and honor of so noble and worthie a Prince. He is wise, he is learned, he is a Mecenas, and w^th^ his royall penne hath added immortall honor vnto the Muses. I passe over his moderation, his ingenuytie, his morall vertues, w^ch^ in hopes and blossoms are flowers of fruits to come, when it shall please God to temper his humane perfection w^th^ true pietie and religion. I have aboundance of other arguments w^ch^ by reason may moue anie honorable mynds to approue my cause, and w^th^ indignation to condemne myne aduersarie: for not only is Princelie Vertue in the Spring tyme of her yeares disgraced, her tender branches blasted, her delicat blossomes quaylled w^th^ false reports, the fyre of hatred and the frost of defamation; but, O indignitie! the wisdome of the most mightie Christian Monarke is traiterously tented by the false suggestions of a malicious Sophyste. And last and most of all, the sacred and Apostolicall Senate of Rome may in some sorte perhaps be abused, and the charitie and merite diminished by the abominable relation and hearing of this infamous libell: Wherefore by Gods grace I will summarly answeare and refute the same.

Excellencies of King James.

The Memorials.

This vnreuerent rolle was written in the Spanish tongue, and presented vnto the K. of Spayne at Toledo, the xvij day of Maye 1596, and came into my hands in the moneth of Januarie 1598, being inserte in a certeyne Spanish register[1] wherein it is recorded, as the true and iuste coppie of that w^ch^ was presented vnto the K. and Councell, beginning in this manner. W^ch^ odious accusation, in respect of the persons accused, may be deuyded into two seuerall parts. The first conteyneth a discours concerning the travells and affaires of a certain Scotch gentleman, named Mr. Ogilby, whom Cecill accuseth and argueth of great disloyaltie and misdemean^{rs} in matters of State, but how iustly and injuriously I meane not at all to dispute, because the matter dependeth, and Mr. Ogilby abideth still his triall, in Spaine, but his accuser has gone.[1] The second part doth conteine certeyne infamous assertions against the K. of Scotland, whose honor and vertue by Gods assistance I will mainteyne and defend by both my penne and launce to the last end of my life.

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[1] Cecil denies any such registration, and laughs at the notion as a dream of Creighton's.

Mr. Ogilvy.

In defence.

It is easie to euynce the cause that is not contradicted, and the pursuer oftentymes preuaylleth throughe the non apparence of the defendant. So, Mr. Cecill, I hope if you have anie victorie in this cause, It must needs be of this kynd ; and surely this kind of victorie hath but small triumphe, because it inclineth somewhat to fellonie and thefte. But feare not, Mr. Cecill, I meane not to call you a theife, in plaine termes, although you go about to steale the honor of a Prince. And first of all behold Mr. Cecill his ernest cause, the dishonor of a Prince. Marke his mayne conclusion. The K. of Scotland is an impious and dishonorable Prince : he is an obstinate heretick : The fathers of both the nations cannot convert him to the Catholicke faith : Noble Princes haue entreated him : he hath ben tempted wth rich presents. Therefore there is no hope at all of his conuersion. A braue demonstration, when both the antecedent is false *secundum quid*, and the consequent hath no necessitie. For although the K. of Scotland hath ben taught and trayned up from his tendre yeares in the erro^{rs} of his owne countrie, and hath not yet had the fauor of God to taste the heauenlie founteynes of the Catholiq^{e} faith, he doth not therfore merite the odious name of an obstinate hereticke : Neither is it true that the Jesuit fathers of both the nations haue importuned his conuersion : for it is notorious to the societie in Flanders, Spaine, and Italie, what hath ben done by anie of

The King not an obstinate heretic.

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[1] 'I protest before God' (says Cecil) 'I knew not of Ogilbie's imprisonment till I came into Scotland, nor ever heard of Doleman's name or book till Pury had his dispatch in Toledo' (fol. 9).

their order, for the conversion of Scotland to the Catholiq^{e} faith. And I am assured there is not anie father that will affirme that euer he mentioned the K. of Scotland for his conuersion to the true religion, or anie waies conferred wth him in matters of diuinitie, except only father Gordon, who found him not an obstinate hereticke, for he heard his proposition courteously and answeared wisely—unless the attempt of one father be importunitie, and the modist answeare of a prince obstinacie[1]— whose faithfull diligence in that cause, when it shall please God to remoue all impediments, I hope shall proue Mr. Cecill a Monicall Sophist. Great impediments, a mightie Princesse, valyant nobles, proud Prelates, and malicious Ministers all conspired to maintayne heresie, and wthhold that noble K. from the true and Catholiq^{e} faith. And wth what necessitie do they presse him? absolute necèssities! Princelie honor, Royall dignitie, temporall lyfe! He hath bene brought vp among them, he hath engaged his honor vnto them, his crowne is in their hands, his personne is in their custodie, and all he hath dependeth on them for the present. What considerat man doth not see these absolute necessities? But are these perpetuall impediments, and is there no hope at all as Mr. Cecill concludeth of the K. of Scotland his conuersion? O Mr. Cecill is a Sophiste: they are all temporall. The Queene of England is olde: The valiant nobles of the land do dayly conuert vnto the Catholiq^{e} faith! the proud Prelats depend vpon their Princesse: the malicious Ministers must needs *dare manus*, and giue ouer the cause. Good fa. Gordon must know the K. of Scotland, as well as Mr. Cecill. Father Gordon hath not found him an obstinat heretiq^{e}. He heard him courteously and answeared him wisely, saying yee must prepare the meanes where I may be safe from myne enemies, before I yeald me self to be conuerted to the Catholiq^{e} religion, and then I will willingly heare your reason. Will anie man esteeme the attempt of one father importunitie, and the modest answeare of a Prince obstinacie? No, It was not a denyall; and I hope, ere it be long, that speedie tyme, and the faithfull diligence of the

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[1] The clause 'who found him not . . . obstinacie' is omitted in the second and third copies.

Catholiq^{e} church shall prepare the meanes required, and proue Mr. C. a false Prophete. But he was importuned by Princes, Messengers, propines: I know you wold say that Sixtus Quintus the Pope, sent the Buichop of Dumblayne into Scotland, and Mons^{r} de Méneuille, being for other affaires Ambassade^{r} for the K. of france, did motion the K. of Scotland in matters of religion. Surely, Mr. C., this maketh nothing at all for you, for these men had courteous audyence, and were very well vsed, neither were they importunate in their motions, nor the K. obstinate in his answears, but rather gaue them hope and esperance of his conuersion, in so much that Mon^{r} de Meneuille afterwards highly praysed his good disposition and moderation in reasoning. And as for propines, it is not probable that anie wise prince would vse them in such an action, for propines are proper for the intercourse of friendshipp, and not fitt to alter faith and religion. And if Princes haue propyned him for that purpose (as you doe not proue) I am assured he mistaketh their meannige, and eyther hath already, or meaneth to requyte their curtesie by honorable remuneration.

Againe, Mr. C. insisteth. The King of Scotland hath written bookes wth his oune hand against the Catholick faith, he hath bannished Catholickes, he hath executed Catholiques, he will heare no Catholiques! he will abyde no conference! all his friends and familiers are heretiques.

Truly M^{r} Cecill you are too saucie to censure the action of a common wealth at your pleasure, and much more malicious, to conceale the good, and proclayme the badd! but most iniurious to attribute the euell effects of a communitie to the Prince, as the immediat efficient cause. Knowe yee not, that as the demonstration from the effect to the cause, is the stepmother of true science, so is the Argument of that kynde infirme and fallible; and haue you not heard that actions are not to be weighed by their finall euents, but according to the intention of the actors. Either you know the causes and intentions of these actions, or you are ignorant and only gesse. Yf you know, you conceale them, because they serue nothing at all for your purpose. If you gesse, the grounds of your arguments are only coniecturall, and by consequence of no force nor probabilitie, against the honor of a Prince. But to make the matter more cleare, I will answeare to the supposed partes of his odious argumentes. That the K. of Scotland hath written bookes against the Catholiq^{e} faith, it is most false, for the Catholiques of the nation both at home and abroade, and manie other Ernest men do well knowe that he hath written no books at all of diuinitie, And that the erroneous paraphrase vpon certein numb^{rs} of the Apocalips, was written by M^{r} Patrique Galloway, one of his Court Ministers, And by the Pollycie of the most cunning of these malicious brethern, published in the Prince his name, to make those imaginations more acceptable to the people, and the supposed author odyous to the Catholique Church, w^{ch} his Ma^{tie} permytted at that time in pollicie, for such causes as are well knowne to his friends, but not to be manifested to the aduersaries for the inconuenyance M^{r} C. his assertion can importe. That he hath banished Catholiques it is most true, And I might iustly inferre the true consequence, that he is a iust and honorable Prince: for the honor of a Prince consisteth in absolute obedience of his people, and his iustice in distributing to every one his due. But this action requireth a more indifferent Arbiter then M^{r} Cecill who taketh his aduantage of the euent, and maliciously concealing the true intention pretendeth a false cause: but I will declare the treue cause of their exile.

The King has banished Catholics justly.

The Blanks.

The Catholiques of Scotland knowing the Kingis mynde and favorable indifference, for love of true religion did presume to deale wth foreyne Catholick nations, for the conuersion of their countrie to the true faith; insomuch that, as was alledged, they made bonds, subscribed blanks, instructed and sent away messengers for that weightie affaire, w^{ch} by such (I think) as Mr. C. and the diligence of the circumspect ministers being discouered, were intercepted and brought before the King and his Councell. Their blanks seene, themselves imprisoned, examined, and the whole cause made manifest; the action was debated before the K. and Councell; no lawe could be found to defend them from the apparence and show of treason; the K.'s honor required capital punishment; all men contemned the presumption and danger of their enterprise, their ennemies raged like roaring lyons for reuenge; the people importuned the execution of justice. What should the K. haue done? Should he haue taken their perts? They made him not participant of their councell. Should he have approued their alledged treason? It was against his honor. Should he haue remitted their offence? It was a dangerous preparatiue. There was the wisdom of a Prince tempted, there was his patience tryed, there was his moderation proued. Justice would have them executed, Conscience sayd they had a good cause: Honor would haue their armes torne, Ancient desert sayd they wonne them in the fyeld: Auarice would haue their goods confiscat, Liberalitie said he was a King. Thus was the action newe, the controuersies great, the parties puissant, and almost wth equal forces of reason, proudly stoode vppon their reputacion: Justice, honor and auerice; Conscience, desert and liberalitie. When the K. and his Councell had weighed this weightie cause, and found that it concerned the State of the whole countrie, Experience persuaded to proclayme and hold a parliament, in w^{ch} Justice and honor did pleade their cause, and vpon the supposed ground of treason obteyne the Victorie. And surely they could not fayle, for they had manie voluntarie assisters, the mightie Queen of England, the Malicious Ministers, manie nobles of the land, not only for religion, but also for their owne particular quarrels, the whole state of the Burrowes, the most part of the people, all which did so importune and precipitate iudgement and the finall sentence! that the authors of this action were presently forefeited, and their armes torne, one of the cheif authors executed, the Messenger escaped out of the prisons; an expedition made against the catholiques of the Northe, the K. his lieutenant, the Earle of Argyle faylled, and forced to flee wth great loss of his men. The King himself moued for the indignitie to passe against them in proper person, whome they of dutie and reuerence would not encounter but were fugitive: Their enemies moued his Ma^{tie} to raze their chief houses w^{ch} his honor persuaded him to performe, for their contempt and rebellion. Thus are the Catholiq^{e} Earles banished.[1] Argyll's defeat.

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[1] Cecil charges Creighton with making his own friends and confederates, the Catholic nobility of Scotland, who were 'martyrs in heaven and confessors upon earth,' to be 'traitors most impious to God and their country.' 'On the contrary,'

Now I would requyre the wisdome of noble Princes, and the right iudgement of all indifferent men, upon M^{r} C. his infamous argument against the K. of Scotland. But to depryue him of all probabilitie and truth, because he addeth that the K. of Scotland will abyde no conference, and that his friends and

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continues Cecil, 'they were always to their prince most faithful and affectionate, to their country most kind, and sought nothing but to shake off the yoke of the Satanical and puritanical ministers and to have free practice of the Catholic religion. In this cause and quarrel they suffered imprisonment, banishment, death, and torments; they had no mixture therein of ambition or temporal promotion, at least the most part of those noble and worthy gentlemen, that shed their blood in the field against the Earl of Argile, merely in defence of their religion as that *decus* and *delitiæ* of Scotland the Laird of Fentrie *dilectus Deo et hominibus cuius memoria in benedictione est*, that *sidus celeste*, that glorious martyr, was only accessary to the messenger, was directed to you (F. Criton) with the blanks you blush not to mention, sent for and to be filled up by you, and died merely for his religion. The like glorious end made Sir Hugh Barklye of Ladilande, of whom I may say, *Beati sunt qui et viderunt, et in amicitia tua decorati sunt* (Eccl. 48.), whom, because I knew *intus et in cute*, and had the honour to have the charge of his soul for some years, I must testify that never man had more direct and sincere intentions to advance God's glory, to maintain the king's honour and his country's liberty than he had, and in that mind and in that quarrel he died, like another S. Sebastian, by the hands and shot of the ministers cruel and blood sergeants. While I live I will never see his good name and honour eclipsed, whose constant death in so good a cause hath placed him amongst the sacred senate of glorious martyrs. What could Robert Bruce, the pope of Edinburgh, or Patrick Galloway have vomited out against God's saints and servants more opprobrious and contumelious than this assertion of yours? *O cœli obstupescite super hoc!* What dealing call you this, my friend, or how may men credit you, sleeping or waking, that sending in all haste into Scotland for some authentical testimony and apparent *Vidimus* of the nobility's good affections and dispositions to advance the Catholic religion, the blanks thus sent by you then, and urged by you now, were dispatched and concredited to a gentleman of good worship, he was taken, the matter disclosed, the blanks deciphered, the process and success of the affair printed, and F. Criton concluded for the inventor, author, and actor of all this tragedy and treason, and *hinc nostri fundi calamitas*, till this Polypragmon troubled us with his blanks and matters of estate, we lived in Scotland peaceably, administered the sacraments, and preached daily the true will and word of our Saviour Jesu and his sacred spouse, the Catholic church, *sitientibus auribus et animis*. Tell me then (good Father) with what face, countenance, or conscience, can you condemn them for traitors, for a fact not yet effected, and depending only and wholly upon your tongue, pen, and conceit? But what had Ladilande, what had the Abbot of New Abbey, what had M. Mushe, F. Maquerye, F. Murdon, M. James Seton and myself, what had Undernyghty, Newton, and almost 2500 other resolute and constant Catholics to do with these your chimeras, that you must condemn us all as traitors that had part in that action?'

familiers are heretiques, it is most certein and well knowne to the true Catholiques of the nation, for the present in fraunce, flaunders, Italie and other parts of the world, that the most part of his chief nobilitie, yea, and the greatest number of his priuie councell, who I think must be his familiers (if he haue anie) are Catholiq^{e} in deede, without whose aduice he hath done nothing in this or anie other action concerning the common wealth of his Kingdome, who wisely make a vertue of necessitie, and in pollicie will not importune and precipitat the conuersion of their countrie, wth the extreme hazard of their Prince his lyfe, honor, standing, and possibilitie; and for more obedience I could expresse their names, if it were not aduantage to the aduersarie. But I hope this will serue for an answeare, to M^{r} Cecill his base and captious assertion—M^{r} C. knowing well the infirmitie of his arguments or rather Sophisticall captions, as *a non causa pro causa*, and such like, according to Ouid his opinion in these verses,

> forsitan hæc aliquis (nam sunt quoque) parua vocabit
> Sed quæ non prosunt singula, multa iuuant.

As he might truly say, perhaps some men will call my arguments (as they are indeed) weake, and of no consequence, but those that proue not single and by themselues alone, being associate wth others, and multiplied haue great force to proue. Therefore I say doth M^{r} Cecill maliciously select and chose out from among the innumerable lyes collected and layd vp, within the confounded braynes of his hatfull head, the very storehouse of Sophistrie, certeine most impious assertions, heapping vp lye vpon lye, w^{ch} if they had anie subordination, might be well called M^{r} Cecill his infamous Categories.[1] Mr. Cecil's lies.

But say on, M^{r} C., we will emptie yo^{r} odious braynes before you proue your contumelious conclusion. Now he will matche the

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[1] Dr. Cecil complains of his adversary's 'scurrility and profanity:' 'Have not all good Catholics just cause of offense, to see a man of your place and profession to be so far to seek in your divinity, that if a priest forget his duty, you may forget his dignity; if a priest fail you may rail, and like a dirty daw defile your own nest?' He supposes that Creighton borrowed his 'round and irreverent rhetoric,' so unbecoming to the 'gravity and modesty of a Catholic priest' partly from the *Asinus Oxoniensis* and partly from 'the highlandmen and borderers of

K. of Scotland w^th^ Nero, and proue him a parrycide. He consented vnto his mothers death. He hath no feeling of iniuries. He wrote letters to the Queene of England, beginning, *Mortui non mordent*, for th' execution. He procured her death by his Amb^r^ the Master of Gray.

The King did not consent to his mother's death.

Here I must entreate all indifferent men to hold me excused, for I can no more be ceremonious; since M^r^ C. hath forgotten his dutie, I may well forget his dignitie. Surely Cecill you are impudent, and you lye w^t^hout circumlocution. The K. of Scotland neuer consented vnto his mothers death, neither shall all your Cicylian eloquence euer be able to proue it, And although it be probable that the dumb eloquence of yo^r^ english angels persuaded his Embassade^r^ the Master of Gray to go beyond his commission, and perhaps some also of his Councell, to violate their dutie and fidelitie—by whom those letters, *Mortui non mordent* (if anie such there be) must needs be by collusion traiterously forged, and deliuered as you allege—yet can no man that hath not made sale of his consience and shipwracke of his credit (as you have done) charge the K. w^th^ such vnnaturall immanitie, as the foreknoweledge of his Mothers death, much less the authorrizing of her execution; and all that anie man can surmyse or say, is, that he hath ben too slow in reuenge; but that w^ch^ is deferred is not forgotten, and Princes haue causes of delay in their actions, which are not to be published, for the inconuenience of euerie mans opinion. *Manet alta mente repositum Judicium Paridis.* Paris his Jugement remaineth deepely rooted in the hearts of Juno and Minerva. There is an opportunitie in tyme and the wise man doth alwaies abide his oportunitie. The Queene of England is but a woman, and as is reported was so displeased w^th^ that abominable action, affirming that it was a preparation to cutt of her owne head, when her councel pleaded and doth still

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which gauge I rather take you to be, M. William, than to have for your chief that noble and worthy gentleman, the L. of Sanker [Sanquair], as you would have the world believe abroad, to whom (as I am credibly informed) you are as near a kin as Paul's steeple to Charing Cross, but so well are you mortified after so many years spent in so sacred a religion, that being a bitter branch of a sour and unsavoury crab, you would by collusion be engrafted in the stock of the most pleasant pippin in the west of Scotland.'

pleade ignorance of her cosens execution, w^ch^ she would testifie by th' immediate imprisonm^t^ and contynuall disgrace of her Secretarie Davison. But tyme will trye all, and tyme will reuenge that iniustice and abhomination, and tyme (I doubt not) plainely will proue by way of deed, that the K. of Scotland is free from parricide, wyse in patience, prudent in pollicie, iust and valiant in reuenge, And I hope that M^r^ C. shall feele in his owne experience, that the same K. whom he would thus iniure (yf his authoritie were authentique) hath some feeling of iniuries. But go to, M^r^ C.; the more wrongs, the better, the matter now is past ridding, you know you may say what you please.

Did not break faith with the earls.

The King of Scotland was vnfaythfull to the Earle of Angushe, the Lords of Fentry and Ladyland, promising that they should not be molested for the religion, who notw^t^hstanding were afterwards taken, troubled and persecuted by death and bannishment—O, M.C., I did not thincke forsooth that your ingenious wytte would have comitted so ridiculous a Circle. This is a playne caption w^ch^ commonly we call in the schooles *Petitio Principij*, of no force to proue the dishonor of a young Prince, and very unpropre to tente the wisdome of an ancient K. Where is your Italian subtilitie? where is your Cicilian wisdome? where is your english experience? This argument is already answeared, The Catholiques were not persecuted for their faith, but for the causes aboue mentioned, And when you alledge the K.'s promise and assurance, that these noble men should not be molested for their religion you can proue no such promise nor assurance, neither by witnes nor hand wryting; although it be very probable that he mente, indeide, to haue graunted libertie of conscience, as was suspected and feared by th' aduersaries, because he cheifly favoured and preferred his Catholique nobles to offices of honor and iurisdiction in the Countrie, And specially he made the Earle of Anguish his lieutenant in the Northe. He preferred also diuers knowen Catholiques to offices of Estate, and as appeared, was preparing so the conuersion of his countrie, and would have performed the same by wyse pollicie, if some Catholiques themselves being impacient of tyme had not interrupted his course by precipitation of their owne cause, and offence of the lawes of the realme,

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for w^{ch} the Earle of Anguish was taken, Fentry executed, the Earles of Huntly and Errol bannished, and no other Catholique at all molested for their religion, nor disgraced anie manner of waie.

The King no persecutor.

Whereby all men may plainly see and assuredly know that the King of Scotland is no persecutor of the Catholique faith, as M. C. most maliciously alleageth, and would proue by multiplication of iniurious calumnies, saying as his malice moueth him that the King of Scotland was vnfaythfull also to the Buishopp of Dunblayne, father Holt and Coronel Semple. O vnfaithfull Cecill, the K. of Scotland was not vnfaithfull vnto those men. He received the Buischopp graciously, he entertayned him friendly, and returned him safly. For father Holt, he answeares for himself; that besides manie princelie $fauo^{r}$ w^{ch} he received, he doth hold his lyfe of the K. of Scotland; for being apprehended by the English Amb^{r} and immediatly to be sent into England to his execution, the K. most graciously tooke him out of th' $Embassade^{rs}$ hands, and comitted him in most assuried saftie to the custodie of the Cap^{ne} of his Castle of Edenborowe, and was so carefull of his lyfe, that fearing least his $Chancele^{r}$ should haue subtily caused him subscribe among other letters a warrant and charge for the Cap^{ne} to rendre him to the Amb^{r} he commanded the Cap^{ne} w^{th} his owne mouth, vpon highest payne, that he shold by no meanes redeliuer fa. Holt, but only by immediat commaundement as he had received him; And, in the meane while, that he should be well vsed, and enterteined, as he was indeed, and shortly after by the K.'s gratious fauor restored to his libertie, and did retorne safely from whence he came. And for Coronell Semple he had alwaies gratious countenance of his ma^{tie}, till he found him wauer and varrie in his reports, concerning the Spanish Armie. And in the end when one was sent from the nauie vnto the Coronell, he went vnwisely to the fyeld and spoke to him in a suspected place among the corne, where being seene be some of the aduersaries he was suspected, pursued, and taken: And not by the K.'s motion nor commandement, as M. C. would most maliciously insinuate. I could proue the K. of Scotland his gratious curtesie and speciall fauor to Cathol. not only by his princelie friendship towards fa. Holt, but also by

Shows favour to the Bishop of Dunblane,

Father Holt,

Colonel Semple,

his great humanitie to manie others of his coate, as to fa. Gordon Iesuyte, whom he graciously admitted vnto his owne presence, and safly-protected against all his enemies a long tyme. Fa. Morton, also a Iesuitte, being taken and imprisonned by the Heretiques, and accused by the malicious Ministers, was by his Ma^ties^ gratious fauor relieued, and sett free out of prison, in such sort that he commaunded to pay all his expences, and restored him to greater libertie then he had before. And lastly fa. Christi being likewise persecuted, taken and imprysonned, received the same fauor at his Ma^ties^ hands, w^ch^ doe plainely proue that the King of Scotland is no obstinat heretique, nor malicious persecutor of Catholiques.

Father Gordon,

Father Morton,

and Father Christy.

That the King of Scotland was vnconstant and faylled in his promise to the Buishopp of Glascowe and Rosse, as M.C. falsely reporteth, it is also a most malicious calumnie, and the contrarie is true, w^ch^ his Ma^ties^ fauor towards the one, and beneuolence towards the other may plainely proue; for not only did he authorise the Archbuishopp of Glascow by most ample commission vnder his greate seale, as his Am^b^ in fraunce, w^ch^ honorable office he reteyned vnto the death of the last King; but also of newe he hath honored him with the same dignitie, w^ch^ he presently enjoyeth w^th^ the King of france that now reigneth; and, as he imbrased them as his faithfull frends, so he restored them to their lands and liuings, and had a true intention that they should have enioyed the fruits and profits of the same; and so most sincerely and faithfully performed his promise vnto them, w^ch^ was that he would give them the benefitte of his subiects, as he did indeed. But the state of the country was such that neither could the archbuishopp obteyne his rents and reuenewes from the possess^rs^, in respect of his mightie aduersaries, nor the K. compell them to obey, vnlesse he would haue made a commotion of the States of his countrie, w^ch^ he neither promised to do, nor was conuenient to be done in a quyett common wealth, for the particular commoditie of one man. And for the Bishoprick of Rosse, the K. most freely gaue it to Mr. Leslie, the B. owne cosin, to his vse and commoditie: yf it shold please him to requyre the same; so the world may see howe uniustly M. C. doth accuse the K. of Scotland in these actions, only of malice, to make him odious to the Catholiq^e^

Honours the Archbishop of Glasgow,

and the Bishop of Ross.

Church, and to hinder the meanes of his conuersion, w^{ch} may evidently showe the faithfull dilligence and fatherlie charitie of this Godlie Prieste for the propagation of the true religion and aduancement of the Kingdome of God.

But M. C. seemeth to ayme also to another matter, and would not only make him hatfull to the Catholique Church, but also detestable vnto all sorts of men in the world, most maliciously, saying, He is a Parricide, and a persecutor of those that wold haue reuenged his mothers death. This is another vayne and malicious repetition, of no probabilitie, as I have proued before, and therefore worthie of no answeare, but the iteration of a flatte lye. And surely this kind of reasoning by vayne repetition is so familier to M. C., as I cannot but meruell to see a man of his learning so to abuse the art of Logique. And I feare me if he continue, I shall be forced for answeare to crye Cockoe, for now he is retourned againe to the prosecution of Cathol. and would forge a newe calumnie, by the addition of a certein couenant betweene the K. and the Cathol. Earles, whereby he would seeme to argue his Ma^{tie} of trecherie, falsely affirming that he appointed a newe conuention wth his Cathol. Earles at St. Johnstoune, to conclude warres against the Queene of England, for the revenge of the iniurious and cruell execution of his mother, and on the other partie conuened their enemies, heald a Parlement, confiscat their goods, raysed an Armie against them, etc. The true causes of this persecution are, I hope, sufficiently declared in the premisses, and touching this conuention ther was no such end proposed, as warres against the Queene of England, but the truth is indeed that the K. would gladly have knowne, by what meanes the Cathol. could haue defended him from the aduersarie if he should have ioyned wth them, and giuen them libertie of conscience, as he was willing and desirous to haue done, for He alwaies loued, and doth still loue these Cathol. Earles aboue all the nobles of his countrie, w^{ch} when the Heretiques vnderstoode, they seacretly appointed an assembly at Lythcow to preuent this conuention to be holden at S^{t} Johnstone by the K. and the Cathol. And immediately before the appointed tyme thereof they conueenhed a mightie armie to goe against the Cathol. and stay the K. from the conuention,

The King and the Catholic Earls.

w^ch^ when his Ma^tie^ and Councell saw and considered if he shold further his purpose, of necessitie there would interuene, and ensue a most dangerous commotion and Cruell warre in his countrie. Moreouer seeing the Queene of England readie to assist the aduersarie, and their present forces farre superior to the Catholiques: it was thought more expedient by those of the Councell that fauoured the good cause, the peace of the countrie, and saftie of their Princes persone, that he shold stay his conuention at S^t^ Johnstone, and in policie dissemble his secret intention, till it pleased God to graunt a better opportunitie. And these are the true causes mouing and staying this conuention; as to the accident that ensued as the parliament, the banishment of the Earles, the confiscation of their goods, they belong nothing at all vnto this matter, as M. C. most malicious wold signifie, but came to passe for the causes aboue mentioned.

Here may all men behold that the K. of Scotland is no persecuto^r^, but a most indifferent and louing Prince to all his subiects, desirous to be resolued of the truth and to knowe the true religion, that he might reforme his countrie and frame his gouernment according to the same. But such is the malice of his enemies that they continually crosse all his good intentions, and do misconstrue all his actions vnto ther owne aduantage, and most iniuriously goe about to depriue him of the fauor of his forreyne frends and robbe him of the loue and dewe obedience of his owne subiectes, both at home and abroad, indeavring by most deuelish inuentions to make him hatfull both to god and man. And to make him hatfull to man, M. C. proceadeth, saying that a certeyne Irish nobleman named O'Rorck, being oppressed in Ireland, not long agoe, sought ayde of the K. of Scotland, and vpon his worde and assurance came into his Courte, whom notw^t^hstanding he sould to the Queene of England for a some of money. This is a most pernicious calumnie, and an odious action of meere malice attributed to the K. of Scotland, as his proper deede, who did not so much as hear of this noble man his oppression, not knowing of his coming into Scotland, of his taking, of his deliuerance into England, or anie imminent danger vnto him, till he was past all recouerie amongst the English mens hands. O'Rourke.

And the very truth of this noble man his hard fortune was after this manner. It chaunced not long after there was a certeine mutuall league, made betweene England and Scotland, wherein amongst other ordinances for the people of both the countries, it was thought good and concluded, that neither should receive or mainteine, or anie waies fauor the others rebells, and that if anie should fortune to come w^t^hin the others countrey, they should be deliuered, to the end that iustice might haue her due course, and free passage throughout the whole land; w^ch^ league being vnknowne, as appeareth, to this noble man, he made no signification at all of his desires vnto the K. of Scotland, neither anie motion to know his pleasure, but vpon his own hazard, conducted by his fortune, came into Scotland, and stayed in the west countrie of purpose (as appeared) to abide his opportunitie to retourne home. The fame of whose arriuing and residence, coming to the Court, the English Amb^r^ fearing least he should addresse his supplication to his Ma^tie^ for ayde, and obteyne at least a seacrett tollerance to staie w^t^hin the countrie, most cunningly and w^th^ great diligence went about his charge, and so traueyled and transacted w^th^ the Chancelo^r^, the Lord Carmichael and others of the Court and Councell, that he vtterly preuented the noble man flying from the troubles of his own countrie. Neither is it certeine, that euer he himself, or anie in his name, did motion his Ma^tie^ for ayde as is alledged: And if he did, his suyte was misrepresented, and crossed by the cunning dealing of th' Amb^r^ and his Ma^ties^ fauor, whom they knewe alwaies was inclyned to pittie the distressed, by the English faction so suspended, that in the meane while they brought the matter about so finely that they craftly, among other letters, gaue a warrant and commission subscript to the noble man, and deliuer him into England, according to the mutuall league betweene the countries; w^ch^ they did w^th^ such expedition, that before the K. or anie others of his nobles did know, he was conueyed and gone into England, w^ch^ when his Ma^tie^ vnderstoode, although it be certeinly knowen that he was mightly moued w^th^ this deceiptfull dealing and betraying of this noble man, yet because in respect of the league, he could not by lawe punish the actors, he thought good in policie to dissemble his passion, and neuer challenge their offence; and thus this noble man was betrayed and sold into England, yf he was sold at all, and not by anie inhumanitie or auarice of the K. of Scotland, as M. C. doth most perniciously alledge. But go too, M. C., conclude your infamous Categories w^th^ some arguments of your owne experience.

The King of Scotland sent father Gordon to Rome to the Pope, promising that he would ioyne w^th^ the Catholiques, if his holiness wold ayde him w^th^ money, w^ch^ message when fa. Gordon had performed, and was returned into Scotland, he fell into great daunger, through the breach of the K. his worde and promise, who also aduertised, and motioned the Queene of England, to trye whether she would giue him more, then he had received of the Pope, and procured indeede the summe of fiftie thousand Angells and so tooke money of them both.—To this odious calumnie M. C. contemptuously addeth, So you may see what trust you may repose in the worde of this King, but much lesse of his valor, for he hath permitted himself to be taken six or seven tymes by his owne subiects w^t^hout regard of his honor, feeling of his iniuries, or feare of his own person.

Who sent Father Gordon to Rome?

Now I see, M. C., that your malice is come to the full measure, and as it hath moued you curiously to searche into the affaires of Scotland, and craftly to take aduantage of the infortunate euents of good intentions, hauing sayd all that either false informations of enemies could afford, or your owne malicious imagination forge, your malice (I say) maketh you euen to Vomitt your galle, and that w^th^ such impudencie, and so vnwisely that all those who have anie meane knoweledge of the matters pretended, maye plainely see you play the damnable hypocrite and impudently speake against your owne conscience, for you know well, and manie Catholiques knowe, that fa. Gordon was no waie sent by the K. of Scotland to the Pope w^th^ anie message at all, neither returned vnto him w^th^ anie money, yea the K. of Scotland did not so much as know of his going to Rome But to declare the truth of this matter to all men, w^ch^ M. C. doth maliciously abuse to his own purpose.

The catholiques of Scotland finding the K. of a good mynd towards them, and having brought him to this pointe, that he was contented and willing to agree w^th^ them at S^t^ Johnstoune, to see what suretie they could make him of defense against the aduersarie, if he should ioyne w^th^ them, and persuading themselues that there wold be no stay of this good purpose, vnlesse it were lacke of money. The Earle of Huntley was of opinion, that fa. Gordon should doe well to goe to Rome and entreate the Pope's ayde, for the conuersion of Scotland to the Cathol. faith, and defence of the K. whom they were persuaded wold ioyne w^th^ them, and graunt libertie of conscience, if they could make him a sufficient assurance of defence, and showe anie probable possibilitie to perform that great action w^ch^ they intended. This motion pleased; fa. Gordon w^th^ expedition went to Rome and procured money from the Pope, but in this meanetyme the malicious Ministers moued by suspicion and feare of this enterprise, made such a mutinie in the whole countrie that if the K. had not wysely made a publicke oration to the people, and persuaded them (as he might most truly) that he knewe no such matter as straungers coming to tyrañiz ouer them, or money from the Pope to make warres against them, protesting that by Gods grace he would defend them against all forreine inuasions, and assuredly performe all the duties of a louing and faithfull Prince, and so appeased them, there had happened a most vehement commotion, to the extreme danger both of his owne person and the cruell massacre of his Catho. Counsell and nobles of his Court, and the vtter destruction of all the Catholicks of the whole land.

Gordon brings 10,000 crowns to the Catholic earls.

Thus the matter went: fa. Gordon returned, he arriued into Scotland at Aberdeen, was immediatly discouered, troubled by the aduersarie, yet safly deliuered the summe of tenne thousand crownes to the Catho. Earles, w^ch^ was all he brought; w^ch^ trouble cam no waies to fa. Gordon through breache of the K. his word and promise, as M. C. most falsely affirmeth, for he had no word or promise at all of the K., but through his owne hard fortune.[1] The certeintie of fa. Gordon his returne, and the fame of the Popes money, as also the coming of a certein Spaniard from the K. of Spaine to the Catho. Earles, accompanied and conueighed by M. C. himself, at the same tyme suddenly being noysed abroad among the whole aduersaries raysed the former appeased mutinie to a most vehement and public commotion; whereby the K. and his Councell, being as it were inuironned w^th^ the multitude of aduersaries, although he fauored the Catho. indeed, yet in respect he was not participant of fa. Gordons affaires, nor of their forrein Councells, as he had before protested vnto his people: the K., I say, and his councell, because his honor was in some sort engaged by his protestation, thought it most expedient at that necessitie of tyme in wyse pollicie to yeald some what to the Vehemence of the people, and so at their importunate instance condesended as it weare, and went w^th^ them against the catholiques.

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[1] Conflicting accounts of the mission of Father Gordon were current at the time. Sir Walter Lindsay, in his contemporary account of the state of the Catholic religion in Scotland in 1594 (printed by Father Forbes-Leith in his *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 351) reports that the Pope sent Gordon to the king with offers of money, etc. Father Forbes-Leith himself believes, as Cecil apparently did, that James had first sent Gordon to the Pope for the purpose

The King's expedition against the Catholics.

And this is the persecution which M. C. vehemently vpbraideth and vrgeth against the K. of Scotland, in the whole course of his impudent and odyouse accusation, before the K. and Councell of Spayne, the originall causes whereof are specified in the premisses, and these immediately aboue mentioned, are the immediate and last causes mouing this expedition against the Cathol. Earles of the North w^ch^ I hope in all indifferent opinions and reasonable iudgements may excuse the K. of Scot. at least of the odious name of a malitious persecutor of Cathol. as M. C. malitiously would have him esteemed.

For the other parte of his odious calumnie, that the K. of Scotland did aduertise the Q. of England, that he had received money from the Pope, as it is most false, and hath no probabilitie, so is it probable that the Q. of England, by intelligence of such as M. C., had some foreknoweledge of fa. Gordon his affaires, and perhaps fearing that the Popes money had been directly for the K., preuented fa. Gordons retorne into Scotland, and sent to the K. those fiftie thousand Angells w^ch^

The Queen of England's subsidy.

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alleged. But Creighton is undoubtedly right. The king had nothing to do with it. Gordon, who had been sent *by the earls* to Rome, returned with a large sum of money for them, and landed at Aberdeen July 16, 1594. His formal receipt to the papal treasury for the money, which was intended for the raising of soldiers in aid of the insurgent earls, is printed by Bellesheim (*History*, iii. 449).

M. C. mentioneth, w^ch^ Gold he received not as a propine or a guyfte of the Q.'s liberalitie, but as the proper rents and reuenues of his owne inheritance within England, due and vsually payd vnto him from thence.

The King of Scotland's valour.

And last of all, whereas M. C. contemptuously saith that the K. of Scotland hath no Valor, but hath suffred himself to be taken six or seauen tymes, it is a most contumelyous lye. The K. of Scotland is a most valorous Prince, and hath ben alwaies victorious ouer all those that haue opposed themselues against him, w^{ch} I might proue by induction of manie examples, if tyme wold permitte, or absolute necessitie required. Neither was he taken at ani tyme, as is maliciously alleged, for such taking must needs be captyuitie, and the world knoweth that the K. of Scotland was neuer captiue, but hath ben alwaies free from his very natiuitie, and euer at his owne libertie, since he tooke the royall scepter of his countrie in his owne hand. Indeed he hath had much adoe, and manie factions haue bene suborned and fostered about him, w^{ch} have ben the authors of all these actions, w^{ch} his most malicious enemies would vse to disproue his honor, so that his court and Councell in a manner hath ben twyse and thryse changed by the presumption and confidence of some of his nobles being displeased wth the present state. As once in the Earle of Gowry his house when as his ma^{tie} was then passing his tyme, the Earle of Gowry himself, the M^{r} of Glames, the Earle of Marre and a great manie of their faction being malcontent and displeased wth his Courtiers, and officers of State, did presume greueuslie to complayne vpon them in his Ma^{ties} presence, offring to proue that they were not worthie of their places, specially because they preferred their owne particular commodities to the commonwealth of his Countrie. His Ma^{tie} answeared that he esteemed not of them notw^{t}hstanding he wold take tryall, if it were so indeed: In the meane while his courtiers that were present remoued themselues from the Court, and they that were absent staied away, so that their non appearance in defence of their owne cause made their aduersaries preuaille, and moued the K. to depriue them of their offices, and authorize others in their places. But afterwards when he saw those nobles abuse his clemencie and insulte

The Earl of Gowry.

vpon their Victorie, that they had disgraced his old courtiers, who indeed had faylled in nothing so much as in that they compeared not for defence of their owne cause, he called them vnto him again and caused arraigne the Earle of Gowry for his misdemeanor, and specially accusing him as accessarie to his father his murther, made a iurie passe vpon him, found him guiltie, and executed him in the presence of his nobles and people. The Earles of Anguish, Arrayne and Marre, The M^{r} of Glames, the Lords of Maxwell and Paslay, fauoring and attempting the defence of Gowry, he bannished forth of his countrie; not long after the Barons of Drumwhassle[1] and Maynes were executed for offence of his lawes. Thus in processe of tyme the bannished nobles being touched wth necessitie abroad, and their enemies enriched wth their reuenues at home, made suyte for their Prince his fauor againe but were so crossed by the possessors of their honors and lands, that they dispayred by aduocation to procure their pardons, and knowing themselves free from all Capitall offences, they determined once again to trye their fortunes, vpon these possibilities; his Ma^{ties} mynd was almost appeased, by th' Intercessions of their frends, prouing that their punishment past, was equall wth their offence: the K. perceiued also that their aduersaries began to waxe proude, and to presume too much vpon their present fauor, and authoritie in his Courte, so that indirectly (as it were) he gaue the bannished nobles some experance, and seemed to regard little though they had beene at home. All these occasions concurring they came into Scotland, and accompanyed wth their friends (for defence only against their implacable aduersaries) wth small difficultie were admitted to his Ma^{ties} presence, where most humbly vpon their knees, they played the Orato^{rs} so well, that the K. freely forgaue them all their offences past, and they solempnely vowed and faithfully promised all dutyfull fidelitie and obedience in tyme to come, as they haue indeed perseuered vnto this present day.

Angus, Arran, and Mar.

Earl of Bothwell.

Last of all, the Earle Bothwell, whom God hath indued wth manie rare perfections of nature, and made noble wth the K.'s owne blood, and the K. himself had aduanced to high honor and authoritie in his countrie, through presumption fell from this Prince his fauor and was bannished; who after a certein tyme, having tasted the displeasure of a King and learned some wisedome by experience, made also suyte for his Prince his fauo^r^ againe. His Ma^tie^ willing to tame him a little w^th^ some aduersitie, because he was yong and wyld, made denyal and delayed the tyme; the Earle impatient of miserie could not stay and attend his Prince his pleasure, but tooke the good fortune of the late bannished Earles for a preparatyue, and hauing secrett intercourse of frendshipp w^th^ the K.'s owne domestiques and Chief Courtiers, he presented himself before his Ma^tie^ w^th^ great deprecation, submission and humilitie; the K. although he was displeased w^th^ his boldness and importunitie, yett vpon speciall condition and promiss, that thenceforth he would moderate himself, and lyue as a faithfull, humble, and obedient subiect, did forgive him his offences and receiued him in fauor. But his hott spiritt could not long inioye the fauo^r^ of his Prince w^t^hout inflammation, and his old enemie Chancelo^r^ Meteland secretly blewe the coales of a newe discorde; and prouoked him to breake his vowe and promisse made to his Ma^tie^ wherefore shortly after he was againe bannished, and for his importunitie and rashe attempts to haue reuenged himself vpon the Chauncelo^r^ and remoued his enemies from the Court, he remayneth depryued of his Princes fauor, his proper inheritance and honors, and is forced to lyue in exile to this present day, as a due punishm^t^ for his offence. And for example to his subiects, his Ma^tie^ hath executed the Earle his owne brother, and aboue thirtie of his speciall seruants and followers w^ch^ may sufficiently testifie against M. C. that he hath Valo^r^, regard of honor, and feeling of his iniuries.

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[1] Cunningham of Drumwhassel, executed on 9 February 1585, with his son-in-law, Douglas of Mains.

And for that M. C. saieth that he hath no feare of his owne person, it is the speciall propertie of a valiant man and directly proueth against him that the K. of Scotland is Valorous indeed, for as the Philosophers affirme, there is no greater argument of Magnanimitie then in the extremitie of daungers to be voyd of feare. And if he would say that he is senceles, and doth not regard nor preuent the daungers imminent to the person of a Prince, he doth manifestlie proue the contrarie manie waies by deeds of Magnanimitie, and principally in the sence and feelings of his fathers wounds: insomuch that although he did knowe that all the principall authors and actors of that abhomination were all gone, and the most part by most miserable and shamfull death, yett his iust indignation did extende so farre, that he caused arraigne the Earle of Morton, late Regent and Gouerno^r^ of his kingdom, and at that present the most potent subiect of his whole countrie, put him to a tryall, found him only guiltie of foreknoweledge; and therefore notw^t^hstanding of great instance and deprecation prouing by manie reasons, that he was so farre from consenting to that horrible treason that he would assuredly haue reuealed the same, if it had not bene his owne present and vnauoydable death—pretending also manie good merits of the commonwealth, during his authoritie—His Ma^ties^ iust indignation I say did extend so farre, that he made cut of his Heade in presence of all his frends, kinred, and dependants, to the eternall terro^r^ of the posteritie, and to teach all men how dangerous it was to be accessorie to a kings death. Those are the actions from w^ch^ M. C. would deduce arguments of the K. of Scotlands dishono^r^, specially to disproue his Valo^r^ and persuade the K. of Spayne that he hath no regard of his honor, feeling of his iniuries, nor feare of his person, w^ch^ indeed may be iustly retorted, and as the impyous arrowes of pernicious enuye, purged from the poyson of odious malice, violently shotte backe again against his most malicious Momus, saying most truly that the K. of Scotland amongst the middest of malicious factions fostered and suborned about him by his ennemies, hath so behaued himself, and so wisely taken the opportunities of tymes, that by his owne wisdome he hath vsed such moderation in administration of merci and iustice vnto his subiects by continuall clemencie to the humble and perpetuall rigoure to the proude, that he doth truly meritt the name and honor of a wise, mercifull, iust, and Valyant Prince.

The Regent Morton.

This honest man, M. C., in the end of his discourse, to close all vp w^th^ a Placebo, doth much commend M^r^ Doleman his booke of the succession to the crowne of England,[1] saying that

Doleman's Book on the Succession.

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[1] '*A Conference about the next Succession to the Crowne of Ingland,' and divided into two Partes.* Published by R. Doleman. Imprinted at N. with license, 1594.' The author was Father Robert Parsons, who borrowed the name

it hath made such impression in the hearts of all sorts of men that the K. of Scotland thereby hath bene moued to seeke to the Pope for his conuersion; and the K. of Spayne for a league to assure his partie in tyme: but here M. C. cunningly followeth the precept of Quintilian concerning allegories, and as he hath begonne and proceaded continually w^th^ malitious lyes so he doth end, for he knoweth well that M^r^ Doleman his booke hath made an impression in the hearts of Englishmen, that the K. of Spayne doth more affect the kingdome of England then the conuersion of the people to the Catholiq. faith, as they beleeued before; and he knoweth well that M^r^ Doleman's booke hath instructed manie Englishmen in the true genealogie and lineall descent of the Kings of England, and plainely proued that the K. of Scotland is righteous and lawfull heyre to the crowne of England; and hath made all those that truly feare God to pray for his conuersion to the Catholique faith. And this is the principall effect indeed of M^r^ Doleman's booke, w^ch^ perhaps might haue serued somewhat for the K. of Spayne, if it had not ben born afor the tyme, for if by ayde of the English Catholiques he had once gotten possession of England, he might thereby the more easely have sett the crowne vpon his owne heade, according to his intention, but now the true title being manifested to all men, of necessitie must moue the good to faueur and followe the lawfull heyre. But how so-euer the matter come to passe, M^r^ Doleman deserueth his pension, and for M. C. we will prepare that w^ch^ is due to a malicious slaunderer of the K. of Scotland, and an impudent deceiuer of the K. of Spayne.

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of a worthy secular priest, A. Doleman. King James at first insisted that it was written by 'a politic' in England, and refused to believe Bowes's assurance that it was by 'a traiterous Jesuit.'—*S. P. Scot.* lviii. 23. Creighton wrote to Parsons (20th August, 1596) that in his opinion the publication was ill-timed. He reminded Parsons of the proverb that you do not catch a hare by the beating of drums, and declared that all the pulpits of England and Scotland were resounding with it. Parsons replied (from Madrid, 2d November) that the drum was beaten not to catch a hare but to keep off the wolf. He argued that it had already done manifest good, even in Scotland, for according to Creighton's own statement two Jesuit Fathers had recently been set at liberty and others kindly treated, whereas before the publication of the book the king had put to death the baron of Fentry, etc.—*Letters and Memorial of Cardinal Allen*, p. 384.

Memoranda following ‘Criton’s Apologie.’[1]

State Papers, Scotland. Eliz. Vol. lxvii. No. 78.

+ And the consequence[2] of no necessitie, unlesse yt be a sufficient proofe to say that (*ipse dixit*) Mr. Cecill hath sayd yt, and theref^{r} it is true. And in deede yt seemeth that he is never confident in his same authorities, for he never calleth anie reason at all to confirme his faithlesse assertions, but as a newe Pythagoras propoundeth his conclusions as if the Kinge and counsell of Spayne, and other princes and nobles, who perhaps may heare them, would all be credulous Pythagorians. But, alas! he is much deceyued, for there is no wise prince in the world that will esteeme Mr. Cecill's authoritie authentick, or his testimonie of anie truth, especially against the King of Scots; because, as the Cyuilean sayth, *non adsunt virtus, prudentia, et beneuolentia*, he wanteth[1] vertue, prudence, and beneuolence, as the whole sourse of his odious accusation doth declare. And so the Kinge of Spayne, truly Mr. Cecill, may rather find a second Sinon then a newe Pathagoras, for he appeareth to play w^th^ both hands so finely, that he may well be matched w^th^ Photius, a priest in Spayne, a courtier in England, and what he pleaseth elsewhere. And behold the presumption of the fellowe, he will nowe usurpe the proper authoritie of the churche, and pronounce princes to be hereticks at his pleasure. What Pope I pray you, Mr. Cecill, or generall counsell, directly or indirectly, hath condemned the K. of Scots, and authorised you to proclame him an obstinat heretick? Surely I would aduise you to reade over yo^r^ theologie againe, and you will perhaps find yo^r^ temerarious sentence doth not stand w^th^ the wisdome and clemencie of the Churche, w^ch^ hath always made a difference betweene error and heresie. The generall counsell of Constance sayth that *propositiones quæ fidei repugnant aliæ sunt hereticæ, aliæ erroneæ;* of propositions that repugne to the fayth some are hereticall, some erroneous. The counsell of Trent[2] declareth (*non vt quisque primum in fide peccauit hereticus dicendus est*) euerie man so sone as he hath fayled in the fayth is not to be called a heretick. S^t^ Augustin doth evidently testifie that *qui sententiam suam quamvis falsam atque peruersam nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, presertim quam non audacia præsumptionis suæ pepererunt sed a seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, querunt autem*

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[1] These Memoranda, already referred to (page 15 and note), consist of certain additions and alterations made by Creighton in later copies, or for a Latin translation, of the *Apologie*, together with some explanatory notes by John Petit and other intelligencers from Flanders. Petit wrote to Phelippes from Liége, in the letter previously quoted (June 4, 1598): ‘I have now what additions and subtractions put to or taken out of the Apologie made in defence of the King of Scotland against Cecil, a priest, which I will send you by the next, by which time I shall set them in order, so as you may know where they fall in their just places.’ Ten days later he wrote from Antwerp, ‘I have been assuredly informed that the Apology I sent you a copy of, is delivered in Latin to the Cardinal but corrected. I cannot yet get a copy of it. If it come to my claws you shall be partaker. I will use diligence to get it;’ and at last, on the 29th June, he succeeds in sending to his correspondent ‘some additions put to the Apology,’ remarking that ‘also there divers things are left out.’ The memoranda, with the exception of the last note, are from the pen of the ‘principall scribant of Liége,’ to whom, as has been said, we owe the most correct of the three copies of the *Apologie* now in the Record Office. But unfortunately Petit did not keep his promise of setting the paragraphs in order, ‘so as you may know where they fall;’ and when he forwarded the memoranda, he added to them the final note, ‘I can hardlie lay down in writing the places where these things should be put in or out.’ His difficulty in some cases will be shared by the reader. The marks prefixed to some of the sections of the memoranda have no corresponding signs in the copies of the *Apologie*. The paragraphs are, however, here printed as they stand in the copy transmitted by Petit. It may be added that the father of this John Petit was an Englishman, and his mother a Fleming of Antwerp. He had recently resided at Venice and Florence, and was in Rome in 1596, sending to England information regarding the movements there of Ogilvy and Cecil.

[2] *And the consequence*, etc. This long argument in proof that the king is not an obstinate heretic is apparently intended for insertion at p. 43, where we read, ‘A brave demonstration when both the antecedent is false *secundum quid*, and the consequent had no necessitie.’

Art. fidei *Credo S^tam^ Eccl^am^.*

Epist. 162.[3]

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[1] The MS. has erroneously 'maketh.'

[2] Not the Council, but the *Catechism* of the Council: *De Symb. fidei*, art. ix. cap. x. 2.

[3] Ep. xliii. in the Benedictine edition: Migne, ii. 159.

cauta sollicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter hereticos computandi. They do not defend their opinion with an obstinat animosity, although yt be false and perverse, specially w^{ch} they themselves have not invented by the boldness of their owne p^{r}sumption, but have receaued yt from sedicious persons and erroneous parents, so that they seke for the truth wth a circumspect solicitude, readie to be corrected so sone as they have found the same, they are not, sayth S^{t} Augustin, to be accounted among hereticks. Of all w^{ch} we have manie examples in the practise and conventuale of the churche, and specially in S^{t} Cyprian, the abbot Joachimus, and manie other auncient fathers and doct^{ors}, w^{ch} held erroneous propositions in the faith, and notwithstanding were never accounted hereticks: as namely is expressed of Joachimus in the forsayd counsell of Constance, as also S^{t} Cyprian, although he was admonished by Pope Stephen and nevertheless persevered in his opinion that those who being baptised by hereticks and come vnto the Church should be rebaptised notwithstandinge, he was not therefo^{r} an heretick; for, S^{t} Aug. excuseth him partly because he followed the counsell of Carthage, consisting of 87 bishops, partly for that he tooke away that blemish by martirdome. And it is certen that Pope Steven never esteemed nor pronounced him an heretick, but retained him in the communion and authoritie of the church; moreover this question is sayd to be already decyded and determined by the Pope of Rome touchinge the children of the Lutherans, that they be sufficiently admonished and corrected and taught to believe that w^{ch} the church believeth. But Mr. Cecill sayth that the Jesuit fathers of both the nations have sufficiently admonished and corrected and taught the King of Scots in the catholic fayth, and importuned his conversion. He sayth so in deede, but he can not prove his assertion; and yt ys nowe most true, that the Jesuit fathers, I hope, have not given him authoritie to pronounce his majestie an obstinat heretic.

Cap. Damnamus : de Suma Trinit.

Lib. 2 contra Donatist : Cap. 4 et. 7.

O—+

But his odious assertion is most false, for it is notorious, etc. And let them all be demanded there is not anie, etc.[1]

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[1] This and the preceding clause were perhaps marked for deletion. They are, however, not found in any of our three copies.

And his Ma^{tie} heard his proposition courteously and answeared wisely, w^{ch} I hope no wise man will esteeme heretical, unless the attempt of one father be importunitie, and the modist answear of a Prince obstinacie.[1]

↑ In the meanwhile[2] these subtile adversaries jelous of this good intencōn did curiously cast their eyes uppon the Catholicks within the country, and perceyuinge a certain gentleman readie to depart did apprehend him as a dealer in this cause, and brought him befo^{r} the K. and his counsell, examined him, accused him, threatened him wth most cruell torments in such sort that through feare of tortu^{r} and death they forced him to confesse that he was goinge to Spayne, and extorted a matter of treason against the catholics, w^{ch} most vehemently was urged by the aduersaries.

∴S∵ and uppon the supposed ground of treason.*

Colonel*Symple out of ye prison.

A and falsified all w^{ch} he had sayd, assuring the Counsell by his łres that he had confessed these matters w^{ch} were layd against the noble men as treason, only for feare of torm^{ts} and death, and that there was no truth at all in his sosayd confession.

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[1] This paragraph, with the exception of the clause 'which I hope no wise man will esteem heretical,' will be found on p. 44, line 6.

[2] ↑ *In the meanwhile*, etc. The source and purport of this and the following paragraph marked A are not clear. The statements contained in them are evidently not intended as the statements of Creighton, but of his adversary. Yet there is nothing of the sort in the Summary of Memorials. Possibly the statements appeared in some more complete abstract of these memorials. Creighton in the *Apologie* makes no attempt to deny the alleged facts in the affair of the 'Spanish Blanks.' He admits (pp. 46-47) that the agents in the plot were justly accused of treason. 'The whole cause was made manifest,' he writes; and he describes Graham of Fintry, the only one of the conspirators who was brought to the scaffold, as 'one of the chief authors of this action,' and admits that George Kerr, the messenger upon whom the Blanks were found, and who subsequently escaped from prison, had been 'employed upon that weighty affair.' Creighton, moreover, considered that as 'no law could be found to defend them from the appearance and show of treason, the king's honour required capital punishment.' All this runs directly counter to the tenor of these paragraphs in which the confessions of treason made by Kerr and Fintry are represented as extorted through fear of torture and death. The concluding paragraph 'and falsified all he had said,' is based upon the story told in a MS. narrative of the Battle of Glenlivet in the Advocates' Library (abridged in Dalyell's *Scottish Poems*, i. 36), that George Kerr on his escape from prison went before a judge and notary, and formally retracted his previous confession.

This infamous accusation[1] may well be defined a monstrous masse of odious calūnies, forged by malice against royall Ma^{tie} and deceitfully published wth impudencie specially to dishono^{r} the K. of Scots and deceyve the K. of Spayne.

And to colour the matter[2] the cūninge and malitious author begin̄eth wth a longe discourse concerninge the travailes and affaires of a certen Scottish gent. named Mr. Oglebie, whom he accuseth and argueth of great disloyaltie and misdemeyno^{r} in matters of State, but how justly or iniuriously I mean not to disprove, because the matter dependeth in suspense, and Mr. Ogilbye abydeth still his triall in Spaine, but his accuss^{rs} is gone.

Secondly by a kinde of craftie coherense he subioyneth certen infamous assertions against the K. of Sc. in particular, w^{ch} indede do redound generally to the dishono^{r} of all kings and princes in the world, whose royall dignitie by all lawes dyuine and humane is esteemed, and hence haue an im̄unitie from the malicious tongue of Momus, who appeareth in Mr. Cecills person to arise from hell as an infernall spirit to sow discord among kings and countries, but by Gods grace I will confuse him, and send him back againe frome whence he came.

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[1] *This infamous accusation*, etc., is apparently Creighton's own comment on the foregoing paragraph quoted by him. If it seems strange that the Jesuit should so completely abandon the defence of all concerned in the plot of which he was himself the inventor or principal promoter, it must be remembered that he was writing anonymously, or at least under cover of a borrowed name, and hoped to conceal his own share in the composition. Dr. Cecil, however (as was seen in the note at p. 48), did not fail to take advantage of this weak point in Creighton's position; and the Appellant priests, when urging the Pope, in 1602, to more effectually interdict the Jesuits from meddling with politics, took care to remind him how Father Creighton had, on his own authority, obtained the subscriptions of the Earls to the Spanish Blanks, and afterwards changing his own mind, charged these same Earls with treason against their sovereign (*Petyt MSS.*, Inner Temple, 538, vol. 54, fol. 7).

[2] *And to colour the matter.* The main part of this passage is almost verbally identical with that which stands on the top of p. 43.

An apologie and defense of the K. of Scots against the infamous libell maliciously forged by John Cecyll, English priest, and presented vnto the Kinge and counsell of Spayne at Toledo the 7 of May 1596.[1]

In the last copie of this apologie the autho^r^ putteth to his name w^ch^ is Robert Moore,[2] and therein discloseth that the mater thereof was ministrēd by the Lo. Sancot[3] and f. criton, but protesteth that the last article concerninge the K. of Spaines intencion for England was of his owne invencion, and by him put in w^t^hout their knowledge or consent.

Note that when this last apologie came foorth the sayd Robert More was gone out of this countrie into Scotland, and passed through England where he had dwelled before.

I can hardlie lay downe[4] in wryting the places where these things should be put in or outt w^t^hout the fyrst apologie. I presume ye wil of y^r^self fynd yt out. in his last editiō he laboureth much to prove the K. of Scotl. no heretick.

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[1] This is apparently the title of the amended copy. It adds the words 'maliciously,' but omits the designation of Dr. Cecil as 'Intelligencer to Treasurer Cecil.'

[2] As to Robert Moore or More, see the Introduction, p. 15, and the footnote there. It is not unlikely that More was the author of the last paragraph of the *Apologie* (and of this paragraph only) about Doleman's *Book on the Succession*. Creighton, who must have known that the book in question was really written by Father Parsons, would hardly have allowed himself the sneer, 'Mr. Doleman deserveth his pension,' or have coupled the writer in the same sentence with 'a malicious slanderer' and 'an impudent deceiver.'

[3] Robert Crichton, sixth Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, succeeded to the barony about 1570. He was hanged in Westminster (29th June 1612) for the murder of John Turner, his fencing-master. He professed the Catholic faith.

[4] This last note, differing in handwriting from the rest, is, as has been said, by John Petit.

TWENTY-FOUR LETTERS OF
SIR THOMAS HOPE, BART.
OF CRAIGHALL
LORD ADVOCATE OF SCOTLAND, 1626-1646.

1627-1646

Edited from the Original Manuscripts, with
Introduction and Notes, by the
Rev. ROBERT PAUL, F.S.A. Scot.
Dollar.

INTRODUCTION

Sir Thomas Hope, the writer of the following letters, is so well known to all students of Scottish history, and played so important a part in the stirring events of the reign of King Charles I., that it is only necessary to refer here, in a sentence or two, to the principal points in his distinguished career. His father, Henry Hope, the grandson of John de Hope, a scion of the family of Des Houblons in Picardy, who was one of the gentlemen in attendance on Magdalene de Valois, the first wife of King James V., on her arrival in Scotland in 1537, was a merchant of some position in Edinburgh. His mother was a French woman, Jaqueline de Jott (or, as some call her, Joanna Juvitot). He was one of four brothers, the youngest of whom, Henry, became a merchant in Amsterdam, and the founder of a family which subsequently rose to a position of opulence and influence there. Thomas devoted himself to the study of law, and was called to the Scottish bar in 1605, while still quite a young man. He first became prominent as an advocate, through his courageous but unsuccessful defence of the six ministers who were tried before the Privy Council at Linlithgow in 1606, for holding a meeting of the General Assembly in July 1605, at Aberdeen, in spite of the king's prohibition. Thereafter he speedily became one of the foremost pleaders of the Scottish bar, and eventually amassed a large fortune, which he invested in the purchase of extensive estates in the counties of Fife, Stirling, Berwick, and East and Mid Lothian. In 1626 Hope was appointed Lord Advocate, as colleague to Sir William Oliphant, and, on the removal of the latter from office soon after, continued to act in this capacity for twenty years; during which stormy period, it may be said, that there were no proceedings, either public or secret, in connection with the government of Scotland, in which he did not take a leading part. Having been knighted some time previously, he was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628, and in 1643 was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, being the only commoner who ever occupied that important and honourable post. He died at Edinburgh about the beginning of October 1646, and was buried in the Greyfriars' Churchyard.[1]

Sir Thomas Hope married Elizabeth, the daughter of John Bennet of Wallyford, in East Lothian, and had by her a family of fourteen children—nine sons and five daughters—most of whom died in infancy or early youth, but several of whom rose to high positions on the Scottish Bench, and were the founders of families of nobility and distinction.

With regard to his abilities and character, it may be sufficient to quote here the closing sentences of one of his most recent biographers: 'Sir Thomas Hope was not only a great statesman, but a very great lawyer. . . . Opinions will differ as to the public character of Hope. He was an avowed supporter of the Covenant; and yet he seems to have enjoyed the confidence of Charles the First. Traquair at one time, and Hamilton at another, tried to drive him out of office. They both failed. This was partly owing to the fact that the Court party was afraid to quarrel with him. But the real secret of his strength lay in the fact that he never failed to distinguish between the civil and the religious questions which were involved in the struggle between Charles and his Scottish subjects. He defended the civil rights of the Crown whenever he thought they were in danger; but he refused to support, under any pretext, the policy of forcing on the people of Scotland a system of church government which they detested.'[2]

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[1] The last of the letters now printed was written only a day or two before his death.

[2] *The Lord Advocates of Scotland*, by George W. T. Omond, Advocate, 2 vols.,

For twelve years Sir Thomas Hope kept a Diary, containing more or less minute chronological memoranda of his official as well as of his private correspondence, and incidental allusions to the passing occurrences of his time. It has been printed and issued by the Bannatyne Club, in 1843, under the editorship of the late Dr. David Laing.[1] In the prefatory note to this volume Dr. Laing remarks: 'A collection of the letters of this distinguished person would probably afford additional illustrations of his own character as well as of the momentous events of his own time. Very few of these are at present known to exist;'—a remark which has suggested the printing of the following twenty-four letters, which have been found since the issue of the Bannatyne Club volume. Nine of these (Nos. I-VIII and XVII) are among the MSS. bequeathed to the University of Edinburgh by Dr. Laing himself. The other fifteen have been preserved among the valuable family papers in the possession of Alexander Erskine Murray, Esq., Sheriff-substitute of Lanarkshire, Glasgow, a lineal descendant of Sir Thomas Hope, through his daughter, the wife of Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, to the latter of whom most of them have been addressed. The thanks of the Society are due to the Senatus of the University and to Mr. Erskine Murray, for placing them at its disposal for reproduction in the present volume.

It only remains to refer briefly here to the correspondents to whom these letters are addressed.

John Murray, afterwards Earl of Annandale, was the eighth and youngest son of Sir Charles Murray of Cockpool, in Annandale, Dumfriesshire, and Margaret his wife, the eldest daughter of Hugh, fifth Lord Somerville. At an early period of his life

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Edinburgh, 1883, vol. i. p. 146. The notice of Sir Thomas Hope in this work is probably the best and fullest sketch of him, and of the chief events of his official life, which has appeared.

[1] *A Diary of the Public Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Bart.*, 1633-1645. From the original in the library at Pinkie House. Printed at Edinburgh, MDCCCXLIII.

he was brought to the Scottish Court by the Earl of Morton, where his varied accomplishments soon brought him into notice, and he was appointed one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to King James VI., who conferred on him the honour of knighthood. In 1603 he accompanied James to London on his accession to the throne of England, and continued high in the favour of that monarch all through his reign. He was raised to the peerage as Viscount of Annand and Lord Murray of Lochmaben, but at what exact date is uncertain. It must have been previous to February 1623-24 however, for there is a charter, dated the 20th of that month, conveying to him, by this title, the palace of Dumfries and the lands of Haikheuch and Caerlaverock. In March 1624-25, he was created Earl of Annandale, and the patent conferring this title makes special reference to his long and faithful services to the king. The Earl was equally favoured by Charles I., and dying at London on the 22d September 1640, was buried on the 13th October at Hoddam, in Dumfriesshire. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Schaw, knight, by whom he had one son, James, who was served heir to his father 30th March 1641, and who succeeded also, as third Viscount of Stormont, in March 1642, on the death of Mungo, the second Viscount, in terms of the limitations of the patent of that title. On the death of the second Earl of Annandale, on the 28th December 1658, the earldom became extinct, to be revived however in 1661, as a new creation, in favour of James Johnston of Johnston, in Annandale, second Earl of Hartfell. The titles of Viscount of Stormont and Lord Scoon devolved on David, second Lord Balvaird, the ancestor of the Earls of Mansfield. The Earl of Annandale acquired a vast estate in different parts of the country. In 1609 he had a charter of the lands and baronies which had formerly belonged to the Abbey of Dundrennan. He succeeded his brother, Sir Richard Murray, Bart., in the old family estate of Cockpool in 1636; and amongst other properties, became possessed of the lands and baronies of Nether Kelwood, Granoch, Almorness, Rampatrick, Airikstane, Fangarth, Branchie, Gratney, Holywood, and Drysdale, in the county of Dumfries, and stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Castlehead of Falkland in Fife, Tyninghame in East Lothian, and the offices of the bailliary of the Abbeys of Dundrennan and Lincluden. His lordship appears to have been a personal friend as well as a client of Sir Thomas Hope, whose professional advice and assistance he frequently required in the management of his extensive possessions. Among the Laing MSS., in the library of Edinburgh University, there is preserved an original letter to him from Thomas, first Earl of Haddington (to whom he sold Tyninghame in 1627, see Letters III, V, and VI), in which the latter bears very favourable testimony to the character and conduct of Hope. It is dated 8th January 1631, and is interesting as presenting us with an estimate of these, formed by one of his own contemporaries. Referring to certain legal questions between the Earl of Annandale and another, Lord Haddington writes,—

'Your lordship may be assured that my lord advocat will giue him no advantage against you nor to any other, so far as his great sufficiencie can resist it, and that in your businesse with Sir Richard Graham he will giue that aduice which agries with the dutie of a worthie man, who respects both parties for allowable considerations. For as he will euer acknowledge what he owes you for the help he had from you and your friends to promoue him and establish him in his place, so out of the necessitie of the time that forces men to provide meanes to maintaine them against the envie and calumnies that puts all men to their defenses, he must gain the favour and protection of such as are powerfull to support. But I sall neuer beleeue that any man sall be able to moue him to breake any point of dutie to your lordship. Your lordship and I haue long trusted him according to the loue and kindness we found in him, and striue to deserue it. His employments for his Maiesties seruice, wherby he procures to himself much dislike, which might breed him vexation, if he were not assisted by friends of prime credit, compels him to get and keepe their fauour, so as he must be excused to vse the meanes. But I find him so faithfull, and ame assured that he will be so to you, and considering that he knows more of your estate in this countrie nor yourself does, and that ye are not able so long as ye leeue to find any that can learne [teach] so much, or adwyse your affaires so well, I entreat your lordship to cherish his friendship, and altho' in some particular he giue you not satisfaction to your full contentment, yet it will be supplied by many better offices nor the question for your pasturage with Sir Richard, which concernes the Kgdome as well as yow. Of this I sall speake with my lord aduocat and my brother, and let you know what I learne from them.'

Marie Stewart, Countess of Mar, was the second daughter of Esmé Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, a French noble, but of Scottish extraction, and cousin-german to Darnley, the husband of Mary Queen of Scots. Her mother was Catherine de Balsac, a daughter of Guillaume, Lord of Balsac, in the province of Angoumois. She was born at Aubigny, in the province of Berri, about the year 1573. In 1579 her father came to Scotland, and while he speedily became a great favourite with the young king, James VI., was strongly suspected of being a secret agent of the Guises, sent by them to thwart the Protestants, and to promote a plan for the deliverance of Mary from her captivity in England, to reinstate her in the sovereignty along with her son, and to regain for them the influence over Scotland which they had lost at the Reformation. How he gained a complete ascendency over James, being created by him first Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Lennox, and was intrusted, along with the Earl of Arran, with the whole administration of the kingdom; how he excited the enmity of the Protestant nobles, and was at last compelled by them to leave the country and return to France in

December 1582, is too well known to require recapitulation here. He died the following May (1583), and on hearing of his death King James resolved to extend to his children the same favour which he had shown to their father. He sent for Ludovic, his eldest son, whom he confirmed in the heirship to his father's title and estates, while Lennox's three daughters, Henrietta, Marie, and Gabriella, remained still in France with their mother till 1587, when they were sent for by James. The following year Henrietta, the eldest, became the wife of George, Earl of Huntly; and while Gabriella, the youngest, entered a French convent at Glatteny, in the province of Berri, and became a nun, Marie, the second daughter, was ultimately married to John, seventh Earl of Mar, in December 1592. Several amusing traditions have been handed down about the courtship of the latter, and of the manner in which Lord Mar enlisted the aid of his royal master in the successful prosecution of it. (See *Sketch of the Life of John Earl of Mar, son of the Regent*, by David Stewart Erskine, Earl of Buchan, in *The Bee*, an Edinburgh periodical, in 1792, vol. vii. p. 99).

Though born and brought up amongst those who, on both sides of the house, were strenuous and ruthless opponents of Protestantism—her grandfather, John Stewart, Lord d'Aubigny, and her maternal uncles, taking leading parts in the war of Huguenot extermination—Lady Mar not only embraced the Protestant faith, and succoured some of the leading ministers who suffered for it, during the earlier years of her married life, but ultimately warmly espoused the Covenanting cause, and took a prominent part in the great public transactions of the period usually called that of the 'Second Reformation.' She contributed her money and silver-plate to replenish the Covenanters' exchequer, and sent three of her sons, Alexander, Arthur, and John, to serve in the army encamped under the command of Alexander Leslie, at Duns Law in 1639. Her husband, John, the seventh Earl of Mar, died in December

1634. By his first marriage with Anne, second daughter of David, second Lord Drummond, in 1580, he had a son, John, who succeeded him in the earldom. By Lady Marie, his second countess, he had a numerous family—seven sons and four daughters—to provide for whom King James bestowed upon him, in 1604, the lordship of Cardross, a barony which was then erected by the incorporation of the lands formerly belonging to the Priory of Inchmahome, and the abbeys of Dryburgh, and Cambuskenneth. Lady Mar survived her husband for nearly ten years, dying on the 11th of May 1644, in the house of her friend and correspondent, Sir Thomas Hope, in the Cowgate, Edinburgh, who thus records the event in his *Diary*:—'11th May 1644. This day being Setter-day, betuix 11 hours and 12 befoir none, Dame Marie Steuart, Countes of Mar, deceissit in my hous in the Cowgait, and the dyet of hir Ladyship's funeralls is appointit to be on Thursday come 8 dayis, the 23 May, at Alloway.' She is said to have been a beautiful woman in her youth. An original portrait of her, painted on a wooden panel, and in excellent preservation, which is believed to have been painted about the year 1600, when she was about twenty-seven years of age, is still preserved in the valuable collection of Sheriff Erskine Murray, Glasgow. In 1815, the late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe printed a selection of *Extracts from the Household Book of Lady Marie Stewart, Countess of Mar*, a thin quarto, of which only a very limited number of copies were issued, and which is now therefore very scarce.

Sir Charles Erskine was the fourth son of John, seventh Earl of Mar, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and his second wife, Lady Marie Stewart, just mentioned. He must have been born, probably either at Alloa, or Stirling (of the castle of which his father was hereditary governor), about the very end of the 16th century. He was one of the representatives of the Barons for Stirlingshire in the Parliaments of 1641 and 1650, and for Clackmannanshire in 1649-50. He was married in the Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh, on the 5th of February 1639, to Marie, eldest surviving daughter of Sir Thomas Hope.[1] Like his mother, an ardent supporter of the cause of the Covenant, in July 1644, he was elected 'by plurality of woyces,' one of the commissioners from the kingdom of Scotland to the English Parliament,[2] and about the same time was appointed an additional commissioner to the famous Assembly of Divines at Westminster.[3] For the next three years he remained in London, except for a few months in the summer of 1645, when he paid a visit to his wife and family in Edinburgh. He was one of the commissioners sent in January 1645 to Uxbridge to discuss terms of peace between Charles I. and the English Parliament. On his return to Scotland Sir Charles became governor of the Castle of Dumbarton, a commission for putting him in possession of the fortress having been issued by the Committee of Estates in June 1646. He had previously received a commission from his cousin, James, Duke of Lennox, its hereditary keeper. After the battle of Worcester in September 1651, the Committee of Estates sent instructions to Sir Charles to deliver up the castle to Major-General Lambert, an order which, for a time, he refused to obey, till, finding that a sequestration had been entered against his estate, and his plate valued at £400 sterling, he rendered it to Lambert on the 5th of January 1652, under conditions which secured immunity to the garrison, and the free use of his property to himself.[4] After this he seems to have lived the rest of his life in comparative retirement at his house of Alva, which property he had purchased in March 1649, from Alexander Bruce, brother of Edward Bruce, first Earl of Kincardine, who, in 1662, became the second Earl, on the death of the latter.[5] He had, as a young man, received the small property of Bandeath, situated on the banks of the river Forth in Stirlingshire, from his father; and in 1639 the barony and manor of Cambuskenneth, the property formerly of his elder brother, Sir Alexander Erskine, was made over to him by his mother, the countess, to whom the latter had conveyed it in consideration of heavy debts which she had paid for him. He is said to have been her favourite son, and at her death she bequeathed to him the larger portion of her personal effects, including plate, and many very valuable pictures, which are still in the possession of his descendants. As a prominent Covenanter Sir Charles was fined £6000 Scots by Middleton's Parliament in 1662.[1] By his marriage with Marie Hope he had seven children—five sons and two daughters—most of whom died in infancy or youth, and the fourth of whom, Charles, succeeded him, and was afterwards made a baronet in 1666. After the death of his first wife, he was married again, about 1655, to Helen Skene, daughter of Sir John Skene, Lord Curriehill, and by her, who survived him, he had a daughter, Mary, and a son, John. He died at Edinburgh on the 8th day of July 1663, and was buried in the family vault beneath the church at Alva.

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[1] Hope's *Diary*, p. 85.

[2] Balfour's *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 205.

[3] *Minutes of the Westminster Assembly*, p. 40.

[4] Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 71, 79; Irving's *Hist. of Dumbartonshire*, p. 199 *seq.*

Reg. Mag. Sig. lxviii. No. 283.

Alexander (afterwards Sir Alexander) Hope, the sixth child, and fifth son of Sir Thomas Hope, was born on the 12th of March 1611. In his youth he became, first, Carver Extraordinary, and afterwards Cup-bearer to King Charles I., to whom he appears to have been warmly devoted.[2] From the tenor of such letters as Numbers XIII and XV, and from various entries in the first portion of his father's *Diary*, it is evident that his extravagance was a cause of grief and embarrassment to Sir Thomas.[3] He was married in December 1642 to a wealthy English lady, Anna Bill, apparently a widow, from the mention of her father-in-law, Sir Thomas Bludder, in the contract of marriage, the original of which is still extant, dated 22nd November of that year, and in his father's *Diary*.[1] He purchased the estate of Granton, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, from his nephew, Sir Thomas Hope, 3rd Baronet of Craighall, in 1656, and dying, *sine prole*, 15th February 1680, was buried at Cramond. He sold the estate of Granton, shortly before his death, to his nephew, John Hope of Hopetoun.

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[1] Wodrow's *Hist.*, vol. i. p. 276.

[2] See Letter XIX, p. 131.

[3] Hope's *Diary*, pp. 44, 64, 65, 68, 73, 77.

Gilbert Neilson, advocate, the son of Thomas Neilson, had sasine of the lands and barony of Craigcaffie, Wigtownshire, in November 1643. The old square tower of Craigcaffie, or Craigcathie Castle is still standing. It is situated in the parish of Inch, three and a half miles north-east of Stranraer, and was once surrounded by a fosse, but never could have been a place of much strength. The Neilsons are said to have traced their descent from Neil, Earl of Carrick, who died in 1526. Gilbert, whose name, strangely enough, does not occur in the official list of advocates of the Scots bar kept in the Library of the faculty in Edinburgh, was succeeded in 1647 by Robert, probably a son. The property continued in the family till 1759, when it was acquired by John M'Dowall of Logan, and in November 1791 the Earl of Stair was infeft in it on a Crown charter.[2]

Robert Inglis was a Scottish merchant and banker in London, who seems to have acted as a factor or agent for his countrymen there.[3] He is frequently referred to in Sir Thomas Hope's *Diary*.

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[1] P. 173.

[2] M'Kerlie's *History of the Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, vol. i. p. 136.

[3] Among Sir Charles Erskine's papers, there is a sealed autograph receipt of Inglis's, dated 31st December 1646, for £12,000 sterling, 'according to the order of the commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland,' of which he had given out £5964, and 'sixteene pounds sterling to Wm. Cuming for his charges to and from Newcastle, according to their warrant of the 22d Decr. 1646.' The balance he binds himself and his heirs to pay, 'according to the order of the commissioners for the Kingdom of Scotland residing at London for the tyme and not otherwise.'

SIR THOMAS HOPE OF CRAIGHALL

from the portrait by Jamesone in Pinkie House, by permission of Sir William Hope, Bart.

I

TO THE EARL OF ANNANDALE.

Pleass your Lordschip,—I ressauit this day your lordschipis letteris with your box of wreittis and informatiouns tuiching Brochtoun,[1] quhilk I haif considerit at greit leasure, and I trust thair sall not be muche bussines of this erand befoir Mertimes. For befoir the ressait of your letteris I haif procurit the dyet of meiting to be in November, and thairfoir I haif deteynit the rest of your lordschipis letteris sent to Brochtoun,[2] Airthour Houstoun,[3] and Robert Creychtoun,[4] with that vther writtin to the bischop of Gallouay,[5] till the tyme of our meiting, and sall delyver tham than and no soner, except your lordschip in your nixt gif me warrand vtherwais, and than I sall obey.

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[1] In the parish of Whithorn, Wigtownshire—a property long in the possession of a family of the name of Murray, who are said to have come originally from Morayshire, in the twelfth century, but were only first known in Galloway in the fifteenth. The present proprietor is Horatio Granville Murray-Stewart, Esq.

[2] John Murray, son of George Murray of Broughton, and Katherine Vauss, the daughter of Sir Patrick Vauss of Barnbarroch (see note, p. 89). Born in 1606, he was at this time nearly of age, and this and the subsequent letters appear to relate to the arrangements preparatory to his entering upon the full possession of his patrimonial inheritance. The Earl of Annandale, who was his kinsman—the former's great-grand-uncle, Mungo Murray, the son of Cuthbert Murray of Cockpool, being the ancestor of the Broughton family—was probably one of his guardians, and had, at all events, a share in the management, financial and otherwise, of the estate during his minority. John Murray of Broughton married a niece of the Earl's—Marion, daughter of Sir James Murray of Cockpool, his eldest brother, in 1630. M'Kerlie's *History of the Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, Edinburgh, 1870-79, vol. i. p. 476; Douglas's *Peerage*.

[3] Probably a cousin of John Murray of Broughton; a son of William Houston of Cutreoch, who was married in 1594 to a daughter of Sir Patrick Vauss of Barnbarroch.—*Ibid.*

[4] Probably another cousin; the son of John Creighton of Larg, who was married in 1570 to Margaret, another daughter of Sir Patrick Vauss, and widow of John Dunbar of Orchardtoun.—*Ibid.*

[5] Andrew Lamb, formerly minister successively of Arbroath and South Leith, and chaplain to the King (James VI.); consecrated Bishop of Brechin at London, 21st October 1610; translated to the See of Galloway in 1619; became blind, and died in 1634. He also was related by marriage to the Broughton family,

And as tuiching your lordschipis ansueris to my douttis, your lordschip takis it as if I had gevin way to all theis demandis of Brochtounis. But it is vtherwais. For in the extensioun of the contract thingis vncleir wes to be made cleir, vtherwais thair neidit no extensioun. And thairfoir, becaus Brochtoun, being present, affirmit that so and so it wes commonit,[1] I did not assert to him, but left ane blank to be fillit efter your lordschipis ansuer, and sua the first done anent the passing of the infeftments is to be fillit vpon Brochtouns chargis. Nixt, the entrie (if no vther thing wes commonit), man be at his age of xxi yeris compleit, quhilk is affirmit to be in October nixt; and so he will haif rycht to the half fermes and dewties, 1627, becaus he is maior befoir Mertimes. But I intend to draw his entrie to the crop 1628, becaus apperandlie it wilbe Mertimes befoir the contract be subscryvit and the writtis interchangit, and so that terme wilbe run. 3. The blank anent the payment of the thrie thousand merks is be the minut appointed to be at the fulfilling of his part off the contract, quhilk he will offer to fulfill befoir Mertemes, and so be apperance, Mertemes will be the terme. But if I can I sall draw it to be Witsonday nixt. 4. The band of fyve thousand merks for the Birchogis is alternatiue, ather to pay or releive. 5. The band of I^{m} merks for his mothers lyfrent is directlie aggreable to the minut, and I wuld not be misled for want of the minut quhilk wes in my handis, and quhairvpon I causit draw vp the extendit contract. For quhair your lordschipis articles beris that your band of I^{m} merks sould expyre quhen ather his mother renuncis hir lyfrent or departis this lyf thair is no sik claus in the minut, but your lordschip is bund to disburdene him of his mothers lyfrent, and to that effect to pay to him ane yeirlie annuitie of I^{m} merks, quhilk is ane express oblischement to pay, and not to releiff

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a daughter of his having been married to one of the lairds of that estate; to which of them, however, is uncertain.—Scott's *Fasti*.

[1] Agreed upon.

simpliciter. But I think this hes beine your lordschipis meaninge as the article proportis, and thairfoir I sall vrge to haif it drawin to that conceptioun. 6. Thair is ane blank anent the exceptiouns from the warrandice quhilk I wald not fill. But having this day red over the haill writtis and amangis the rest the minut betuixt your lordschip and his mother, I find sum widsettis expressit quhairof your lordschip is bund to releif hir. But I knaw not quhither if thir widsettis wes takin on be your lordschip or be hir husband; for if takin on be your lordschip thai must be exceptit, but if takin on be his father thair nedis no exceptioun. And to the effect your lordschip may know quhat widsettis thay ar I haif set them doun in this inclosit paper as thai ar writtin in that old minut betuix your lordschip and his mother, and I desyre your lordschip in your nixt to informe me quhither tane on be your lordschip or his father, and nixt, if yit lying on or if redeymed. And so muche for satisfeing of your lordschipis articles and ansueirs thairof. But, my Lord, I desyre to be informed be your lordschip, quhat if Brochtoun will not aggrie to the solutioun of your douttis, quhilk for my part I think just and ressonabill, and quhilk be law he wilbe forcit to yeild to. In this cace wrytt your lordschipis advyse, for to my judgement I inclyne to latt him byt on the brydell and sall terrifie him with putting the minut in registers and charging him to extend and fulfill the samyn vnder the payne thairin conteynit, quhilk is ten thousand pund stirling.

By thir preceiding articles I haif espyit sum difficulties out off the old minut betuix your lordschip and his mother quhairin I desyre your lordschipis opinione quhilk ar thir. 1. Quhat rycht had your lordschip to the xx oxin and seid corn quhilk your lordschip disponit to his mother, for if ye had no rycht he may distresse his mother and scho will haif warrandice aganis your lordschip. 2. Be the minut your lordschip is oblischit to mak compt and rekkoning off the debtis auchtand to Brochtoun, and of your intromissioun thairwith, provyding ye be first payit of viij^{m} v^{c} merks quhilk ye affirm to be auchtand to your self: quhairupon I ask if your lordschip intromettet, with quhat and how muche, be quhat rycht, and if your intromissioun be within or above viij^{m} v^{c} merks, and last quhat warrands ye haif to prove that his father wes auchtand your

lordschip the soume of viij^{m} v^{c} merkis, quhilk your lordschip wilbe bund to prove if the matter sould cum in disput of law, seing your awin affirmatioun betuix your lordschip and Brochtouns mother will not be sufficient to prove your debt. 3. I desyre to know quho hes bruikit[1] Kirkcastell ever since that said minut quhilk wes made betuix your lordschip and his mother in anno 1616, now be the space of xj yeris, quhither your lordschip or his mother; for if scho bruikit scho must be comptabill seing be the minut thair is no rycht made to hir of Kirkcastell quhill efter hir sones perfyt age of 21 yeris, and if scho be auchtand it still it may releiff your lordschip of ane part of the somes quhilk your lordschip is to gif to hir sone. Off all thir I desyre your lordschipis generall advyse, and if your lordschip can not gif me ane cleir grund to frie your lordschip of thir particularis quhilk arrysis upon that old minut, I intend to vrge Brochtoun to gif ane mutuall discharge of all things he can crave of your lordschip as air or exequutor to his father, and the lyk discharge to be made be your lordschip to him; and if he refuse I intend to superceid the ending with him till he be maid more sensibill of his awin estait, and of your lordschips fauor to him.

As to my sone, it is aneugh to me that your lordschip movit it, and it is ane benefit that your lordschip hes acquaint me so quicklie with his Majestys plesur, for nou I am at rest. And thocht he be accomptit ane young man, zit I dar ventur him vpon any of tham that ar aymit to the place, and I know the best of that sait enterit in his age.[2] But, my lord, if I haif errit in tyme by a peice of festinatioun, befoir full age or maturitie, latt ather my affectioun to him, or my confidence in his Majestys fauor for him, plead my excuse. And I think I haif gainit ane greit point that your lordschip wryttis ye hope at sum vther tyme to gif me contentment, and both I and my sone, being hopes, will rest vpon that hope, and still hope that his sacred majestie will not disappoint our hope. Sua remembring my humbill and bund seruice to your lordschip, your nobill lady and deir children, I committ yow all to the mercies of God, and restis your bund servitor till death,

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[1] Enjoyed, possessed.—Jamieson's *Scot. Dict.*

[2] This has reference probably to Sir Thomas Hope's eldest son, afterwards Sir John, second Baronet of Craighall, who was appointed a Lord of Session in 1632. There being two vacancies on the bench of the Court of Session at this time, through the death of Sir William Livingston, Lord Kilsyth, and the resignation of Sir Archibald Acheson, Lord Glencairnie, Sir Thomas had evidently applied to the King (Charles I.), through his friend and client the Earl, for his son's appointment to one of them, and the request had been refused because of his youth. He was at this time only twenty-two or twenty-three years of age.

S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, 29 September 1627.

My Lord, I think it expedient that at this tyme, quhen your lordschip endis with Brochtoun, that ye ratifie your lordschipis old rychtis of the Iriche landis,[1] and to that effect your lordschip sall do weill to seek them furth and to send them to me with diligence, for indeed I expectit thaim with the rest of the writtis quhilk ar sent.

In the Minut betuix the Erl of Annandaill and Katherine Vauss,[2] relict of vmquhile Gorge Murray of Brochtoun,[1] thir claussis ar conteynit.

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[1] George Murray of Broughton, the father of the young man mentioned in the letters, had lands of considerable value in Ireland bestowed upon him by King James VI. These are still in the possession of his descendants, and consist of the estate called Whitehouse, Killybegs, County Donegal.—M'Kerlie's *History of the Lands and their Owners in Galloway*. Writing to Lord Binning, Secretary of State, 2d December 1613, the Earl of Annandale, then John Murray of Cockpool, says,—'Do as your lordschippe will, I shall take the best course I can to settill Brochtones turnes in Eyrland, as your lordschippe shall hear.'—Sir William Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. ii. pp. 126-7.

[2] Daughter of Sir Patrick Vauss of Barnbarroch, in the parish of Kirkinner, Wigtownshire, the representative of an ancient family, descended from the Vauxes of Dirleton, in East Lothian. Alexander Vaux, Bishop of Galloway in 1426, was the first known of the name in Galloway, and a nephew of his is said to have been the first proprietor of Barnbarroch. Sir Patrick Vauss succeeded to the estate in 1568, on the death of his elder brother Alexander, and speedily rose to a position of great influence. In 1576 he was appointed an ordinary Lord of Session, and in May 1587 was sent, along with Mr. Peter Young, the King's Almoner, as ambassador to Denmark, by James VI., 'for treating and concluding upon the headis of his Majesties maist honourable marriage' with Anne of Denmark. He was also present at the King's marriage at Upslo, in Norway, in 1589. He married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hew Kennedy of Girvanmains, who died *sine prole*; and, second, Lady Catherine Kennedy, daughter of Gilbert, third Earl of Cassilis, and died 22d July 1597. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century the name has usually been rendered Vans, the present representatives of the family bearing also the name and arms of Agnew of Sheuchan.—M'Kerlie's *History of the Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, vol. i. p. 359 *seq.*; Brunton and Haig's *Senators*, p. 162.

And siclyk the said Erll oblissis him to freth and releiff the saidis landis of thir annuelrentis following, viz.:—Of ane annuelrent of j^{c} merks to James Twedie out of the landis of Brochtoun, Skoch, Outtoun Chapell, Outtoun Gallows,[2] and S^{t} Jons lands;[3] one vther annuelrent of widsett out of the said lands to Lennox of Callie; Item, ane annuelrent of 1^{c}xxx merks wedsett out of the saids landis to Thomas Melroy; Item, ane annuelrent of hundreth merks wedsett out of the lands of Kirkcastell to Maxuell, spous to Harbert Maxuell of Kirkconnell, and to caus hir, with consent of hir spous, renunce the samyn.

Attour the said Katherine Vauss ourgifis to the said Erll all debtis auchtand to hir vmquhile husband, and the said Erll oblischis him to mak compt, reckoning, and payment to the said Katherin or hir sone of all somes of money quhilk salbe intromettit with be the said Erll above the soume of aucht thousand fyve hundreth merks, quhilk is the iust soume restand be the said vmquhile George Murray to the said Erll.

And siklyk the said Erll dispones to the said Katherine xx oxin and hail seid corne being vpon the saids landis. And it is affirmit in the minut that thir xx oxin pertenit to Jon Murray, hir sone.

[Indorsed:] *Nott furth of the Minut* 1616 *betuix the Erll of Annandaill and Katherine Vauss, relict of George Murray of Brochtoun.*

To the rycht nobill Erll, my Lord, the Erll of Annandaill.

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[1] The son of David Murray. He was in possession of Broughton in 1605; was in favour with James VI., and became one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber, having also bestowed on him lands in Ireland, and superiorities in Scotland.—M'Kerlie's *History*, vol. i. p. 476.

[2] These are still the names of farms in the parish of Whithorn, forming part of the estate of Broughton.—*Ibid.*

[3] By a charter dated 1602, all the St. John lands in Wigtownshire were granted to George Murray of Broughton.—*Ibid.*

II

TO THE EARL OF ANNANDALE.

Pleass your Lordschip,—I ressauit your lordschipis, with the box of writtis and informatiouns touching Brochtoun, on 27 September, and efter I had cairfully pervsit all, with the last minut and the old minut betuix your lordschip and the lady, I wreit my ansuer to the haill douttis contenit in your lordschipis letteris and informatioun of 29 September, quhilk I delyuerit to Capitan Patrik Cokburne, inclosit in ane packet direct to the Secretar, fra quhom I trust your lordschip hes ressauit it.

This day I ressauit ane letter fra your lordschipis cousing Brochtoun, quhairby he desyrit me to direct this inclosit to your lordschip from him; to the quhilk I haif writtin ane ansuer, schawing that your lordschip, being aduertisit be me of the delay of the meiting till November, hes differrit to send the writtis heir in full and perfyt ordour as is requirit, and that I expect tham certainlie befoir November. And becaus I acquantit your lordschip in my former by Capitan Cokburne that I wes not myndit to delyuer theis quhilk wer directit to Brochtoun, Airthour Houstoun, and Robert Creychtoun,[1] except I gatt ane new warrand from your lordschip to that effect, so now I remayne in the samyn mynd, and will not mak tham wyse that the writtis ar come till I ressaue your lordschipis ansuer and advyse anent the particularis conteinit in my last with Capitan Cokburne. And if your lordschip plessis, I think it fitt that your lordschip renew your letteris to thaim vpon occasioun of this second letter come from Brochtoun, and excuse your not ansuering of the first in respect of the continuatioun of the dyet be Brochtoun and his freinds be ressoun of the harvest, quhilk wes signifiit to me be Arthour Houstoun, and quhairof I acquantit your lordschip be letter. And in your lordschipis letteris to tham all schaw that your lordschip must haif ane generall discharge of all that Brochtoun can have of your lordschip as air or exequutor to his father, for I

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[1] See notes, p. 85.

find this exceeding necessar for the caussis and douttis quhilk I haif obseruit in the old minut betuix your lordschip and his mother.

I expect within few days to be at the meiting of Bruntiland betuix my Lord Stormonth[1] and Sir Mungo,[2] and as matteris proceidis thair your lordschip salbe advertisit. So wisching to your lordschip all happines, with the rememberance of my humbill seruice to your lordschip and your nobill lady and children, I committ your lordschip to the blissing of Godis grace and restis, your lordschipis bund seruitor to death,

S. THOMAS HOPE.

Edinburgh, 1 October 1627.

My Lord, remember my love to your lordschipis good cousing Sir James Baillie[3] if he be come.

To the rycht nobill Erll, my Lord, the Erll of Annandaill.

III

TO THE EARL OF ANNANDALE.

PLEASS YOUR LORDSCHIP,—I ressauit your lordschipis of 19, 21, and 22 October this day, being first of November. And for

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[1] Sir David Murray of Gospetry, in the parish of Falkland, Fife, second son of Sir Andrew Murray of Arngask and Balvaird, and great-grandson of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, the common ancestor of the noble families of Athole and Mansfield. He was Cup-bearer, Master of the Horse, and Captain of the Guards to James VI., who knighted him and appointed him Comptroller of the Royal revenues in 1599; created Lord Scone in 1605, and Viscount Stormont in 1621; married Elizabeth, daughter of David Betoun of Creich, Fife, and died 27th August 1631. He was buried at Scone, where a magnificent monument was erected to his memory, which still exists.—Douglas's *Peerage.*

[2] Sir Mungo Murray of Drumcairn, fourth son of John, first Earl of Tullibardine, succeeded his kinsman, the first Viscount Stormont, who died without issue, as second Viscount, in 1631, according to a deed of entail executed in 1625. He married, first, Anne, the elder daughter of Sir Andrew Murray of Balvaird, the niece of his predecessor, and, second, Lady Anne Wemyss, second daughter of John, Earl of Wemyss, and relict of Alexander Lindsay of Edzell. Died March 1642, *sine prole.—Ibid.*

[3] Sir James Baillie of Lochend, in the parish of Dunbar, one of the Lords of the Secret Council. He acted as the Earl's factor on the neighbouring estate of Tyninghame, acquired by him in 1621.

Brochtoun, becaus your lordschip referris it to Sir James Baillies cumming I will rest thairupon. And for the nott of the Irische landis,[1] it salbe sent with the securities quhen thay go to Irland, and nothing salbe omittit of that quhilk your lordschip hes gevin in directioun to be done ather be your present letteris or be your lordschipis former. And becaus Sir Archibald Achesoun[2] is better acquaint with Irische bussines nor I, thairfoir I sall follow his counsell, and advyse thairin. As to George Graham and his complices, I think thai may be persewit for reif and thift; but becaus he is absent furth of the cuntrey he man be persewit on lx dayis; and for his complices Robert Creychtoun hes promisit to bring me thair names betuix and the tent of this moneth, and sa sone as I gett tham I sall ryse criminall letteris both aganis George Graham and tham; and if possibly the complices can be separat from George Graham, quho is principall actor, I sall travell to draw tham to thair tryall within xv dayis, quhilk is the ordinar course of citatioun. But I feir it salbe difficult to separat the principall from the complices, or tham from the principall. But seing your lordschip is so ernest, and that it tuichis your lordschip in credit, it sall haif ane essay, and the worst is to bring tham also in vpon lx dayis if I can not gett tham in apart without George Graham.

As to your lordschipis declarator againis your brother,[3] it is very liklie that the first gift wes takin to your vmquhile brotheris[4] behove, and be his awin moyen and moneyis, but this man be provin, and it can not be provin but ather be writt or be the ayth off the assignay to the gift. Writt we haif none, and if it go to ayth I feir it sal lose. But thair is ane vther point quhilk your lordschip hes forgett, and my Lord Chester[1] both—that thai allegit your brother wes relaxt within yeir and day from the Lady Newbies[2] horning, quhilk is the horning quhairupon your lordschipis gift is takin. And if this be trew, your lordschips gift and declaratour fallis for the lyfrent albeit thair wer no former gift nor declaratour. And I haif oftentymes writtin to your lordschip that if thai be abill to schaw ane relaxatioun within yeir and day all the earth can not mend it. But, my Lord, if thair can be ony advantage gottin in the following of the process, I sal do it with that cair and fidelity that becomes me in ane erand that concerns your lordschip so nearly, and not only my sone, but myself sall sollice the chancellor and haill lordis thairin.

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[1] See note, p. 89.

[2] Son of Alexander Acheson of Gosford, Haddington; admitted to the Scottish bar in 1607; obtained a large grant of lands in the county of Antrim, Ireland, in 1611, and in the following year another grant in the county of Cavan; raised to the Scottish bench in 1626 as Lord Glencairney; created a baronet by Charles I. in 1628; for many years one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland. Married a daughter of Sir Robert Hannay of Mochrum, Bart.; died 9th September 1634.—Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*; Burke's *Peerage*.

[3] Sir Richard Murray of Cockpool, succeeded his elder brother, Sir James, in 1621; created a baronet by Charles I., and died *sine prole*, in 1636.—Douglas's *Baronage*.

[4] Sir James Murray of Cockpool, the Earl's eldest brother; succeeded to Cockpool in 1605; died in 1620, leaving three daughters, but no son.—*Ibid.*

As to my Lord Stormonth, I haif ansuerit that apart be this vther, quhilk I writt befoir the ressait of thir your lordschipis last letteris.

And for your lordschipis advyse and judgement tuiching the submissioun, I haif considerit it narrowlie, and intendis to follow it becaus I find it both judicious and sure.

And quhair your lordschip askis if I had letteris of your lordschip from Hamptoun Court of 4 October. My Lord, thay com to me, being in Fyif, vpon the 16 of October, and no soner, and on the 15 of October of befoir, and all the dayis of that moneth, I wes still in towne, but hard not of theis till I wes gone to Fyif, and than thay followit me vpon the morrow. And vpon the vther morne, efter the ressait thairof, I returnit from Fyiff to Edinburgh to attend that quhilk hes takin suche success (as if your lordschip haif contentment) I sal neuer haif ane croce thocht in respect of the worthines of the personnis to quhom it is bestowit. But indeed I ame sorie that I haiff not hard of your lordschip that ye ar contentit, and hes approvin the course quhilk nottheles I presum to be sa in respect of the greit bands of affectioun betuix your lordschip and him.

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[1] Sir Philip Stanhope of Shelford, Northamptonshire, who was elevated to the peerage as Baron Stanhope in 1616, and advanced to the Earldom of Chesterfield in 1628. He was a firm supporter of the royal cause during the civil wars. Died 1656.—Burke's *Peerage*.

[2] Elizabeth Stewart, sister of the first Earl of Galloway, and widow of John Johnstone of Newbie, an ancient barony in Dumfriesshire, subsequently absorbed in the estates of Johnstone of that ilk. John Johnstone of Newbie, who was Provost of Annan in 1604, died at Carlisle in 1605. His estate being entailed on heirs-male, was claimed by an uncle, Robert Johnstone of Brigholme, but the claim was resisted by his widow and family of seven daughters. For an account of the proceedings which ensued see *The Historical Families of Dumfriesshire*, by C. L. Johnstone, Dumfries, 1889, p. 148 *seq*. The allusion in the text is probably to an action which was raised by Elizabeth Stewart, Lady Newbie, and her second husband, Samuel Kirkpatrick of Hoddam, against Sir James Murray of Cockpool, the Earl's eldest brother, in 1610, for 'non-payment of certain dues.'—*Ibid.* p. 150.

This nycht the Erl of Hadingtoun made me reid your lordschipis letter tuiching your lordschipis purpose of Twininghame,[1] and albeit I am sorie that theis lands sould be putt away, yet becaus I find your lordschip so ernest in your desyre I haif drawin vp ane band of alienatioun to be subscryvit be your lordschip and your lady in fauores of the Erl of Hadingtoun, quhilk is to be sent to your lordschip in the nixt pacquet, becaus it will not be so sone drawin vp as to go with this. But seing it is to be ane Mertimes bargan, we must mak the greter expeditioun that your lordschipis money lye not vnprofitable in your lordschipis hands. And thairfoir it wil pleis your lordschip to resolue to quhom ye will pay any moneyis at this terme, and to sett doun thair names in ane roll, and to wrytt to tham to ressaue the samyn. And siklyk to sett doun ane nott of the wedsettis quhilk presentlie lyis vpon the landis, for so muche of the moneyis must be retornit be the Erl of Haddingtoun in his handis as will ansuer to theis wedsettis quhilk ar yit vnredemit; and last, to sett doun the takkis and rentalls, if any be maid and sett be your lordschip since ye cam to the lands, to the effect the samyn may be exceptit from the warrandice; for I haif to aggrie with the

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[1] The estate of Tyninghame in East Lothian, now the seat of the Earl of Haddington, was an ancient possession of the Bishops of St. Andrews, and was subsequently owned for about a century by the Lauders, the Lairds of the Bass, by whom it was sold in 1621 to John Murray, afterwards Earl of Annandale, for 200,000 merks. He again sold it to his friend Thomas, first Earl of Haddington, in 1627, for the same price.—Sir William Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. i. p. xxxiii.

Erl of Hadingtoun that your lordschip salbe no further oblischit but from your awin deid, and that thair salbe exceptit thairfra suche takkis, rentales, and wedsettis, quhilk ye haif made yourself. So with my humbill salutatiouns to your lordschip and your nobill lady, I committ your lordschip to the blissing of Godis grace, and restis, your lordschipis humbill and bund seruitor till death.

S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, 1 November 1627.

Pleass your lordschip. The Commissioun sould haif begun this day. N [1] and I attendit tharon at Halyruid hous fra one to fyve at nycht (for during that tyme the Counsall satt) and quhen the Commissioners wer called for thair wes not ane number nather of bischopes nor burrowis. Quhairupon it wes appointit that letters sould be direct to requyre tham to be present vpon Fryday cum aucht dayis, quhilk is the sexteint of November. I persave that it salbe my lott all wynter to attend the Commissioun, and it is the custome at meitingis to prefer bothe Counsal and Chekker, during quhilk tyme I am castin louse, and putt to ane bak rowme to be ane idill onwaiter, quhilk is bothe disgraceful to my charge and contrair to my nature, for I love not jakking nor idilsell. And if your lordschip haif any purpose to amend this (as your lordschip wryttis in your letter) it is necessar now, and I haif not will to cast it off till I be thair to sie your lordschip, for that may be long to and quhen the Lord pleissis.

To the rycht nobill Erll, my Lord, the Erll of Annandaill.

IV

TO THE EARL OF ANNANDALE.

Pleass your Lordschip,—I now ernestlie attend your lordschipis ansuer tuiching the bussines contenit in my letter of the 20 October, and remaynis in ane greit vncertaintie and fluctuatioun of mynd till I heir how your lordschip is pleisit and contentit in that particular. I expect also your lordschipis directioun tuiching Brochtoun, becaus the terme is now instant. And anent the Vicount of Stormonth,[1] I ressauit letteris of 22 of October aduertising that the dyet wes desertit. But I spak the Erl of Hadingtoun[2] not to acquaint your lordschip thairwith till we sould haif tryit the grundis quhairupon it desertit, and quhat hes followit thairupon. But the Erl hes acquantit me this day that he writt to your lordschip thairanent in this last pacquett, quhilk ran on Mononday last, the 29 of October, at quhilk tyme I made report to his lordschip of all that I had tryit tuiching the bussines, quhilk is this :—

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[1] Probably Thomas Nicolson, who succeeded Johnston of Warriston as Lord Advocate in 1649. He was knighted by Charles II. at Falkland, 10th July 1650, and died 15th December 1656. 'Ane excellent and judicious lawyer.'—Omond's *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 154, 167.

Sir Patrik Murray[3] hes delt betuix the Vicount and the maister, his brother,[4] and movit the maister, his brother, and his lady[5] to go in to my lord and schaw his lordschip that thai wald not haif dyettis appointit betuix his lordschip and thaim, but that thay wald cast all in my lords awin hands [to] do thairin ashe plesit himself; quhilk my lord acceptit, and sent for Mr. Andro Murray,[6] quhom he hes designit lord of Balvard, and for Michall Balfour of Denmyln,[7] quho is his cheif counsellor be my lords directioun. And in my lords presence the maister and his lady hes takin tham be the hand and thay ar reconcillit. This wes done about the 18 or 19 of October. But as to the bussines itself tuiching that quhilk salbe for the maister, and eftir him to your lordschip[1] that lyis over as yit vntuichit, and as I heir is liklie to lye over, with the quhilk the maister and his lady ar not weill contentit and hes signifiet thair discontentment to sum of thair freinds, sua that the controversie is not yit weill removit. Quhen my lord writ to me anent the deserting of the dyet, I writ bak and humblie entreatit his lordschip that he wald be pleisit ather to wrytt to your lordschip immediatlie from himself or wrytt to me to be notifiett to your lordschip quhat wer the heids and points of contentment quhilk his lordschip wald bestow vpon the maistir, becaus (I said) I knew that your lordschip wald be exceiding glaid to heir off the samyn, seing your lordschip had declarit be your letter that your lordschip for your part wald rest vpon my lords promises made both to your lordschip and to your freindis. But I haif ressauit no ansuer bak agane, and I scarcelie expect any, having tryit that matteris gois as I haif already writtin to your lordschip. Sua with my humbill and herty salutatiounis I committ your lordschip to the blissing of Godis grace, and restis your lordschipis humbill and bund seruitor till death, S. Thomas Hope.

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[1] See note, p. 92.

[2] Sir Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, born in 1563; admitted advocate in 1587; Lord of Session as Lord Drumcairn in 1592; Lord Clerk Register of Scotland, 1612; raised to the peerage in 1613 as Lord Binning and Byres; created Earl of Melrose 1619, a title which he exchanged eight years afterwards for that of Earl of Haddington; became Lord Privy Seal in 1626; died 29th May 1637.—Brunton and Haig's *Senators*; Douglas's *Peerage*.

[3] Sir Patrick Murray of Castletown, son of John, first Earl of Tullibardine, who afterwards became third Earl, and brother of Sir Mungo Murray, afterwards second Viscount Stormont.

[4] Sir Mungo Murray, see note, p. 92.

[5] Anne, elder daughter of Sir Andrew Murray of Balvaird, and niece of David, first Viscount Stormont.

[6] Andrew Murray, M.A., second son of David Murray of Balgony; graduated at St. Andrews in 1618; admitted minister of Abdie, in the Presbytery of Cupar, Fife, in 1622; by special entail, succeeded David, first Viscount Stormont, in the baronies of Arngask and Kippo, on the death of that nobleman in 1631, and was raised to the Peerage as Lord Balvaird in 1641—the only instance in the Scottish Church in which a minister has had a peerage conferred upon him. He married Elizabeth, fifth daughter of David, first Earl of Southesk, and widow of James, second Earl of Annandale, and died 24th September 1644, aged about forty-seven.—Scott's *Fasti*.

[7] Michael Balfour, whose great-great-grandfather, James Balfour (killed at the siege of Roxburgh in 1460) obtained from King James II. the lands of Denmylne,

Edinburgh, 1 November 1627.

To the rycht nobill Erll, my Lord, the Erll of Annandaill.

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in the parish of Abdie, Fife, originally belonging to the Earls of Fife, and which fell to the Crown on the forfeiture of Murdoch, Duke of Albany. He was knighted at Holyrood, 26th March 1630, by George, Viscount Dupplin, Chancellor of Scotland, under a special warrant from Charles I., in whose household he filled the office of Comptroller: 'was equally distinguished for his military courage and civil prudence:' married Jean, daughter of James Durham of Pitkerro, by whom, besides several daughters, he had five sons, all of whom rose to positions of eminence, but the most distinguished of whom was the eldest, Sir James, the herald and antiquary, Lord Lyon King-at-Arms, and author of the *Annals*.—Anderson's *Scottish Nation*.

[1] By the special entail executed by David, first Viscount Stormont, the honours of that title passed to the Earl of Annandale, after the death of Mungo, the second Viscount. When that event took place accordingly, in 1642, the Earl's son James, the second Earl of Annandale, became third Viscount Stormont.—Douglas's *Peerage*.

V

TO THE EARL OF ANNANDALE.

Pleass your Lordschip,—Becaus the pacquet stayit to this day, thairfoir with it is sent the band of alienatioun to be subscryuit be your lordschip in fauores off the Erll of Hadingtoun, quhilk I causit haist to the effect it may returne the soner, and your lordschipis moneyis may be ressauit at this terme. Thair is left in it two blanks, ane to insert the takkis and rentalls if any be sett be your lordschip, and the vther for inserting the wedsettis, both theis quhilk wer of old made be your authours and theis quhilk your lordschip hes takin on and grantit sence your lordschips rycht. And thairfoir it will pleis your lordschip quhen it comes to your lordschipis hands to subscryve it and direct it to Sir James Baillie, if he salbe heir or with him if he sall be thair at the subscryving thairoff. And sett doun ane trew and perfyt nott off the takkis and wedsettis takin on be your lordschipis self, or if ye knaw tham not, direct Sir James Baillie and your lordschipis chamerlane to gif me informatioun thairoff that I may caus fill the blankes of the band thairwith quhen it sall returne. Remember that both your lordschip and your lady subscryve the band in presence of witnessis, both in the end and margines, and sett doun ane nott of the place, day, and witnessis, with thair designatioun quha subscryvis the samyn ; And als if your lordschip may have conveniencie, ane judge and clerk brocht to your lordschipis hous, it wer weill done that my lady befoir thaim, outwith your lordschipis presence, sould compeir and be hir othe declare that hir ladyschip is not compellit to the making off this alienatioun, and that scho sall never cum in the contrair thairoff, and that ane act be made and drawin furth heirupon and sent with the band hither. But if this can not be done convenientlie and with ease, without any trubill or fascherie, or if it requyre delay of tyme, lett it rest till ane vther occasion. This is ane bussines quhilk I do als vnwillingly as ever I did any. But seing it is your lordschipis plesur I dar not repyne. Only I trust in God to haif this brek fillet vp with ane better quhen it sal pleis the Lord to gif yow your awin place with his sacred maiesty,

quhilk I hartlie and ernestlie wische and wait for as being my gretest warldlie desyre quhairin with your lordschippis preferment standis my fortun vpon earth. As efter my humbill salutatiounis to your lordschip and your nobill lady I committ yow and your nobill children to the blissing of Godis grace, and restis, your lordschipis humbill and bund seruitor till death,
S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, 3 November 1627.

The Erll of Hadingtoun inclynes to haiff the lady hir ayth takin be ane commissioun from the lords of Sessioun, and thairfoir latt the vther anent hir ayth to be takin presently cease for this tyme.

To the rycht nobill Erll, my Lord, the Erll of Annandaill.

VI

TO THE EARL OF ANNANDALE.

Pleass your Lordschip,—We haiff mett att diuers tymes with the Erll of Hadingtoun and findis him verie willing and readie to performe his part, lykas he hes payit to William Murray xxj^{m} merks. But becaus the vther wedsettaris will not tak thair money at this terme, to witt, your nephew, Patrik Inglis, Patrik Eleis, and James Harvies airss, thairfoir my lord vrgis that he mycht be fred of the annuell to Witsonday, seing he hes his money readie, and had it readie at the term, quhilk we think very hard, for so your lordschip sall lose ane termes annuell of the haill pryce of your land, except that quhilk is payit to William Murray, and we expectit that my lord sould haif takin the land with the burding, and quhen this is done your lordschip losis the annuell of the hail rest in respect no moneyis can be gottin imployit heir, for abundance of moneyis. Also my lord allegis sum defectis in the rentall as off one toune sett to Cuningham, quhilk is xxx bollis beir, and another to one Huntar, worth xij bollis beir, and sum vther defectis in the rentall of the fisching and doucattis, quhilk he wald haif your lordschip to supplie. And last, he allegis the schortnes of the tak of the teind, quhairof thair is nott sevin or aucht yeirs to run. I know all thir ar allegit be my lord without intentioun to alter [the] bargan, but to represent to your lordschip the estait of it as it standis, and to haif redresse according to equitie and ressoun, quhilk I knaw your lordschip will not refuse to him. And for my judgement I think the burdin of the wedsetts sould ly on him, and your lordschip sould be frie of the anuells tharoff till Witsonday. And for this your lordschip may wrytt bak that the conditioun of your band is that my lord sall reteine so muche off the moneyis as will satisfie the wedsettis, and if he retene it your lordschip can not pay annuell for that quhilk he must reteyne. Next, your lordschip will susteine the losse of the entres of the half of the money, and so ye deuyd the losse betuix yow, quhilk is as neir to equitie as it is to equalitie. But if my Lord sal scar at this your lordschip may wrytt that it salbe muche better for your lordschip to mak it ane Witsondayis bargan. But do it in suche sort that it breid no offense, because I find him exceiding readie to pleasur your lordschip, except quhair this vnhappie *meum et tuum* occurris, quhilk spillis the sport in all playis.

As to the defectis in the rentall, I think none ressonabill but theis two takkis of Cunigham and Hunter, and if he wuld be movit to accept your lordschipis warrandice I wald lyke it weill. But if he refuse your lordschip man tak that to your burding, and we must persew for your lordschipis releiff.

Thair is four chartours sent vp to be subscryvit be your lordschip quhilk your lordschip may subscryve. But remember to send them bak to me that I may sie all performit to your lordschip quhilk is to be done befoir they be delyverit, and do not in this as your lordschip did in Alexander Maxwells.

As to Brochtoun we haif fallin vpon many rubbis, but can wryt nothing certainlie thairoff to your lordschip till matteris sattill; and quhen he comes vp, quhilk wilbe within two dayis, your lordschip sall haif ane accompt of all. And in the meantyme rest assurit that he can not preiudge your lordschip, becaus I haif fesant that naill be his acquittance vpon the ressait of Wamphras 1^m merkis in part of payment of the contract, quhilk being efter his perfyt age excludis all reuocatioun of minoritie.

As to the rest of your lordschipis effairs, I haif sent inclosit the copie of your lordschipis memorandum sent with Sir James Baillie, together with my ansueris to every article as thay ar in ordour.

I haif causit ryse your lordschipis criminal letteris aganis

Ridkirk and his complices, and intendis to cite him self vpon lx dayis, and his complices quha ar within the country on xv dayis.

Pleas your lordschip, ressaue the doubill off Wamphrayis band of v^c^ merkis, and so muche for your lordschipis privat bussines.

As to publick the matter of the submissioun standis at this point. We as his maiesteis aduocattis did forme the submissioun and delyuer it to my Lord Chancellor.[1] But thairefter the lordis of erectioun and thair aduocattis wer hard, quho hes gevin in sum obseruatiouns for refering of the submissioun quhilk we haif refusit till his maiestie be acquantit thairwith; quhairupon the Chancellor is to wryt to his maiestie. The pointts at quhilk we stand ar therfoir two—first, the takkis of teindis befoir thair erectiouns sal not be submittit, that thois quho hes coft teindis with warrandice sal haif thair warrandice reseruit. Off quhilk articles my opinioun is, that the takkis aucht to be submittit, vtherwais thai sould sell the erectiouns and keip thair takkis of one and the self samyn teind, quilk is not ressonabill. But indeed I think thai aucht to haif greter consideratioun for thair takkis of teindis, becaus thai fal not within the compas off his maiesteis reuocatioun. And as to the second, anent the warrandice, it apperis ressonabill.[2] So with my very humbill seruice, I rest, your lordschipis humbill and bund seruitor, S. THOMAS HOPE.

Edinburgh, 5 December 1627.

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[1] George Hay of Nethercliff, Viscount Dupplin, appointed Lord Chancellor 16th July 1622; created Earl of Kinnoul in 1633; died 16th December 1634.

[2] One of the first acts of Charles I. on his accession to the throne, was the revocation of all the deeds of his father in prejudice of the Crown, preparatory to a resumption of the Crown lands, many of them previously Church lands, which James VI. had erected into temporal lordships, and bestowed upon his favourites and upon others whose support he wished to secure. The deed of revocation, drawn up by Sir Thomas Hope, was promulgated at the Cross of Edinburgh in November 1625. It recalled all erections of Church lands, teinds, and patronages, and included all deeds executed by Charles during his minority. Naturally, this proceeding was very unpopular, and met with great opposition from the nobility. At a Convention of the Estates held in July following, a commission of four of each estate was appointed to examine the state of the teinds, to ascertain who were the proprietors, and by what tenure they were held. This Commission, of which Hope was a member, sat during the summer of 1627, and decided that all superiorities of erection should be resigned into the King's hands, and that the question of compensation should be left to him.—Omond's *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 102-104; Burton's *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 355 *seq.*

Please your Lordschip,—Becaus I haif sent ane letter to his sacred majesty, and with it the trew estait of the proceidingis in the Submissioun, with my humbill opinioun and judgement anent the samyn, thairfoir I haif sent to your lordschip the iust copie thairoff heirwith inclosit, quhilk I intreit your lordschip to communicat to no man, but mak sik vse thairof as your lordschip plessis in your conference with his sacred majesty.—Your lordschipis humbill seruitor, S. Thomas Hope.

To the rycht nobill Erll, my Lord, the Erl of Annandaill.

VII

TO THE EARL OF ANNANDALE.

Pleass your Lordschip,—I never longit so muche for your letteris, having ressauit none from your lordschip thir fyve or sex oulkis; and heir we haif not muche matter of advertisement, but drawis all from above, whence we expectit dayly good newis anent the Rochell.[1] God send tham good.

This day the commissioun meitis for ressaving off the takkis befoir the erectiounis, the rychtis bering warrandice and the rentalis of few fermes and few males. And if we do this weill befoir the ij Januar we will haif than our handis full for the subcommissiounis at that dyet quhilk is designit thairto.

Quhill I heir from your lordschip ane ansuer of all my bygane letteris, I can wryt nothing of your lordschipis awin particularis, and thairfoir man rest till than.

It is bruttit[2] that Capitane Cokburne is ded, and I man humble crave your lordschipis fauor and help to his brother, Jon Cokburne, quho is his only brother, and hes ane family off

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[1] Rochelle, a strong town and fortress on the western coast of France, occupied by the Huguenots, then in rebellion against Louis xiii., and whom Charles i. believed he was bound to assist, because the French King had at one time promised him that he would admit his Protestant subjects to terms. A fleet of a hundred ships, with soldiers on board, was accordingly sent to their assistance in July 1627, under the command of the Duke of Buckingham; but, owing to the failure of reinforcements, was unsuccessful, and out of 6800 soldiers, less than 300—worn by hunger and sickness—returned to England. Rochelle, after holding out for thirteen months, finally surrendered to Louis on 28th November 1628, chiefly through a frightful famine, which carried off more than two-thirds of its inhabitants.

[2] Reported.

nyne childrein, with thair mother. And I must do for him, becaus he is my servand, and hes bene so thir ten yeris bygan. I know no present doing for him. But if any occur I man humble entreit your lordschipis fauour to him. So with my humble and bund seruice to your lordschip and your nobill lady I commit your lordschip to the blessing of Godis grace and restis, your lordschipis humble and bund seruitor till death. S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, 1 November 1628.

To the rycht nobill Erll, my Lord, the Erl of Annandail.

VIII

TO THE EARL OF ANNANDALE.

Pleass your Lordschip,—Your actioun with the Laird Jonstoun[1] lyis over this yul vacance and thair is a noumber examinat as witnessis anent the tennour of the assignatioun, and amangis the rest Sir James Baillie,[2] and I am to caus the Laird of Jonstoun and the Maister of Hereis[3] to be examinat vpon certan interrogatouris. As for me, seing the money is vpliftit be sentence of the lords I am not curious to haif it callit, but lattis the Laird of Jonstoun vse his awin moyen to that effect.

I long to heir from your lordschip tuiching Roll and Merse seing ye haif ressauit the nott of that indentor quhilk wes past betuix Edward the 6 and our quean Mary in anno 1553, and the clerk of Register and I haif made serche for all vther indentors betuix the kingdomes, but findis none. But I haif

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[1] Probably James Johnston of Johnston in Annandale, who was raised to the peerage by Charles I. in 1633 as Lord Johnston of Lockwood, and created Earl of Hartfell in 1643. His son James, who succeeded him in 1653, was created Earl of Annandale and Hartfell in 1661, that title having become extinct by the death of James Murray, the second Earl of Annandale of that name, in 1658.

[2] See note, p. 92.

[3] Robert Maxwell, eldest son of John Maxwell, eighth Lord Herries, and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar. He afterwards became fourth Earl of Nithsdale.

causit your nephew Thomas Maxwell[1] draw out ane extract of the hail indentour quhilk he dois send to your lordschip with this pacquet—that if thair be any cullor to be fund in it for strenthening of your lordschipis rycht it may be made vse of.

The Laird of Balvard[2] hes past his infeftment vpoun my Lord Stormonthis resignatioun quhilk I wald not hinder becaus of your lordschipis command at parting, and becaus I expect your Lordschipis signator of the Lowmondis long befoir it. But James Kynninmonth will send to your lordschip the nott of that whilk is conteynit in the signator quhilk may preiudge your lordschip: And efter consideratioun thairoff your lordschip will acquaint me of your resolutioun quhat to do, quhilk I sall follow to my power.

The Erll of Monteth[3] is to come vp within 8 dayis at furthest, and quhen he is thair, if ye ply cannely the bussines aganis your party Sir Archibald,[4] it may be ye find both freindschip and success beyond your expectatioun, quhilk I recomend to your lordschip now as the gretest bussines ye haif ado heir. And so with my humble salutatioun to your lordschip and your nobill lady, I rest, your lordschipis humbel and bund seruitor. S. THOMAS HOPE.

Edinburgh, 29 December 1630.

To the rycht nobill Erll, my Lord, the Erll of Annandaill.

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[1] Probably a son of the earl's sister, Jean Murray, who was married to John Maxwell of Kirkhouse. James, another of her sons, was, in 1646, created Earl of Dirleton, a title which became extinct at his death without male issue. Douglas's *Peerage.*

[2] Andrew Murray, minister of Abdie, see p. 97, and note.

[3] William Graham, seventh Earl of Menteith, served heir to David, Earl of Strathern, '*abavus attavi*,' in August 1630, but owing to his own imprudent conduct, he was deprived of his titles and offices in 1633, and was confined for some time to his house in the Isle of Menteith. Charles I., however, conferred the title of Earl of Airth and Menteith upon him. He was made an Extraordinary Lord of Session in 1628, being at that time President of the Privy Council and Justice-General.—Brunton and Haig's *Senators*, p. 278.

[4] Sir Archibald Acheson, see note, p. 93.

IX

TO THE COUNTESS DOWAGER OF MAR.

Pleass your Ladyship,—I ressauit youris of last of Februar, and am sorie from my hart that suche contestatioun fallis out betuix your ladyship and the erll, your good sone.[1] Quhat wes done in that particuler of the lawborowis[2] I know nott, nather can I giv a reasoun of the refusell, or of the desyr thairoff, becaus I wes not acquaint with ather of tham. But I wische I had beine, for I trust with verie good groundis to haif persuadit that nather of tham wes fitt to be hard in publick befoir the performing of the last dewtie of youris nobill husbandis honorabill funerallis.[3]

Madam, I haif pervsit your ladyships memoriall, and gevin my opinioun thairanent in that samyn sort as if I wer to judge on my conscience. Butt I am woo to sie affares to goo in this sort, and I am sure it is againis the will of that most nobill saull that now restis with the Lord, and I am als sure that the contestatioun sall do good to nather of yow, and this is not the way ather to keip peax, or to advance the nobill plantis of so nobill a parentage, or to siste the fall and ruyne of that antient and nobill hous quhilk I am persuadit is to your ladyship (nixt to your self and your children) your cheif desyr. And seing thar is sa money ill instrumentis in the world to nurische discord, I besek the Lord to direct the bussines so that befoir the funerallis your ladyship may vse that wisdome and authority over him that he may be forcit be the prove of your ladyships prudent affectioun to lay all doun at your feit and to tak vp from you in love that quhilk is dew to him. Sua humblie committis your ladyship to the blissing of Godis grace, I humblie rest, your ladyships humble seruitor,

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[1] John, eighth Earl of Mar, the countess's step-son. He succeeded his father, the seventh earl, on the death of the latter, on the 14th December 1634; married Lady Christian Hay, second daughter of Francis ninth Earl of Errol, and died in September 1654. The earl was on very bad terms with his stepmother, as several of these letters of Sir Thomas Hope show.

[2] In Scotch law, a writ in the name of the sovereign, commanding a person to give security against offering violence against another.

[3] Though the countess's husband, John seventh Earl of Mar, died in December 1634, his funeral, which was conducted with great pomp, did not take place till the 7th of April 1635. He was buried in the family burial-place at Alloa, but the most diligent and careful search has, curiously enough, failed to determine the exact spot.

S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, 3 Marche 1635.

To the rycht nobill Countess, the Countess of Mar.

X

TO THE COUNTESS DOWAGER OF MAR.

Pleass your Ladyship,—Now at last the laird of Lugtoun[1] hes offerit to your ladyship securitie vpon conditioun that your ladyship leid na comprysing againes the president[2] and the lard of Deirsie,[3] quhilk in respect of the Erll of Rothess[4] his new requeist for him I think your ladyship sould not refuse, the securitie being good, and some other cautionaris found by the Erll of Rothess (for I think it not ressoun that ye tak him, albeit he be offerit), and thairwith Lugtoun paying presentlie the expenssis quhilk hes beine warit on the comprysing, and als laying doun the money quhilk is to be debursit for leiding of the other comprysingis.

I haif with some difficultie obteinit the Erll of Rothess his subscriptioun to the declaratioun anent Gargunok quhilk

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[1] A barony in the parish of Dalkeith, Midlothian, now incorporated (since 1693) with the property of the Duke of Buccleuch. About this time it was in the possession of Sir David Crichton, knight, who was commissioner to Parliament for the shire of Edinburgh from 1639 to 1641.

[2] Sir Robert Spottiswood, second son of John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews; born in 1596; appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session in 1622, and an Ordinary Lord in 1626; became Lord President of the Court of Session in 1633. Owing to his royalist proclivities he became obnoxious to the Presbyterians. He fled to England, and remained with Charles I. till the latter's second visit to Scotland; succeeded the Earl of Lanark as Secretary of State for Scotland in December 1643; taken prisoner at the battle of Philiphaugh, and executed at St. Andrews 16th January 1646.—Brunton and Haig's *Senators*, p. 266.

[3] Sir John Spottiswood, eldest son of Archbishop Spottiswood, succeeded his father as proprietor of the estate of Dairsie in Fife, and was one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to James VI. His only son John, having joined the Marquis of Montrose, was tried, condemned, and executed for high treason in 1650.

[4] John, fifth Earl of Rothes. His lordship was married to Lady Mar's second daughter, Anne.

I haif heirwith sent to your ladyship and desyris that your ladyship do send it with diligence to the Erll of Kinghorne [1] (for he is not in towne) that he may subscryve it also, and then that questioun is removit.

And if your ladyship wer als neirlie clerit in the jowellis [2] trewlie I wald think your ladyship at greit ease in the controversies with the Erll of Mar, and thairfoir forgett not to try the witnessis [torn] your ladyship and send me a nott of thair depositiounis.

I haif seine your tutor his letter to your ladyship's sone [3] anent the Candelmes dewtie of Bandeth 1639, as for the first termes payment of the crop 1638. And trewlie, madam, if your ladyship find any man of judgement in Scotland quho sall say that it is dew to your ladyship he sall quyt it; and vtherwais I persuade myself that your ladyship will not crave it againis the tennour of your last contract, quhilk your ladyship promisit not to alter in substance or any substantiall point thairoff. And if your ladyship will reid it, your ladyship will find him assignit to the haill crop 1638, quhairof this Candelmes dewtie 1639 is a part. And as it is so in the contract, so it is most aggreabill to equitie and conscience, seing he takkis the burding of Mr. John Cantis soume, and of the annuelrents thairof of the termes of Witsonday 1639 and termes thairefter; and how can he pay that and gett payment of his iiij^{m} merks of tak dewty and of the j^{m} merks of Bandeth, except he vplift the haill dewties of the crop 1638 quhilk are payabill in the termes of the year 1639. Or vtherwais that your ladyship intendis to burdeine him with theis, and lay him aff to the termes in the yeir 1640 to gett releiff thairoff, quhilk I am sure is contrair to equitie. Butt, madam, as I wreit to the counsel of befoir I humblie entreit your ladyship ather latt the contract stand in the substantial heids as it wes aggreit, or latt ws bayth be restorit as we wer befor the 18 of Apryll, quhilk is the dait off the contract.[1]

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[1] John, second Earl of Kinghorn. He too was son-in-law to the countess, his first wife being her third daughter, Margaret.

[2] One of the chief points of contention between the countess and her stepson was with regard to the disposal of the late earl's jewels, including the insignia of his various honours.

[3] Charles Erskine, her fourth son. He had recently been married (on 5th February 1639) to Sir Thomas Hope's eldest surviving daughter, Marie. The small estate of Bandeath, situated on the banks of the Forth, in Stirlingshire, had been settled upon him by his father for his maintenance. Bandeath was originally part of the barony of Cambuskenneth, which the Earl of Mar gave to his third son Alexander, by charter dated 23d August 1617. The liferent of part of the land was reserved to Lady Mar, and Bandeath was probably included in it.—*Chartulary of Cambuskenneth*, Introd. p. cxxiv.

And as to the clering of the doubtis in the formalitie, I haif seine the paper drawin vp be the counsel, quhilk I haif aggreed to except in some particular marginnall nottis quhairof I do refer the equitie thairoff to the counsel himself and vpon his ansuer salbe readie to do all dewtie.

Onlie, madam, thar is one thing quhilk stumblis me (and quhairoff I haif gottin informatioun within thir xxiiij hours) anent a band of viij^{m} merks quhairin your ladyships sone is bund as cautioner to Mr. Dauid Andersoun, quhilk I am persuadit hes beine out of your memorie; for vtherwais your ladyship wald haif told of it at the contract of mariage als weill as your ladyship did of the vther burdenis. And I haif iust ressoun to blasone[2] my good sone, for he wes askit and refusit and grantis be his oth that he did not remember of it, becaus he sayis it wes done in his minoritie. But that is not aneugh.

Now, madam, we must haif recourse to the nixt remedie, quhilk is the undoing of that in this contract of explanatioun with the remanent burdeinis; and if this be done I must rest satisfeit, albeit I wische it had beine done at first.

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[1] The following letter from the countess to her son, Sir Charles Erskine, has reference to this same contract, and to the contract of marriage between him and his wife, Sir Thomas Hope's daughter, to which Lady Mar was a party :—'My deir Sonne,—My heart for the present is so overcherged with greifes that hardly can I frem my mind or hand to wreat. I haue sent one informations to yow of what I desire of yow to be dune, since ye will compaill me to byde be that miserabell contrak which I putt my hand to be trust and promeis which ar nott keip to me. I am sorie for itt manie wayes, for itt will force me to doe that which maye greiue yow, and anger uthers heir after. I take God to witnes what my mind is touards yow, bott your good father will nott giue me leaue to doe.

'I praye yow send me all newis with the bearer of south and north, remembring my loue to all your good companie. I rest your loving mother,

'Marie Stewart.

'Stirling, xxviii May 1639.

'I wold be glaid to see yow heir before ye goe to the Borders that ye maye take my blesing with yow.'

[2] *Blaze*, to deny, defame, hold up to infamy.—Murray's *New Eng. Dict.*

I look to gett my pass for Court[1] ones befoir Mononday at nycht, and I heir that my Lord Duik[2] is laitlie come thair from Londoun, quhair he wes being sent thither be his Maiestie out of York about the xv of Apryll last. And if I go I sall not forgett your ladyships particular. So with my humbil seruice, I rest, your ladyships humbill seruitour,

S. THOMAS HOPE.

Edinburgh, 10 May 1639.

MADAM,—As I wes about to close this letter I haif rancounterit a just contrary requeist to that off the Laird Lugtoun his desyr. For the Lady president having gottin notice that Lugtoun is to offer your ladyship security, provyding your ladyship go on with comprysing againis hir husband and his brother, the laird of Deirsie, dois ernestlie sollicit your ladyship will not disgrace hir husband be comprysing againis him his lands, but that your ladyship wald adheire to your rycht and comprysing already led and sayis and sweris that your lady[ship] sall ressave reall payment at Witsonday. Now, madam, I could gif no ansuer to this till I had acquaint your ladyship thairwith, and thairfoir advyse with your tutour and send me your special directioun both quhat ye will haif of the Laird Lugtoun ather in securitie or expensis in cace ye aggre with him, and quhat your ladyship will haif of the Lady president if ye resolue to supercid at hir request till Witsonday.[3]

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[1] King Charles I. was at this date at Newcastle with an army which he had raised without the authority of the English Parliament, and was marching against the Scotch Covenanters, then encamped, under General Alexander Leslie, at Duns Law, in Berwickshire. The expedition came to an inglorious end, Charles concluding a treaty with the Covenanters, at Berwick-on-Tweed, a month afterwards—a treaty which at the time he was secretly intending to violate as soon as his power was equal to his will.

[2] James, fourth Duke of Lennox (son of Esmé, the third duke), and a nephew of the countess; married Mary Villiers, only daughter of George, first Duke of Buckingham; died in 1655.

[3] On the 30th July, Lady Mar wrote to her son, Sir Charles Erskine, in the following terms. The original letter is among family papers in the possession of A. Erskine-Murray, Esq., Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire:—'LOVING SONNE, —On Monday last the Erle of Mar went to Edenbroch, as I heare his wife and

XI

TO SIR CHARLES ERSKINE.

Sir,—I haif sent to my dauchter Kerse[1] hir husbandis letter to me anent the woinderfull blissing of God in the victorie off our armie in passing the Tyne,[2] quhilk I haif desyrit hir to communicat to yow. And I pray yow at your returne hither bring hir with yow, for so I haif writtin to hir.

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the minister says his erent is to gett ane suspension for the comprysing which is now denonced, and to seek resolution how to putt me from the seatt of the kirk. That furious ladie says all the Aduocatts law shall nott make me keip that seatt. She said to Mester William Weimes that I was weill knawis, I neuer loued nor respeakitt my husband ; I was the caus of the death of my Ladie Buchane, and was presently duing all I could to ruine the hous of Mar. There is much more malice she uttred, which ware longsum to wreat all she said. I pray yow informe my Lord Aduocatt, and latt him doe whatt he may to keep him from ane suspension, for he will doe what he maye to obtaine one.

'As for the Laird of Lugton his besines, tell your good father, he knawis best whatt to doe in such a besines. Bott I wold forgiue nothing which may be gotten be law, for he hath deserued no fauour att anie of our hands. There is six hondreth and fiftie markes from William Graye, according to Mester George Monorgen his note, and assignation mead to yow send with this. I intreat yow to haue a cair of my besines with the Erle of Mar. Latt all my frends there knaw how I am opprest with him and his wife. He and his sonne have so bostet the officer and witnes who went with him that with great dificultie could I gett anie to goe with him, they were so affrayed of there liues. My ouen seruents refused. Latt the Erles of Rothes and Kingorne knaw of thir things, and the rest of our frends. If ye can see my Lord Traquare, tell him I doe expeak his halpe in so fare as I haue reason on my syde. Latt him knaw how he hath broken the arristment conserning the colles. My Lord Aduocatt can best informe to whom I must trust all my besines. I am to goe to Alouay within tuo or thri days. I will stay 6 days. Att my retourne, if itt be neidfull, itt maye be I comme to Edenbroch upon aduertisment. If the Duc of Lenox comme I must be there. This is all I can saye for this time, with the remembrence of my best affections to all your good companie, in spesiall to my best berne, your suitt heart, I doe remaine, your affectionatt mother, Marie Stewart.

'Stirling, xxx Julie 1639.

'I praye yow haue a cair to paye Sir Thomas Hope his monies for his hous.

'For my sonne, Charles Arskine off Bandeth.'

[1] Dame Helen Ra or Ray, wife of Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, second son of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, the Lord Advocate.

[2] The victory of the Covenanting army at Newburn-on-Tyne, 28th August 1640. '1 September 1640, Twysday.—This day I gatt a letter from my sone, Sir Thomas, daitat at Rytounfurd, 29 August 1640, declaring the particulars of thair happie victorie, and intaking of Neucastell.'—Hope's *Diary*, p. 119.

The feirfull accident at Dunglas[1] so astonischis me that I can not wryt of it. Onlie adore providence and rest on the Lord. My service to my lady and all hir nobill companie. With my love to your self and my dauchter, I rest, your loving father to love and serve yow, S. THOMAS HOPE.

Craighall,[2] 1 September 1640.

To my much honored and loving sone, Charles Erskin of Cambuskyneth.

XII

TO THE COUNTESS DOWAGER OF MAR.[3]

PLEIS YOUR LADYSHIP,—I receaved your ladyships letter yesternicht, and creavis pardon that I borrow ane other hand to this

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[1] On the 30th August 1640, by an explosion at Dunglas Castle, Berwickshire, then occupied by a party of the Covenanters, under Thomas, second Earl of Haddington, he and about eighty of his relatives and friends perished. Amongst these was Sir Charles's elder brother, Sir Alexander Erskine, the supposed 'faithless lover' of the old ballad, 'Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament.' The Earl of Haddington was their brother-in-law, having married Catherine, the fourth daughter of John, seventh Earl of Mar, and Lady Marie Stewart, his wife. The catastrophe is said to have been caused by an English page of the Earl's, who deliberately fired the powder magazine out of revenge against his master, and himself perished in the explosion. '30 August 1640, being Sounday, att nycht, a part off the place of Dunglas was blowin up with powder and thairin diet Erl Hadingtoun, Robert his brother, Cornel Alexander Erskin, Reidhous, Gogar, Inglistoun; and Sir Gideoun Baillie, and Prestoungrange, hurt.'—Hope's *Diary*, p. 119.

[2] Hope's principal country residence in the parish of Ceres, Fife. The mansion, now a complete ruin, was originally built by him, and presents an attempt to combine the graces of Italian architecture with the strength then still considered necessary in domestic architecture. In Sibbald's day it was 'a good house, with gardens, great inclosures, and much planting.'

[3] This letter is in answer to the following from the countess, the original of which is still preserved among the family papers in possession of Sheriff Erskine-Murray:—'MY VERIE GOOD LORD,—Now when necessitie compellethe me I am forced to haue my recourse to your helpe, and if evrie one had keipt als good duetie to me as I ever did and shall doe to all with whome I haue to doe, I niedit not now to be oppressed with such griefe as this day I am. Your lordship knowes what I have doone to my childrene, but speciallie to your sonne and myne, who hes more nor a double, yea (I may say) a triple portione, in respect off that I am able to doe to the rest, and yit for all my good-will, how spareing he is in my adoes, to concur and assist me, althogh not to his losse (quhairoff I shuld be sorie), I remitt to your lordship and hym to considder. And seing I

my ansuer thairto, being skairs in dispositioun for wreitting quhen I receaved zour ladyships letter, bot much moir indisposit after the reiding thairof, quhilk I tak to be the style of one very far discontented, but salbe loth to imput it to zour ladyship, seing the letter hes not zour ladyships subscriptioun to it, and no resemblance to the goodnes of zour ladyships just and pious desyres.

I am suir, madame, I have never in thocht, word, or deid given zour ladyship occasioun of offense since the contract of mariage, and thair hes beine many chaingis since quhairin I wes not ane agent, but patient and zelded for reverence and respect to zour ladyships pleasour, as the quyting of the four thowsand marks zeirlie to quhilk zour ladyship was bund and takand for it the possessioun quhilk hes not zeilded the half thir two zeris bygaine; and quhairas he sould have had aucht thowsand marks in thir two yeiris he hes not gottin four. Nixt,

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am both aged and infirme, besyd the griefe I haue off my owne, which postethe my end, God knowethe when, I am loathe to leave any questiones betuixt your sonne and his brother William, whome I leave as yit unprovydit. And thairfor that my presentt necessities may be supplied be the intromissione with my owne rentis of Ferrytoune, and that Charles may be freed off the soumes for the which he is bound for me, I have resolved to mak offer to your lordship and hym off the thrie thousand and seven hundrethe markis which I haue out of Alloway, and the annuelrent off the fourteen thousand markis recovred for Cardrosse, which wilbe yearlie neare fyve thousand markis in all, and off ye byrunnes thairoff, which att this tyme will extend to tenn thousand markis, ay and whill Mr. John Cant and Mr. Gavin Justice wyf be payit; and for this terme I shall pay the annuellrent off both by my selfe, and befor the nixt terme I am perswadit your lordship, with the helpe off the committie, may atteane payment off the most part off the byrunnes. The doeing of this will shaw my sonnes goodwill to me, which wilbe a greate reliefe to my grieved mynd, and wilbe a more spiedie reliefe to hym, that questiones may be removed betuixt brethrene befor I die, that I may depart in peace when it shall pleas my Lord. If your lordships sonne and myne yeelde not to this, I can pay no annuell off any off these two sommes, except I intromett with the rent off the Ferrytoune, for I am straited on all sydis, so that the burdingis I haue makis me almost unable to live. Thir things I remitt to your lordships consideratione, and expectis your answeare with the first, and restis, your lordships affectionnat friend.

'Sterline the 22 off November 1640.

'I most intreat your lordship, as befor, to send me hither the richtis grantit to Charles off twentie thousand markis upon the landis off Alloway, it is no reasone he keipt them since he hes renuncit in favoures off his brother Johne.

'To my verie honorable good lord, my Lord Advocatt.'

this wes scarcely weill doine quhen I am vrged to tak Mr. Johne Cants debt for quhilk I ingadged my self and my sones, and tuik Ferritoun[1] and Cardrois for suretie. And laitlie the annuel rent of Allaway in quhilk my dauchter wes infeft must be quitt and a personall band taikin from zour ladyships sone Johne[2] for payment of the nyne thowsand marks—restand thairof, with ane zeirs annuell at this last Martimes, quhairin I must profess that zour ladyships sone did delyver the writtis for quytting of that annuelrent against my expres desyr and directioun; for I feared that the personall band sould breid offense iff I sould seik the performance thairof. And now quhen I doe not creave the principall soume (albeit it be dew at this terme), but only the annuell, I am mett with this letter as from zour ladyship expostulating in very hard termes for myne and zour sones vndewtifulnes in not having regaird to zour ladyships burdings, and except we tak the soumes auchtand be the Erle of Mar that the annuell is not to be expected at this terme.

Trewlie, madame, my heart wes greived to reid a challenge of this straine; and for myne and zour sones cair to obey your ladyships desyres and commands evin with our sensible hurt, I am suir we have given evident pruiffs be our behaviour in the particulars aboue-expressit, and specially in October last, quhen we disponed the reall richt of Allaway quhilk we had in suirtie both of Mr. Johne Cant and of Mr. Gawin Justices soumes, and hes tain personall bands in place of thame quhilk now occasions this offense.

And for taking the Erle of Mars soumes, it wer a point of great indiscretioun on our pairt and greatter prejudice. And quhen these wer offered to Otterstoun for zour ladyships sone Johne, he refuisit, and I am suir we have greatter resoun. But, madam, that cannot be a just excuise for not payment of the annuell of this terme; for quither it be takin aff zour ladyships hand or not takin, zour ladyship is alyk able to give the annuell iff zour ladyship be willing, as zour ladyship is bund; and be not taking of it on ws, zour ladyship sall nawayes be prejudged. For iff the Lord send justice in the land, I salbe als and moir cairfull of it nor iff I had takin it, and quhensoever it beis payed in haill or pairts, I sall tak it willinglie in pairt of payment. And iff zour ladyship resolve not to pay it, I sall abyd patientlie till Mr. Johne Cant chairge me be horning, and then albeit for reverence of zour ladyship I intend not to vse a chairge against zour ladyship, zet I am suir in justice and equity I may chairge zour sone Johne, quhilk trewlie I wilbe forced to doe. The pretext of removing of a pley betuixt zour ladyships sone William[1] and ws, is insert as a motive to tak thir soumes of the Erle of Mars. Bot trewlie, madam, it hes no contingence with the desyr, for thair cannot be a pley betuixt Williame and ws, iff Mr. Johne Cant and Mr. Gawin Justice be payed; and it is his only best to have thame payed in zour ladyships awin tyme. And as to the marginall nott, creaving the delyverie of the writts, I wald wishe your ladyships sone be as cairfull to pay the moneyis as I to delyver the writts; bot till that be doine, I sie nether reasoun nor conscience to creave thame. So humblie recomending the necessitie and justice of my desyres for payment of the annuelrent for eschewing of farther heiring to zour ladyships wyse consideratioun, I humblie rest your ladyships most humble seruitor,

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[1] A property in the parish of Clackmannan belonging to Lady Mar.

[2] Sir John Erskine, fifth son of John, seventh Earl of Mar and the Countess; married Margaret Inglis, the heiress of Otterston, in the parish of Dalgety, Fife.

S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, 25 November 1640.

Indorsed—*Sir Thomas Hope to Lady Mar*, 1640.

XIII

TO MR. ALEXANDER HOPE.

Sone,—I ressauit youres of ii February on 17 thairoff,[2] with ane other to your brother James,[1] quho is absent at the leadmynes taking possessioun so far as the malice and power of his partie will permitt him, and sa sone as he returnes ze sall haif ane direct ansuer. And in the mean tym secrecie and silence. As to your proceiding in the escheit, I lyke weill of your course in acquainting his maiestie and making vse of Sir James Galloway, to quhom I do remember my seruice, and thairwith desyres zow to assure him that I salbe readie to ressave his commandes, and intertany a faythfull correspondence, iff he pleissis to mak vse of me heir. And as to the bussines itself, I haif writtin to zow be packet of 13 Februarij, quhairin is a letter and informatioun to the Erle Stirling,[2] to be made vse of be yow as ze find convenient, be advyse of the laird of Panmur.[3] As for the last part of your letter concerning zourself, it hes gevin me so deep a wound to my hart, that I must take tyme to gather my spirit. The Lord pittie me, and direct yow in a more prudent way, and keep yow from tempting the Lord by distrust and diffidence in not waiting patientlie for a releiff of your distresses from him, and in crocing the wearie hart of your aged father, and bringing his gray haires to the grave with sorow. Butt of this at greter lenth quhen I haif digestit in some measur the excess of my present greiff.

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[1] The Honourable William Erskine, Lady Mar's seventh and youngest son; Cupbearer to King Charles II.; appointed Master of the Charterhouse, 29th December 1677, an office which he held till his death on the 29th May 1685.

[2] '17 Februar 1641, Weddinsday.—Item, this 17 February, ressavit letters from L. Panmuir and my sone, daitit 11 February 1641, and ansuerit immediatlie in this samyn pacquet, quhilk wes not zit away quhen thir letters cam.'—Hope's *Diary*, p. 128.

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[1] Sir James Hope of Hopetoun, sixth son of Sir Thomas, born 12th July 1614; appointed Governor of the Mint 1641: raised to the bench of the Court of Session by the title of Lord Hopetoun, 1st June 1649; died 23d November 1661, and was buried at Cramond. He married, 14th January 1638, Anne, only daughter and heiress of Robert Foulis of Leadhills, in the county of Lanark, and carried on extensive and lucrative mining operations on his wife's property. He was ancestor of the Earls of Hopetoun.

[2] William Alexander, son of Alexander Alexander; born at Menstrie, Clackmannanshire, about 1567; accompanied Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll, in his travels abroad; knighted by James VI. in 1609, and appointed Master of Requests in 1614, and Secretary of State for Scotland in 1626; created Viscount of Stirling, and Lord Alexander of Tullibody, 1630; and Earl of Stirling 1633. A contemporary and friend of Drummond of Hawthornden, he was himself the author of various dramatic pieces and sonnets, a complete edition of which appeared at Glasgow, in 3 vols., in 1870. He ultimately became very unpopular in Scotland, and becoming insolvent, died at London, 12th September 1640, and was buried at Stirling in the following April. See Rogers' *Memorials of the Earl of Stirling and House of Alexander*, 2 vols., 1877.

[3] Patrick Maule of Panmure, Forfarshire; accompanied James VI. to England in 1603, and was appointed one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to that king, an office which he continued to hold under Charles I. Created Earl of Panmuir, 3d August 1646; died 22d December 1661. He was an ardent and devoted royalist.

So zet, with my blissing, I committ yow to godis grace, and restis your loving and greivit father,

S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, 17 February 1641.

Indorsed—*To my sone, Mr. Alexander Hope, Carver to his sacred maiestie.*[1]

XIV

TO SIR CHARLES ERSKINE.[2]

My honorabill and deir Sone,—I can not excuse my self of my bygane negligence in not wryting to zow, vtherwais nor be renewing of my grevous wound,[3] quhilk wes the caus thairof, and since it, the Lord hes beine pleasit to visit me in ane other, quhilk hes increseit both myne and your greiff, in the sorowfull conditioun of my dauchter, your bedfellow. Butt we haif a merciefull and wise Lord, for on the day zour sone John wes buryet,[4] the letteris cam from zow to hir of your helthe, quhilk wes a gret confort. And albeit I had none

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[1] '12 December 1634, Fryday.—Being at the Justice Court aganis Lord Balmerinoch, pacquet cam to Erl Traquhair, quhairin letters to me from Erl Stirling, Lord Panmuir, and my sone, of 3 December, advertising me off the Chancellar's deidlie palsey and the Erl Mortoun's siknes. Item, that my sone at Windsor wes sworn be his Maiestie in extraordinar Carver.'—Hope's *Diary*, p. 16.

[2] Sir Charles was at this time in France, where he had gone with his nephew, Thomas, third Earl of Haddington, and his youngest brother, William Erskine, to be present at the marriage of the Earl to Henrietta de Coligny, daughter of Gaspard de Coligny, the grandson of the celebrated Huguenot admiral of the same name. In his *Diary* (p. 189) Sir Thomas Hope records his departure:—'12 Junij 1643, Mononday. This day my sone Sir Charles went to Leyth to tak his journey to France, with the Erll of Hadingtoun and William Erskine, his brother-german.' The marriage took place at the bride's ancestral home, Châtillon-sur-Loing, in the modern department of Loiret, on the 9th August (1643). Sir Charles remained in France till the following spring, and returned to Edinburgh 7th May 1664.—Hope's *Diary*, p. 205.

[3] The death of his second son, Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, on the 23d of August (1643).

[4] Sir Charles's second son, John Erskine (born 4th July 1642), died on 5th October (1643).—Hope's *Diary*, p. 196.

from zow, zit the reading of hiris did work in me patience, submissioun, and thankisgeving.

Zesterday also I saw zour renewit letteris to hir, quhilk hes castin hir in sik a golph of greiff, as I do feir hir helth very muche. For scho takkis so heavilie the want of zour presence, that scho admitts of no confort, but lodgis sorow in hir breist all day, and deludgis it in the bosome off hir teiris all nycht.

Sir, ze knaw it wes my awin opinioun quhen ze went, that ze mycht stay till ze gott a grip of the language, and I am loth zit to change it, if I had expectatioun that hir greiffis could be keipit within thair awin just channellis, and nott ourflow so immeasurablie as thay doe. And I am laboring to work hir to the consideratioun of the tymes and seasones heir, quhilk ar liklie to be verie calamitous, and that scho hes just ressoun to blisse God, quho hes gevin to zow (quhois honor and saiftie is deirer to hir nor hirself) so iust a caus of absence from this till the Lord be pleisit to calm the stormes and tempestes quhairwith the land is threattint.

If ze come nott yourself, I pray zow in zour nixt (quhen ze haif confortit hir be sik insinuating reasones as ar best knowin to zour self) say that ze ar so takin with the sense of hir sorowis, that albeit the seas be now turbulent and dangerous, zit ze will hazard home vpon the ressait off hir letter, and betuix and then I trust the Lord sall oppin a doore off confort, patience, and resolutioun to byd out the tyme of your stay to Spring.

Remember my humbill seruis to the Erll of Hadingtoun and his Countes, and to all your honorabill companie, and so with my best blissing I rest your loving and affectionat father to serve yow,

S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, 9 October 1643.

Quhen ze wrytt herefter latt me haif a lyne from zow, and punische me nott for my former neglect, for I sall not fall in the lyk if the Lord do not bring on me the lyk occasioun of sorow.

To the rycht honorabill Sir Charles Areskin of Cambuskynneth, knycht.

XV

TO SIR CHARLES ERSKINE.

Sir,—I ressauit zoures of 15 and 17 Merche this 24 thairoff, and albeit manie of the passages thairoff gives me satisfactioun, zit the feir I conceave of the occasional distemper of your helth dois muche greive me, and I pray the Lord to cure and recover it; and intreatis zow with the first occasioun to acquaint me with Godis mercie bestowit on zou heirin, quhilk salbe most weilcome newis to me.[1]

As for the diuisiounes quhairof ze wrytt thair is to muche rumor ef it heir, and I beseik the Lord to prevent the ill of it. But ze do wyselie to hold zow be your maik and syde with nather. And for the nobil man quhom ze name to me, his freindschip is worthie to be interteynit. But trust to none but to the Lord. And quhen be Godis mercie I sall sie yow heir I sall speik to zow plainlie quhat I think.

I did acquaint zow with myne of 22 Merche that zour bedfellow wes about two efter midnycht, being Setterday, happilie delyuerit of a fair boy, quhom God blisse; and he is to ressave his second and new birth, God willing, tomorow with the name of James,[2] quhilk wes zour pleasure signifeit to hir, and weill chosin for the memorie of your nobill brother, the Erll of

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[1] Sir Charles was at this time in London, acting as one of the commissioners from the Scottish Parliament in the difficult and delicate negotiations that were then going on between the king, the English Parliament, and the Scots.—Balfour's *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 205; Baillie's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 217. He was also appointed an additional Scottish commissioner to the famous Westminster Assembly, the minutes of which bear that on 20th January 1644, he was welcomed by the Assembly, and addressed by the Prolocutor.—*Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, edited by Drs. Mitchell and Struthers, session 364. During this period, as his letters to his wife, still extant, show, he was in indifferent health, owing chiefly to his arduous and anxious labours.

[2] '25 Merche 1645, Twysday. This day my oy baptizit James, witnesses James Erl Buchan, James Hamiltoun, brother to the Erll of Hadingtoun, Sir James my sone, and James Steuart, Mr. Mungo Law, minister.'—Hope's *Diary*, p. 215. The expression 'his second and new birth,' applied to the rite of baptism, is a strange one on the part of so staunch a Presbyterian as Hope.

Buchan;[1] and if the Lord salbe plesit to give hir the happines to sie zow heir (quhilk is hir greatest earthlie happines, and myne almaist more, be ressoun of that distemper of your helth quhilk scho knawis not off) it will incresce our joy exceidinglie. And I doubt not if ze be ernest for zour returne but ze will haif it, and for ocht I vnderstand my sone Sir Alexander will be your convoy home.[2]

For the vther bussiness with zour nephew[3] the ansuer from his grandmother[4] to him cam from this in a packet delyuerit to my Lord Waristoun[5] be sea, and I sent ane other be land, making mentioun thairof in a packet delyuerit to Benjamine, servitor to my Lord Chancellar;[6] but I sie that nather of them wes come to your hands at the wryting of your letteris to me, albeit I think or now ze haif them. And thairfoir I haif, according to zour desyr set doun in this inclosit paper the principal heidis of that contract to quhilk I crave humblie the Lords blissing. And albeit I be not so abill nou as quhen the Lord offerit zow to me (for quhilk I humblie blisse the Lord) to do in that measure as then I did, quhairof ye ar not ignorant of the caussis, partlie arrysing from my sone Sir Alexander[1] his wast spending, and partlie from the surcease of my calling, and with it the trubles and burdingis of the tyme; zit the hope I haif that he salbe of your douce and sweit dispositioun, makis me to resoule to do above my power. And thairfoir in the paper I speak no les nor that quhilk ze ressauit, but ze must haif ane cair of the termes of payment. And I wische that the third part of it may be payabill at my decease, quhilk I trust sall not be long to, albeit (if so be the Lords plesur) I could be content to leive the longer for zour and thair saiks. But this neidis not to be spokin to zour nephew, but keipit in your awin bosome, and I am hairtlie content that in the consideratioun off the articles contenyit in the paper ze sway (as I thinke both natur and honor bundis zow) to zour nephewis part thairoff, and that ze challenge me quhair ze think I deill sparinglie, and with this I close, humble praying the Lord for zour happie recoverie and to heir from zow thairanent with the first opportunitie and restis, youris in all fatherlie affectioun to honor and serve yow,

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[1] James Erskine, eldest son of John, seventh Earl of Mar, and Lady Marie Stewart, his second wife; became Earl of Buchan, *jure uxoris*, Mary Douglas, Countess of Buchan in her own right. He died in 1640, and was succeeded by his only son, James.

[2] Sir Charles received a brief leave of absence from his post as commissioner at London, and came to Edinburgh on 1st May 1645, returning again to London in July.

[3] David Erskine, second Lord Cardross. He was the son of Henry Erskine, the second son of John, seventh Earl of Mar, and Lady Marie Stewart, and succeeded his grandfather the earl as second Lord Cardross in 1634. He was at this time in terms of marriage with Anna Hope, Sir Thomas's second surviving daughter (born 19th April 1625), and sister of Lady Erskine, his uncle's wife. The marriage took place shortly after in the month of August, this same year (1645). The concluding portion of this letter refers to their marriage settlements. See also Letter XVIII, p. 125.

[4] The Countess Dowager of Mar.

[5] Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, son of James Johnston, merchant, Edinburgh, and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton; passed as advocate in 1633; clerk of the famous Glasgow Assembly of 1638; appointed Procurator of the Church of Scotland that same year; raised to the bench of the Court of Session by the title of Lord Warriston 1641; knighted by Charles I. 15th November 1641; a lay member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; succeeded Sir Thomas Hope as Lord Advocate in 1646, and became Lord Clerk Register in 1649. An ardent Covenanter, Johnston fled to the Continent on the restoration of Charles II., but was arrested at Rouen in 1662, and after being confined in the Tower of London for some months, was brought to Edinburgh, and executed there on 22d July 1663.—Brunton and Haig's *Senators*, p. 306; Omond's *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 148-185.

[6] John, Earl of Loudoun, eldest son of Sir James Campbell of Lawers, and Jean, daughter of James, Lord Colville; born in 1598; created Earl of Loudoun 1633; appointed Lord Chancellor in 1641, of which office he was deprived at the Restoration, and fined £12,000 Scots; died at Edinburgh 15th March 1663.

S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, 24 Merche 1645.

Sir,—I pray yow haif a speciall cair of the termes of payment, and if ze haif any scrupil tharin, differ your opinioun tharin till we meit.

Or this could be dispatchit with the pacquet, the babie wes baptisit James on Twysday, 25 Merche, and efter sermone the

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He married in 1620, Margaret Campbell, granddaughter and heiress of Hugh, Lord Loudoun.—Douglas's *Peerage*; Brunton and Haig's *Senators*, p. 300.

[1] See Introduction, p. 82.

Erl of Buchan,[1] the Countes of Hadingtoun,[2] and Lady Marie[3] drank zour helth quhilk I pray the Lord to blisse.

To the rycht honorabill Sir Charles Areskin of Cambuskynneth, knycht.

XVI

TO SIR CHARLES ERSKINE.

Sir,—I entreat zow to remember to wrytt zour letter to the Erle of Mar, zour brother, befoir yee part, and delyuer it to Mr. George Noruell, together with the memorandum drawin vp for zour effares.

This inclosit (anent a warrand to be signit be his Maiestie for payment to me off the allowance dew for the generall Assemblie[4]) is the just doubill of that quhilk I send vp with my sone Sir Alexander, and quhilk he delyuerit to Sir James Galloway,[5] to be presentit to his Maiestie, quhilk he did; and his Maiestie doutit if the daylie allowance wes £60 stirling per diem, for quhilk I haif no more but the testimony of theis quho wes imployit in the lyk seruice, and I schew zow a letter from the Erle of Lanerk, secretary,[6] bering so muche.

Thair wes ane other doubt movit that his Maiestie had some things to be resoluit of with me anent my cariage in that commissioun quhilk his Maiestie behovit to know befoir his Maiestie

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[1] James, second Earl of Buchan, nephew of Sir Charles Erskine.

[2] Henrietta de Coligny, widow of Sir Charles's nephew, Thomas, third Earl of Haddington, who died shortly before this, on the 8th February (1645). See note, p. 117.

[3] Marie Hope, Lady Erskine, wife of Sir Charles.

[4] Hope was Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly which met on 2d August 1643, the only commoner who ever filled that office.

[5] Master of Requests.

[6] William, second son of James, second Marquis of Hamilton; created Ear of Lanark in 1639; appointed Secretary of State for Scotland, September 1641; succeeded as fourth Marquis and second Duke of Hamilton on the execution of his elder brother James, in March 1649, who had espoused the cause of Charles, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Preston. He died from wounds received in the battle of Worcester, 3d September 1651. He married in 1638 Lady Elizabeth Maxwell, daughter and co-heir of James, Earl of Dirleton.—Douglas's *Peerage*.

wold sign my warrand. As for this, it may be that some malicious sycophantis hes calumniat me to his Maiestie herin. But I know quhatever it is, and quhatsomeuer he be that hes spoken it, hes spokin vntrueth. For I am conscious to myself, and hes the conscience of faythfulnes in my walking thairin so sircumspectlie, that as I did preciselie follow my instructiounes, so no leiving creatur wes acquaint be me with them or any of them; and I did not directlie nor indirectly communicat the samyn to any quhom his Maiestie suspectis. Butt now trusting the Lord sall give some happie occasioun of a blissit peace, I haif gevin zow heirwith the doubill thairoff, that if ze find any opportunity ze may vse zour best cair and fauor to obteine his Maiesties hand thairto. And I salbe readie vpon zour aduertisement to wrytt ather to Mr. Mauld,[1] Mr. Levingstoun, Sir James Galloway, Mr. Murray, or any other quhom ze direct to desyre thair assistanc thairin.

Sir, becaus of the purpose of mariage betuix zour nobill nephew, my Lord Cardros, and my dauchter, my wyff hes delyuerit zow a nott of some furnischings to be coft at Londoun and sent home. I do intreat zow to haif ane cair thairoff, and to caus send the samyn home with all possibill expeditioun, and draw on me the bills for payment of the monyis to be payit thairfoir, quhilk I trust sal not exceid tuo hundreth pund stirling; and with Godis grace I sal sie the samyn thankfully payit, and for that and all zour fauors, rest yours affectionat father and humbel seruitor,

S. Thomas Hope.

Craghall, 23 Junij 1645.

To the rycht honorabill my nobill sone, Sir Charles Erskin of Cambuskynneth, knycht. To be oppenit at Lundoun.

XVII

TO GILBERT NEILSON, ADVOCATE.

Sir,—According to the desyre of your letter of 9 August, I haif (efter reiding of the forme off the Contract contening sex

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[1] See note, p. 116.

scheit of paper, and comparing of it with the forme drawin vp at first, and with the writtis maid at S^t^ Jonstoun in presence of the Erll of Lanrek and off his father in law, the Lard of Innerweik,[1] and thairwith remembring the conference had betuix zow and Thomas Maxwell[2] befoir me at Craighall, together with that quhilk past apart betuix zow and me in our way to Falkland), drawin vp ane forme of the Contract, consisting of thrie scheitis of paper befoir the claus of registratioun, quhilk in my judgement sall satisfie both parties. For in it all your scrupills ar satisfeit, and the way of the oblischement for successioun of the airs maill of the mariage qualifeit according to youris just and necessary reservatiounis quhairvpon ye and I commonit in the way to Falkland, and to quhilk I trust my Lord the Erl of Cassills[3] (to quhom I remember my humbill seruice) will assent, being assurit of his lordschipis just and equitabill dispositioun, that he will vrge no moir of the Erll of Annandaill,[4] nor that quhilk he wald be content sould be vrgit of himself, iff he wer in the Erll of Annandailis cace. And I am sure his lordschip wald never aggrie to bind himself that the airis of his first mariage, or second, or any vther, sould succeid to his hail lands and estait present and to be conqueist, without reserving power to himself to burdene the samyn for payment of former debtis contractit be him or his predecessors, and for provisioun of his vther children by[5] the air. I haif also causit draw vp the forme of the rentall of the lyfrent lands provydit to the lady, quhilk is to be subscryvit at the tyme of the subscryving of the Contract, bering this claus in the end that it sall not infer warrandice aganis the Erll of Annandaill, the setting of takkis or rentalls, ather bygane or herefter, provyding the samyn be sett for no les dewties nor the dewties contenit in the rentall. Sua, with my best affectioun, I rest zour loving and affectionat freind and brother,

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[1] Sir James Maxwell, son of John Maxwell of Kirkhouse and Jean Murray, the Earl's sister; gentleman of the bedchamber to James VI. and Charles I.; created Earl of Dirleton in 1646. He had parliamentary ratification of the barony of Innerwick to him and Elizabeth Boussoyne his wife in 1633, and along with John Cunningham of Barns had a pension settled on him for keeping a light on the Isle of May.

[2] See note, p. 105.

[3] John, sixth Earl of Cassilis, generally called 'the grave and solemn Earl;' succeeded his uncle John, the fifth Earl, Lord Treasurer of Scotland, in 1616; married Lady Jean Hamilton, daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Haddington, and died in April 1668.—Douglas's *Peerage*; Brunton and Haig's *Senators*, p. 342.

[4] See Introduction, p. 75.

[5] Besides.

S. Thomas Hope.

Craighall, 13 August 1645.

Sir,—Fering to insert the claus of successioun as ye and I commonit vpon till it wer aggreit to betuix the twa nobilmen, I haif onlie caus wryt it in a tikket apart, and hes left a blank in the Contract for inserting thairoff.

To my worthie and muche respectit freind and brother, Gilbert Neilsoun of Craigcaffie, Aduocat.[1]

XVIII

TO SIR CHARLES ERSKINE.

Sir,—I wreit to zow with zour worthie brother, Scottiscraig,[2] on 9 August, on quhilk day he did me the fauor to come to me and put ane end to all differences of that matche[3] quhilk so cairfullie ze haif offerit, as the paper subscryuit be zour nephew and him proportis. Quhairupon the banis wes proclamit on Sounday, 10 of August, and I trust the mariage salbe consummat, with the blissing of God, about the 25 of August. Bot zour nephew wes so punctuall to follow the advyse gevin be zow to him in zour last letter, that he made scrupill to sub-

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[1] See Introduction, p. 83.

[2] Arthur Erskine, sixth son of John, seventh Earl of Mar, and Lady Mary Stewart, his second wife. He became proprietor of the estate of Scotscraig, Fife, *jure uxoris*, Margaret Buchanan, eldest daughter and heiress of Sir John Buchanan of Scotscraig. Like his elder brother Sir Charles, he took a leading part in the counsels and enterprises of the Covenanters. See Balfour's *Annals*; Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, etc. He died about 1652, when his son John was served heir to him. His affairs were greatly embarrassed at the time of his death, and his estate of Scotscraig was ultimately bought by Archbishop Sharpe in 1664, for about 'fourscore and fifteine thowsand merks or therby.'—Lamont's *Diary*, p. 221.

[3] The marriage between Lord Cardross and Anna Hope, Sir Thomas's daughter, see note, p. 120.

scryve the contract of mariage, quhilk wes precislie drawin vp according to zour last articles subscriuit be him and his vncle, Scottiscraig, till the contract wer seine be his vther curatours. And quhen I schav to him the preiudice quhilk mycht aryse to himself be delays, he aggriet to subscryve the samyn provyding I wald refer the differences betuix the first articles subscriuit be his curators at Stirling and theis subscriuit be himself and zour brother, Scottiscraig, to zow, quhilk I aggriet thairto, and gevin writt thairupon, knowing that ze will not do that wrong to zour brother and zour self, as to preis me to alter a jott of that zow both haif aggriet to. And quhen ze sal heir the differences ze will compt some of them absurd and vtheris vniust, as to haif me bund to intertany my lord in hous so long as he pleissis, and iff he remove from my hous to augment his tocher; and to haif the portiouns of the femel (failzing of airs maill) to be referrit to my lord himself. And as to the claus quhilk is in zour contract anent the quyting of 2000 merks of the jointure, it wes vrgit be Scottiscraig, and I aggriet to it, thai making hir rycht to ane manor place as in zouris. And herein efter debait it wes resoluit that quhair in zouris my dauchter is to quyt 2000 merks, in this of hir sisteris scho is to quyt onlie 1000 merks. And for vther differences I knaw nott, so that this bussines is finally closit with the blissing of God. And for the promisse quhilk ze vrgit of me for fyve thousand merks more, and quhilk I refusit, I trust that ze sall find that quhat I spak thairin salbe als good as promist, for on the morow efter the mariage I intend to giff him in hand ane hundreth doubill angels. And for the vther thrie thousand merks thairof, if I do not procur to him a benefic ansuerabill thairto in my tyme, I intend to assigne him to so muche, or leive as muche to him in legacie at the tyme off my deceise.

The publik bussines here gois very crocely, for the Irische[1] crosit Ern[2] on 7 August, and offerit to joyne battell with our

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[1] Under the Marquis of Montrose. His army, which defeated the Covenanting forces under General Baillie at Auldearn, in Aberdeenshire, in May, and at Alford, in the same county, in July 1645, was largely composed of Irish caterans, the descendants of Highlanders who had emigrated to Ireland.

[2] The river Earn in Perthshire, which flows into the Tay seven miles south-east of Perth.

armie lyand thair,[1] quhilk thai wyselie schonit till the countrey wer gatherit to thair supplie. But in the mean tyme the ennemie went toward Burley[2] and herryit Kinroschyr and his landis and thairfra wan to Castel Campbel and the vther landis lyand about it pertenyng to the Marques of Ergyll and herryit them.[3] And this last nycht thay wer at Alloway, quhair as I heir Montroiss wes resett be zour brother,[1] quhilk I will not beleive. And this day he hes past Forth at a foord neir the Keir,[2] and quhair thay go none knawis. But ouris ar following them at the heills; and the numbers of both armies ar affirmit to be on our part fyve thousand futt and fyve hundreth horse, and on the vther thrie thousand fyve hundreth futt and sex hundreth horse. Thir sturris or feares so amasit my dauchter your bedfellow that scho wald necessarly go to the Kerse[3] with my barne Charles,[4] to quhilk thai went on Mounday xi August. But I haif writtin to hir to returne, quhilk I trust scho sal inclyne to, seing the ennemie is on that syde of Forth. The Lord give ws releiff from thir troubles, and from the plaig quhilk daylie increscis. So with my best blissing, I rest, your affectionat father and bund servitor,

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[1] The Covenanting force was at this time assembled at Kilgraston, in the neighbourhood of the Bridge of Earn, and not far from Perth, where the Convention of Estates was then met. They had ordered a new levy of ten thousand men generally throughout the kingdom; but, while it was being raised, Montrose marched southwards through Glendevon, and ravaged Kinross-shire and Clackmannanshire, and finally defeated Baillie and his troops at the bloody and disastrous battle of Kilsyth, in Stirlingshire, 15th August 1645.—Gardiner, *Hist. of Great Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 263.

[2] Burleigh Castle, in the parish of Orwell, about a quarter of a mile south-east of the village of Milnathort, and not far from the northern shore of Lochleven. Though now in ruins, it was once a place of great strength, consisting of a square, surrounded by a wall ten feet in height, a deep moat, and a redoubt. It was at this time the property, by inheritance, of Michael Balfour, who was created Lord Balfour of Burleigh by James VI. in 1607, while acting as his ambassador to the Dukes of Tuscany and Lorraine. In 1644 Lord Burleigh was President of the Scottish Parliament and a General of the forces. He was also one of the Committee of Parliament attached to the army under Baillie that was defeated by Montrose at Kilsyth.

[3] On this occasion, besides Castle Campbell, every house in the parishes of Dollar and Muckhart, with two exceptions, was destroyed. The parties in Montrose's army who were most active in the work of destruction are said to have been the Ogilvies, the retainers of the Earl of Stirling, and of Graham of Braco, whose respective houses of Menstrie and Airthrey had shortly before been burnt by order of the Marquis of Argyll, and the Macleans, who had long-standing feuds with the Campbells in Argyllshire. This act of revenge occasioned great suffering and want in both parishes, and the inhabitants petitioned Parliament for assistance. The matter being referred to a committee, on their report, an Act was passed, dated 25th December 1645, granting warrant to the lairds of Sauchie, Duncrub, and Cleish, together with one James Crichton of Wester Aldie, to cut down wood at Hairshaw, in the parish of Clackmannan, the property of the Laird of Rosyth, 'presently incarcerated as a delinquent,' to be given to the people of Dollar and Muckhart to repair their houses. In addition to this, a sum of twenty thousand merks was intrusted to the Marquis of Argyll, to be distributed amongst the most necessitous. About a year after this, on the 20th November 1646, another Act of Parliament was passed, ordaining 'the supplicants of the parishes of Muckhart and Dollar to be free of maintenance and quarterings, and discharging the inhabitants of the same, and all exacting of maintenance money from the heritors, tenants, inhabitants, and possessors of the same.' It is very doubtful, however, if they ever received the money voted to them, as up to June 1651 we find them repeatedly petitioning Parliament for its payment.

S. Thomas Hope.

Craighall, 15 August 1645.

To the rycht honorabill my nobill sone, Sir Charles Erskin of Cambuskynneth, knycht.

XIX

TO SIR CHARLES ERSKINE.

Sir,—I had youres of last September on this 9 October, quhilk did wonderfullie refresche my sad and weary spirit, bothe in the publik be that lait victorie of Maior Poyennes[5] and be the propositiounes of peax movit be the prince his highness to quhilk I pray the Lord to give a prosperous successe. And als in the privat anent the liberatioun off my vnfortunat sone, Sir Alexander,[1] begun by your procurement and quhairof I expect to heir from yow ane happie successe with the first opportunity; and to compleit all, the saiff arryvall of my dauchter, your bedfellow, and babie Charles, with my sone, Sir James, and his bedfellow,[2] quhilk hes in great measur confortit me; and for quhilk all I pryse the Lord from my hart. And for ws, blissed be the Lord, we ar all in saiftie as yit be the mercie and patience of our good Lord, but the plaig dois spread in all the partis of the countrey,[3] and we ar not frie of

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[1] John, eighth Earl of Mar. After burning Castle Campbell, Montrose quartered his main army in the wood of Tullibody, and allowed his wild Irish followers to pillage the neighbouring town of Alloa and its vicinity, while he himself, with the Earl of Airlie, and his chief officers, were next day magnificently entertained in the castle there by the Earl and Countess of Mar.—Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 193.

[2] A few miles west of Stirling.

[3] In Stirlingshire, the property of her nephew, Alexander Hope, son of Sir Thomas's second son, Sir Thomas, who had died two years previously.

[4] Charles Erskine, third but eldest surviving son of Sir Charles, born 1st July 1643; succeeded his father as proprietor of the estates of Cambuskenneth and Alva, 1663; created a Baronet, 1666; married Christian, daughter of Sir James Dundas of Arniston, in 1664; died before May 1694.

[5] The victory of the English Parliamentary general, Poyntz, over King Charles's forces at Rowton Heath, near Chester, on 24th September 1645, when

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the latter were utterly defeated, with a loss of 300 killed and 1000 prisoners. This disaster, added to that of Philiphaugh, which occurred shortly before, on the 13th of the same month, deprived the unhappy king of his last hope. 'The King's totall rout at Chester,' writes Baillie, in a letter dated 14th October 1645, 'by Poins, wherein the Duke of Lennox's brother, Bernard, the captaine of the guard, was killed and Sir Thomas Glenham taken, hes put the King in that condition that he neither hes, nor is like to have, any more the face of ane armie in England.'—Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 316; Gardiner's *Hist. of Great Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 321.

[1] From a letter written by Sir Charles Erskine, from London, dated 9th September 1645, to his wife in Edinburgh, preserved among the family papers of Sheriff Erskine-Murray, Glasgow, it would appear that his brother-in-law, Sir Alexander Hope, and his wife, who were on their way from Edinburgh to London, were taken prisoners by the Scottish forces in the north of England. He says:—'I dout not befor this thou hes heard of the tacking of your brother, Sir Alexander, and his Lady, whoe wes striped nakaed and sent to Linckon and he to Neuwark. I hed ane letter from hir desyring sume Monie, which I knoe not what way to send, shoe being as shoe wreates going to hir husband at Newarke, bot I shall doe my best for it and his relesment. I heir he hed 400 lb. Strling in goulld bay [besides] Julies [jewels] tacken from him.' Sir Alexander was a royalist, and cup-bearer to King Charles.

[2] Sir Charles was joined in London at this time by Lady Erskine and their infant son Charles, accompanied by her brother, Sir James Hope and his wife.

[3] It is said that the plague was brought to Scotland by the soldiers of the Scottish army who were engaged in the siege of Newcastle, after the taking of that town in October 1644. During the years 1645-46 it took deadly hold of the country, and was widely spread. In April 1645, it broke out in Edinburgh with great virulence, necessitating special precautionary measures on the part of the Town Council, while it was still in full force in Glasgow and the west towards the close of 1646. This was the last occasion of its visiting Scotland, which was entirely free of it in 1665, when it raged so terribly in London.—Chambers's *Dom. An.*, vol. ii. pp. 156, 163.

it heir in Fyiff, and knowis not how long it salbe the lordis pleasur to spair ws.

Ye desyrit me in your former (ressavit on 6 October and ansuerit be me immediatlie, and sent to Bervik to find opportunitie of the pacquet) to knaw if the Committe of Estates be fixit in some constant place and desyrit to haif the notice thairoff from my sone Craighall,[1] quho at that tyme wes at the Committe off Duns, quhilk mett on Thursday the 2 October; and quhen I wreit my ansuer I could not gif satisfaction to zow in that point be ressoun of his absence. And quhen he come home, quhilk wes the samyn day on quhilk I ressauit zour last letter, he told me that thair could be no fixit place be resoluit on in respect of the spreading of the plaig, but that thair nixt meiting is appointit to be at Sanct Androis on Twysday nixt the 14 off this instant, at quhilk the commissioners of the houssis of Parliament ar to meit with our Committe and resolue vpon sik pointis as ar necessar for the commoun saiftie off both kingdomes,[2] to quhilk I pry the Lord to give a blissing. [Piece of the letter cut off.]

And if ze be willing to haif Sir William Dick[3] his band for it vpon zour advertisement I sall procure it. As for my sone

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[1] Sir John Hope, eldest son of Sir Thomas; knighted and raised to the bench by the title of Lord Craighall, 27th July 1632; married, first, Margaret, daughter of Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarony, who died in child-bed, 3d October 1641; and, second, Dame Rachel Speir, Lady Curriehill, on 7th December 1643. He died at Edinburgh, 28th April 1654.—Hope's *Diary*; Douglas's *Baronage*.

[2] See p. 131, note [3].

[3] A successful merchant and banker in Edinburgh, who was at one time reputed to be the wealthiest man of his time in Scotland. In 1618, he is said to have advanced £6000 to King James VI. to defray his household expenses in connection with a meeting of the Scottish Parliament. In 1628, he farmed the Scottish Customs and Excise, as well as the Crown rents in Orkney. Elected Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1638 and 1639; after being previously knighted, he was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1646. He advanced large sums to the Covenanters, the public debt owing to him in 1647 amounting to £28,131 sterling; while the English Parliament also borrowed from him to the amount of £36,803. Notwithstanding repeated efforts on his part, he was unable to gain restitution of these sums, and visiting London in 1652, to urge his claims, he was eventually thrown into prison in Westminster for debt, and died there in great misery and want, 19th December 1655. All the compensation which his son, Sir Andrew, could ultimately obtain was a pension of £132 sterling, which was only continued, however, for a few years.—Chambers's *Dom. An.* vol. ii. 236 *seq.*

Sir Alexander I can say no more but give zow humbill and hartie thankis for zour cair of him, and wischis that this his visitatioun may work to his good to mak him feir his Lord in ane other sort nor as zit he hes done. And I haif ressoun to expect it, seing as ze wrytt the kings Maiestie (quhom he idolit as his god) hes desert him. And if he be wyse he will fix his trust on the Lord, quho will not faill him. However I expect to heir from zow the success off your paynes ze haif takin for his releiff. So with my best affectioun to my dauchter and to babie Charles, I rest, youris affectionat father and oblischit seruitor, S. THOMAS HOPE.

Craighall, 9 October 1645.

Babie James is in good helth, blissit be God, and is so brouden[1] on me that quhen I preis to tak any of the barnes in my armes he skirlis[2] for impatiencie.

My Lord Cardrois wes to wrytt, but thinkis this quhilk goes be sea sall not be so sone, and hes defferrit till the pacquet go from S^{t} Androis, quhair the Committe of Estates meitis with the Commissioners of Ingland.

To the rycht honorabill and my nobill sone, Sir Charles Erskin of Cambuskynneth, knycht.

XX

TO SIR CHARLES ERSKINE.

SIR,—Efter I had closit my pacquet to zow and sent it to Sanct Androis (quhair the Committee of Estates wes mett with the Commissioneris of Ingeland)[3] I ressauit from Sanct Androis a packeit from zow and my sone, Sir James, of dait 7 October. And albeit I grant ze haif ressoun to complane that ze haif writtin so oft to ws heir and hes ressauit no ansuer this month bygane, and that thairwith I acknaulege zour respect and affectioun in expostulating for not intertanying correspondence ansuerabill to zour diligence, zit I assure zow that no letter cam from zow hither quhilk wes not ansuerit the day of the ressait or the morrow and sent to seik for commoditie of transport to zow. But many, having wanderit long, cam bak, and theis quhilk gatt a berar hes beine liklie miscaryit, vtherwais ze could not haif missit letters from me. And now I thank God we ar all in helth, and blissis the Lord that we haif the lyk from zow of zour awin, my dauchters and sueit bill Charles all zour helthis quhilk I pray the Lord to continew, and quhilk with the prosperous success of affares thair quhairof ze wryt, is and salbe the gretest desyr of my hart. And for my sone Sir Alexander I waite to heir from zow how it hes pleisit the Lord to blisse zour labouris for him, and till then and ever, restis, your affectionat father and bund seruitor,

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[1] Enamoured, fond.—Murray's *New Eng. Dict.*

[2] Shrieks.

[3] 'The Englishes contemn us much the more. They have sent Commissioners to craue Newcastle and Carlisle from us, and all our places of garrison but Berwick. They are angry that yet we have not given them a meeting. At this very time we are treating with them at St. Andrews. What to doe with them we know not. If we now give up these places, it will make them the more insolent; if we refuse them on never so fair terms, it will encrease the occasion of them who are seeking a quarrell.'—Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 322 (under date 17th October 1645).

S. Thomas Hope.

Craighall, 16 October 1645.

Sir,—Lett my dauchter reid this postscript in excusing my not wryting to hir becaus scho wryttis not to me, and tell hir that albeit scho hes no matter, zit it salbe matter aneugh to hir to wryte that hir self and bill Charles is weill, and I sall not faill to meit hir with the lyk for billie James.

To the rycht honorabill and my nobill sone, Sir Charles Erskin of Cambuskynneth, knycht.

XXI

TO SIR CHARLES ERSKINE.

Sir,—Except zour bedfellow had told me that ze wes easit of your defluxioun I wold haif suspectit zour not wryting to me with this post. But the assurance from hir with a letter from my Lord Warristoun[1] acquainting me with the comissioners

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[1] See note, p. 120.

pleadingis with the parliament, hes muche refreschit me. And I blisse the Lord that ze ar quyt of the trubill of your eyis: and I trust the diuersioun of the parliament at this tyme from extremities sall in Godis mercie produce some confort to the distressit estat of this kirk and kingdome.

I haif ressauit from Mr. John Rollok[1] a letter bering the lachest pryce off Tullibody,[2] and it is 2500 merks for ilk chalder stok and teind, deducing the minister of Alloway his locall stipend furth off Tullibody, and als the laichest pryce off the ludging in Stirling[3] quhilk he callis ten thousand pundis. And he wryttis that thai must haif money to pay particular creditours, and not to tak assignement to the Laird of Glenvrquhis[4] or Sir William Dicks band. Butt I haif writtin ane ansuer to it neir 8 dayis since of quhilk I haif not gottin ansuer, quhairin I refuse to mak the pryce off stok and teind equall, and the teind to be onlie 2000 merk the chalder. And for the aucht chalder promisit to the kirk of Tullibody being disioynit from Alloway, he wreit that it wes only ane intentioun quhilk wes never perfyte, nor can not be perfytit without the consent off the heretour for the tyme; quhilk albeit I think liklie, zit I haif writtin to Mr. John Rollok that propositouns made to the kirk, albeit conditionall, ar so grippit to, that quhat he thinks arbitrary becomes necessar. And as to the ludging I haif writtin that the pryce of it wes ten thousand merks and no more; and for the moneyis that thai sould not mak a stop of that seing thai ar auchtand to Sir George Moresoun[1] als muche if not more nor the somes auchtand to zow be the Laird Glenorquhy and Sir William Dick; and for the vther particular creditouris that ze salbe ready to tak them of. Quhen I heir from Mr. John heiranent ze sallbe acquaint thairwith and I desyr to knaw be your nixt how ze ar affectit heirin, to quhilk tyme and ever, with my best blissing, I rest yours affectionat father and vnchangeabill seruitour,

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[1] Commissary of Dunblane. He resided in Stirling, and acted as agent for Sir Charles Erskine in the management of his estates of Cambuskenneth and Bandeath, in that neighbourhood.

[2] The estate of Tullibody in Clackmannanshire, hitherto the property of the Earl of Stirling (who had died insolvent in 1640), was now for sale, and Sir Charles Erskine was making inquiries about it with a view to purchase—a transaction, however, which was never carried out. It was bought in 1648 by Robert Meldrum, who was succeeded by his brother Major George Meldrum. He sold it in 1662 to Sir William Sharpe, brother of Archbishop Sharpe, who in turn disposed of it, in 1679, to George Abercromby of Skeith.—Rogers' *Memorials of the Earl of Stirling*, vol. i. p. 196.

[3] Sir Charles had also some thoughts at this time of buying the house of the Earl of Stirling on the Castlehill, Stirling, as a permanent family residence. Ever since his marriage in 1638 his wife and children had lived, during his frequent absences, with his father-in-law in his house in the Cowgate, Edinburgh. The Stirling mansion was afterwards purchased in 1666 by Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll, for £1000, and largely added to and embellished. At the beginning of the present century it was acquired by the Crown, and has been used, ever since, as the hospital of the castle.—*Ibid.* p. 199.

[4] Sir Robert Campbell, Bart., second son of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, succeeded his brother Colin, as third baronet on the death of the latter, *sine prole*, in 1640; married Isabel, daughter of Sir Lauchlan Macintosh of Torcastle. His grandson, Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, was created Earl of Breadalbane in 1681.

S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, 25 August 1846.

Sir, delyuer this inclosit to my Lord Waristoun.

To the ryght honorabill and my nobill sone, Sir Charls Erskin of Cambuskynneth, knycht.

XXII

TO SIR CHARLES ERSKINE.

Sir,—I ressauit zouris of 15 September on 22 thairoff and saw one of 8 September from zow to my sone to quhom I haif gevin ansuer according to that quhilk I sent zow on 15 September advysing him to close with his good brother Jaks bill conforme thairto.

I am exceiding sorie for the breache quhilk the Lord hes beine pleasit to cast in be occasioun off the death off the Erll of Essex,[2] and zit I trust the Lord sall heill that breache.

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[1] In consequence of the misfortunes which overtook the family of Archbishop Spotswood (see notes, p. 107), the estate of Dairsie was sold to a family of the name of Morrison. Sir George Morrison married Agnes, daughter of Robert, sixth Lord Boyd.—Leighton's *History of Fife*, vol. ii. p. 262.

[2] Robert Devereux, the son of Queen Elizabeth's favourite, who was appointed General of the Parliamentary army in 1642. He resigned his command in April, and died 14th September 1646. His death was regarded, though mistakenly, by the Parliamentarians, as a great loss. Writing to his friend, William Spang,

Zour quæres to the Committee of Estates ar ansuerit, and if ze can not work the parliament to zour desyres, the treatie for removell from Neucastell is to go on.

I sall labour quhat lyis in my power to bring Robert Steuart to zour desyr anent the ludging in Stirling and to supercid the bargen of the land to zour awin coming.

My dauchter told me zour desyr of payment or a letter off exchange for two hundreth pund stirling quhilk ze debursit on furnischingis to my dauchter the Lady Cardrois for hir mariage, and I am readie to do ather of them ze pleis vpon zour advertisement. And becaus money is not yet taken, and that I haif delt for the letter of exchange and could haif none readie I haif writtin to Robert Inglis to furnische it to zow, and hes sent the letter of exchange to that effect; and I trust he sall be willing to furnische zow and quhat ze aggrie with him for the entres or exchange I awne. So with my best blissing, I rest zour affectionat father and vnchangeable seruitor,

S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, 22 September 1646.

The letter to Robert Inglis is vnseillit. Reid it and tak the letter of exchange furth of it, and then stamp and delyuer it to Robert. And quhen ze haif schawin to him the letter of exchange, aggre with him for the entres, or if he accept not advertise that I may provyd vtherwais for the money.[1]

To the rycht honorabill and my nobill sone, Sir Charles Erskin of Cambuskynneth, knycht.

Sir,—Caus delyuer this vther to my Lord Waristoun.

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on the 2d October (1646), Robert Baillie, a fellow-commissioner of Sir Charles Erskine, says:—'The unexpected death of the brave Earle of Essex hes wounded us exceedingly. He wes the head of our partie here, keeped all together, who now are like by that alone to fall in pieces: the House of Lords absolutely, the city very much, and many of the shyres, depended upon him.'—Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 401.

[1] To this letter Sir Charles returned the following reply, which, with the bill of exchange, has been preserved among his correspondence:—'My Lord,—I receaued yours bay the last post, with ane bill of exchange, which I can not Mack wse of without Much los to your lo. I will forbear to tack it wp without

XXIII

TO ROBERT INGLIS.

Sir,—My sone, Sir Charles Erskin, did at my desyr send home to Scotland a yeirs since some furnischingis and abillzeamentis to my dauchter, the Lady Cardrois, hir mariage quhilk cam to two hundreth pund stirling, and if he have ado tharwith I desyr that ze may ansuer him, for quhilk I haif sent to him a letter of exchange to be presentit to zow,[1] quhilk I intreit zow to ansuer, and quhat ze and he aggreis vpon for the entres I sall thankfully repay, and for zour fauor heirin rest, Zour affectionat freind to serve yow,

S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, 22 September 1646.

To my worthie and muche respectit freind, Robert Inglis, merchand at Londoun.

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nessesitie compell me to dou it. I wes tacking wp sume Monies for my oune wse from Johne Johnstone, he that receaues the Monies heiar for our Armie, and he wolld not giue me ane 100 lb. pound wnder les nor 11 for the hundrethe onlie for exchang, what Robert Inglish will dou I knoe not yet for I haue not sein him since the receat of your lo. I thank your lo. for your cair in my particular with Robert Steuart. I shall be gled to heiar of it from your lo. if ther be anie apeirence of agriment with him for the hous which is all my deseyer; the publick affers heiar doeth depond wpon sume satisfacttorie ansuer from his Ma. to the propositions of peas without which he will neuer be admittit heiar; We are to haue ane Conference with boath houses on thursday nixt concerning the disposal of the Kings person. I pray god grant a hapie close. this is all the trubell shall be giuen to your lo. at this tyem bay,—Your lo. affecttionat sone and seruant,
Charles Erskine.

'London, 29 Sep. 1646.'

Addressed on the back—'ffor My honored lord and father My lord Aduocat.'

[1] '*Edinburgh*, 22 *September* 1646.—Sir,—At ten dayis sight be pleasit to pay to Sir Charles Erskin of Cambuskynneth, knycht, or any be his ordour the soum of two hundreth pund stirling money. At the day mak thankfull payment and pas the samyn vpon my accompt as be advyse from your affectionat freind,

'S. Thomas Hope.'

'To his worthie and muche respectit freind, Robert Inglis, merchand in Londoun.'

Indorsed—'Letter of Exchange for £200 stirling, 22 September 1646.'

XXIV

TO SIR CHARLES ERSKINE.

Sir,—I ressauit zouris of 25 August on last Thurisday and blissis the Lord for zour recoverie from the defluxioun in zour eyis and intreitis zow to spair zour looking downe or to muche wryting, leist it procure ane new defluxioun; for the eyis ar a tender part of the bodie.

I haif writtin to my sone, Sir Alexander, to follow zour advyse in going vp to attend his wyffis bussines sa sone as salbe possibill.

For Tullibody I can wryte no more till I ressave from Mr. John Rollok ane ansuer of my doubtis arrysing to me on his letter and the rentall he sent me; of quhilk rentall and my doubtis I send zow heirwith the copie.[1]

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[1] The Rentall of the Barroney of Tullibody, orchyaird and pertinentis thairoff.

	bolls.	firlottis.	pekis.
Imprimis—It payis yeirly of wheatt, . .	39	00	00
Item—Of beir and meill, ...	501	1	00
quhilk extendis in the haill to	540	1	00
	chal.	bollis.	
and ammontis to in chalders to	33	12	1 fir.
Item—It payes in silver dewtie, . . .	313 lb.	14	00
Item—In capons and henes 14 dissane at 5/^{s} the peice is	42	0	0
	merkis.		
So the haill rentall being 33 chalder 12 bollis ane firlott victuall at 2500 mark ilk chalder is .	84528	1/^{s}	8
Item—Of silver dewtie 313^{lib} 14/^{s} at 3000 markis ilk 100 mark is	09,420	0	0
Item—The kynne foules 42 lib. at 2000 markis ilk 100 is	01260	0	0
	markis.	s.	d.
Suma is	95208	1	8
Item—The pryce of the ludging of Stirling is .	10000 lib.		
To be deducit for 2 chalder victuall payed to the minister yeirly, ...	5000 markis		
Item—For 200 mark payed to him also . .	4000 markis		
Suma	9000 markis		
	markis.		
Which being deducit from the former sowme of	95,208	1	8
Ther restis of frie monies	86,208 merkis 1/^{s} 8^{d}		

For the publik bussines I am glaid ze ar of so good opinioun off the happie success tharoff, and I trust no lett sall arryse thairto from this, if his Maiestie can be movit to inclyne to thair mitigatiouns of the last propositiouns, quhilk in many menis opiniones wer too rigid so far as concerns soueraintie. The Lord inclyne them on both sydis to suche a moderatioun as may produce trewth and peace.

Zour bedfellow hes takin hir to hir chamber. The Lord send hir ane happie delyuer.

I give zow humble thanks for zour and the gentilmanis offer, quhilk never cam in my mynd, and thinkis the tyme not proper; nor my conditioun nott ansuerabill thairto. Yet I will think vpon it as coming from so kynd and hartie ane mynd as zours is. Butt I wische it wer bestowit on zour self, iff it sould pleas the Lord to still thir stormes and incresse your rent ansuerabill thairto. And in the mean tyme lett ws both possesse our soules in a holy contentment with the con-

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I saye thair restis Fourscoir sex thousand tuo hundrethe eight markis, ane schilling eight penies Scotts.

Copie of the Objections aganis this rentall sent to Mr. Johne Rollok—

First—The teind is prysed alyke with the stoke to tuo thousand fyve hundrethe mark for ilk chalder quhilk at the most aucht to be according to the pryce of 100 markis quhilk is 2000 mark.

Nixtt—The customes of capones and henes ar prysed apairt, quhaires they aucht to be prysed with the chalder, or with ane hundreth mark of rent.

Item—Thair aucht to be deducit aff the teind 8 chalder victuall quhilk is be the act of Comissioun appointed to be the constant stipendis of the kirk of Tullibodie.

Item—Quhair the pryce of the ludging in Stirling is made ten thousand poundis, it aucht to be only ten thousand markis, for so it wes estimat to Sir George Morisone; and Mr. James Gordone told me it wes so estimat be the lordis decreit.

Item—I wrott to yow that my sone wold not embrace the bargane except the monies auchting to him be the Laird of Glenorchye and Sir William Dick wes taken in the first end thairoff.

And for the letter sent to me ye wreatt that they cannott take these bandis in part of the pryce, because they most haife the monies to pay the particular creditouris.

Bott this most only be a pretence, because they ar auchting als much to Sir George Moresone as the sowmes of these tuo bandis will extend to. And my sone hes wreatten to me that he will nott medle with the bargane except the sowmes of these tuo bandis be taken in part of payment of the pryce.

Indorsed—Copie of the rental of Tullibody.

ditioun in quhilk the Lord hes placit ws, and blisse him for the samyn. So with my best blissing, I rest, youris affectionat father and vnchangeabill servitor,

S. Thomas Hope.

Edinburgh, last September 1646.

Delyuer this vther to my Lord Waristoun.

To the ryght honorabill and my nobill sone, Sir Charles Erskin of Cambuskynneth, knycht.

CIVIL WAR PAPERS

I

Correspondence of SIR JOHN COCHRAN and Others with JAMES, DUKE OF COURLAND

1643-1650

II

MONTROSE IN SWEDEN

1649-1650

III

INTELLIGENCE-LETTER FROM LONDON

1649

IV

MONTROSE'S FLIGHT FROM CARBISDALE

1650

Edited, with Introductions and Notes, by
H. F. MORLAND SIMPSON
M.A. Cantab. ; F.S.A. Scot.
Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School.

INTRODUCTION

In the search for the missing links of Montrose's negotiations abroad in 1649-50, the editors of Wishart's *Deeds of Montrose*, after several fruitless attempts to find in Petersburg and Moscow the records of Sir John Cochran's embassy to Courland, directed their inquiries to Mitau, the old capital of the duchy, and through the courtesy of the Burgomaster, Herr Engelmann, were put in communication with Herr Oberlehrer August Seraphim. Herr Seraphim, who is interested in historical research, replied that he knew of such documents in the old Ducal Archives, and by permission of the authorities was allowed to take copies. These arrived too late to be embodied in *The Deeds of Montrose.* The editors, therefore, gladly accepted an offer from the Scottish History Society to publish these letters, etc., in their Miscellany. The series proved unexpectedly rich, and students of our history will readily join us in grateful acknowledgment of Herr Seraphim's most generous contribution to our records of the time. He has kindly prefaced the series by a brief introduction, which throws valuable light on the contents of these letters and the connection of Courland with Great Britain.

To this we have added some explanatory notes on the text, and on the occasion of Sir John Cochran's mission. By kind permission of the Advocates we are also enabled to add his account of his negotiations in Hamburg (1649) from the original in their Library (No. xxix. below). The fragments from the correspondence of Matthias Römer, Commissioner of the States-General (Netherlands) to Stockholm, are all that has been recovered from the Royal and National Archives in Holland. These were kindly communicated by Herr Th. H.

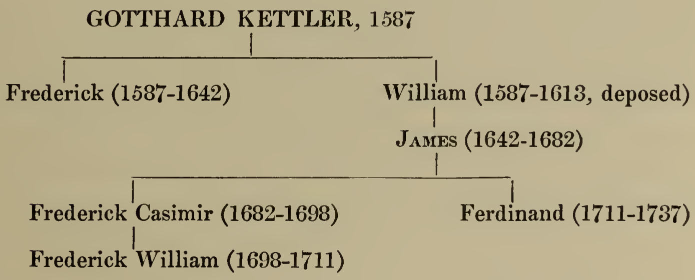
F. van Riienndyk, Keeper of the Archives at the Hague, but came too late for use in the new edition of Wishart's *Montrose*. For further information on the subject of these letters the reader is referred to Part II. cc. vi, vii, in that work; see especially pp. 258-9, and the notes below.

The translations of the letters are intended to be *literal*, and corrections, in italics, are given only where the sense seems to demand the conjecture.

Sir John Cochran, or Cocheran, as he seems to have styled himself, was the eldest son of Alexander Blair, third son of John Blair of Blair, who married the heiress of Wm. Cochrane of that Ilk, and took his wife's name. He was recommended to Charles I. by Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and attained the rank of Colonel. His residence abroad, with Queen Elizabeth, and acquaintance with foreign courts and languages, probably marked him out as a suitable agent in the negotiations Charles carried on for assistance from abroad. In 1642 he was sent to solicit aid from the king's uncle, Christian IV., King of Denmark (Gardiner, *Civil War*, i. 45), and again in 1644. But the war between Denmark and Sweden (1643-Peace of Brömsebro, 23d Aug. 1645), during which Jutland was overrun by the Swedes, left Christian little opportunity to help his kinsman. Sir John's character was summed up by Charles I. as that of a man 'having maney discourses, most of his auen praises.' The wordiness of his letters, notably his Hamburg despatch, No. XXIX. below, gives indication of this. His younger brother William was raised to the peerage as first Earl of Dundonald. For further details of his life than are contained in the following letters and notes see Douglas' *Peerage*; Gardiner's *Civil War*, Index; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; and Wishart's *Deeds of Montrose*, edit. Murdoch and Simpson, 1893, Index.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY HERR A. SERAPHIM.

James, Duke of Courland, was brother-in-law of Frederick William of Brandenburg, the Great Elector. From 1642 to 1682 he reigned over the Duchy of Courland, a dependency of Poland. Till 1561 Courland formed part of the Baltic district which belonged to the German Order. In that year the Master of the Order, Gotthard Kettler, was converted to Lutheranism, and became Duke of Courland. Livonia was made a Polish province, Esthonia Swedish. In 1621 Livonia also became Swedish. In 1710 (ratified by the Peace of Nystedt, 1721), Livonia and Esthonia were ceded to Russia, and Courland in 1795, at the third division of Poland. Duke James was the grandson of Gotthard Kettler.


GOTTHARD KETTLER, 1587
Frederick (1587-1642)
William (1587-1613, deposed)
James (1642-1682)
Frederick Casimir (1682-1698)
Ferdinand (1711-1737)
Frederick William (1698-1711)

With Ferdinand the House of Kettler died out. He was succeeded by Ernest John Biron, whose son Peter abdicated in 1795.

The relations of Duke James to England commenced in his father's times. Duke William invited James I. of England to become his son's godfather. King James consented. On October 8, 1606, King James settled a yearly pension of £400 on his godson. This pension, however, was not paid regularly, so that the arrears in 1625[1] amounted already to £1800 (cf. Sewigh *Eine kurländische Colonie*, Baltische Monatsschrift, vol. xxi. p. 1 ff, who quotes *State Papers*, Domestic Series, May 1625). Owing partly to this circumstance Duke James continued his relations to England when the English Revolution broke out.[1] Reference to this has lately been made by Dr. Theodor Schiemann (now Professor in Berlin), in his *Historische Darstellungen und Archivalische Studien* (Hamburg und Mitau, 1886, p. 122 ff.). The Duke, as the following extracts show, helped the King with ships and arms, mainly, no doubt, with an eye to his own colonial plans.

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[1] See *Accounts*, p. 208.

Duke James, bred in an atmosphere of mercantile enterprise, was a trader on a great scale. His aim was, therefore, to obtain transmarine colonies. On the Gambia he owned Fort St. Andreas,[2] and Tobago in the West Indies (cf. the above-mentioned essay of Sewigh, and H. Diederich's *Herzog Jacobs von Kurland Besitzungen am Gambia*, Mitau 1890). This island he had obtained in 1643 from the Earl of Warwick,[3] then Governor of all the English colonies (?), but without receiving the royal ratification of the treaty, without which it could have no force. The assistance which the Duke gave to Charles I. appears to have been connected with his desire to obtain this ratification. He also hoped to secure payment of the pension in arrears. Till 1650 Duke James supported the Stuarts. But when the King's (and Montrose's) agent proved dishonest,[1] and the cause of Charles II. seemed lost, the Duke made advances to the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, to whom Baron Mislik and Rudolf von Strauch were accredited as the Ducal agents. But as regards Tobago they failed in their object. On the other hand, Strauch, in 1657, concluded a treaty of commerce with England (Diederich, *l.c.*). On the Restoration of King Charles II. the Duke renewed relations with him through his ambassador Frankwitz; and in 1664, on November 17th, concluded a treaty, whereby the island of Tobago was lent to the Duke, who resigned his possessions on the Gambia to England. The relations of both governments need not be traced further in illustration of the present subject.[2]

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[1] In 1651 the Gambia was visited by Rupert, on his adventurous voyage to the West Indies. Here he found a small ship of Courland, of ten guns, the captain of which piloted his fleet in. On coming to anchor he received all courtesy from the Duke's governor, to whom he made a present of guns, and the hull and some guns of a Spanish pink captured in the river. He received information of 'English ships trading to Guinea, and fortifying themselves in the river of Gambia.' In 1661 the Prince proposed to lead a squadron to this coast to establish a trade. A company was formed, with a capital of £40,000, but Charles II. refused to risk Rupert's life in such a climate, and Capt. Holmes was sent instead.—Warburton's *Rupert* (Paris, 1849, 335. H.F.M.S.)

[2] Duke William was exiled to Pomerania for murdering two rebellious nobles, the Barons Nolde. In 1638, James, to whom his father had resigned the government, sent Johann von Flugel to England to claim payment of the pension, from which Charles I. excused himself, owing to want of money. Charles I. to Duke James (Latin), 31st July 1638, in the *Acta*: Mission of Joh. Flugel to England, 1638.

[3] Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, a Lieutenant of the Fleet under Northumberland in 1642; Admiral, 1648; died 1658.

Most of the following passages are taken from the originals or copies preserved in the (once Ducal) Archives at Mitau. Some of the documents copied are in the possession of private individuals.

It is possible that the documents may prove to be more numerous, the Archives being only imperfectly arranged. Meantime it appears that Major Georg von Firks,[3] the Duke's agent in Paris, was in communication with Queen Henrietta Maria on the help to be given to Charles, and more on this subject may be revealed on examination of the documents relating to France.

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[1] See below, p. 194 n. 2

[2] For a description of the Duke's method of driving game, and law against killing wolves, see Pepys' *Diary*, Dec. 11, 1663.

[3] Firks, see Nos. VIII and XVIII.

I

LETTERS OF SIR JOHN COCHRAN, ETC. TO THE DUKE OF COURLAND, 1643-1650.

From hitherto unpublished Documents in Mitau Archives, Courland, and the Advocates Library.

I

From the Manuscripten-sammlung des Kurländischen Provincial-museums.

1643. KING CHARLES I. OF ENGLAND to DUKE JAMES OF COURLAND, dated Oxford,[1] 2 November 1643. (*Duplicate.*)

MOST DEERE COUSIN,—Yo^r^ credentials of the 14th of August last for the gentleman by you designed to Vs in qualitij of yo^r^ Envoye were transmitted by him hither by the convoyance of 212, 364, together with his owne lettres conteining the Sum of his Message, whereunto wee gaue full credit. As Wee haue the same way sent him Answer, Soe likewise We thought good to accompany the same with these Our Re-credentials, by vertue of wch Wee desire you to beleaue his Report, and that this occasion hath ministred Vs a most eminent subiect of acknowledgeing yo^r^ reall & generous affection to Vs w^ch^, God willing, Wee shall seke opportunitij to doe in a full measure: committing You for the present to the Divine Protection. Given under Our signet at Our court at Oxford the 2 day of Nouember 1643.—Your affectionat Cousin,

CHARLES R.

by his Ma^ts^ comand

E. M. MICHELUS (?)

29$\dot{1}$, 588, 45, 135, 52, 25, 20, 50, 8$\dot{1}$. [*Edw. Nicholas*].

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[1] Oxford was the headquarters of Charles from Oct. 29, 1642. Herr Seraphim, being unfamiliar with English, does not vouch for the correctness of the copy, but the transcript has left little to correct.

II

From the Ducal Archives, Mitau.

MEMORIAL.

[Without date and signature; but from the contents a Memorial which an envoy of Duke James had drawn up for Charles I. Date perhaps 1645 ?]

Le Duc de Courland mon Maistre se resentant extremement oblige a leur Ma^{tes} de la grande Bretaigne, si tost quils les vid embarrasses dans une guerre ouverte contre leur subiects, forma le dessein de leur offrir, tout ce que estoit de son possible pour les assister, comme il a tesmoigne par diverses lettres a sa Ma^{te}. Et comme Mon Maistre voulant [vouloit ?] estre pleinement informé des intentions de leur Ma^{tes} me commenda il a deux uns [ans ?] de passer en Angleterre, pour offrir a leur Ma^{tes} de sa part, autant d'hommes et de vaisseaux, qui servient en son pouvoir. Ce commendement estoit neantmoins tellement limité, que le passage n'estant pas libre, a cause des armées du parlement, ieusse a traiter avec les ministres de leur Ma^{tes} a la Haye qui me disauderent aussi le voyage, comme ne le pouvant faire, aus quels ie rendi. Les lettres pour sa Ma^{te} et leur expose de la part de mon Maistre, ce qui i'avoit [avois ?] ordre d'offrir a leur Ma^{tes}.

Et comme i'eus appris d'eux, que leur Ma^{tes} pour quelque consideration ne se voiloient [vouloient] pas servir d'estrangers et n' avoit [avoient] pas besoing d'hommes, mais bien de munitions de guerre, ie le rapporte fidelement a mon Maistre, qui sur cet harduis [advis ?] prit incontinent resolution d'assister leur Ma^{tes} de dits munitions la quelle ne fust alors execute a cause de la guerre de Dennemark[1] craignant, que passant le Sonth, ou il y avoit trois armées[2] elle courre risque d'estre perdus, Mais depuis peu Mon Maistre en a envoye, cent quintans[1] ou *barils* de poudre le quels sont bien arrive a Ambsterdam, et mis entre les mains de sieur irepser . . .[2] Mon Maistre continuant tousiours dans son premier dessein de servir fidelement et effectivement leur Ma^tes^ m'a encore expressement commande d'aller en Angleterre,[3] s'il y avoit moyen, mais recontrant des mesmes difficulties que par le passe et souhant [sachant ?] que la Reine estoit en France,[4] Mon Maistre m'a expressement commande de rendre a Sa Ma^te^ les lettres et offrir de sa part, tout se que s'ay [i'ay] represente cy dessous, avec cette protestation, que Mon Maistre regrette extremement le temps, que s'est perdu sans pouvoir donner le preuves effectives a leur Ma^tes^ du zele, quil a [à] leur très humble service. A quoi on peut adiouster l'infidelite d'un de ses Maistres de navires escossois de nation, nomme Teyrfull, au quel il avoit donne ordre de conduir un vaisseau charge de bled, pour l'armée de sa Ma^te^ et quoyque le d^te^ Maistre de navire eust promis, d'executer fidelement les commendements de mon Maistre, il s'alla rendre aux ennemis de Sa Ma^te^, entre les mains de quels il remit le vaisseau et les lettres de mon Maistre, d'ou ils ont decouvert tous ses desseins et que par la les Ennemis de leur Ma^te^ par leur machinations . . . ont causé la parde [perte] de quelque vaisseau de mon Maistre.

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[1] *Dennemark.* See Introd. p. 144. Here there is a blank of two years in the archives. But the correspondence was continued in 1644. Charles I. to Nicholas, Oxford, 15 Feb. 1644. 'Concerning the answers to the King of Denmark and D. of Courland, Digby shall give you my directions.'—Letter in Evelyn's *Diary* (1827), vol. v. p. 119.

[2] *Trois armées.* Namely, the Swedish under Torstenson, the Imperialists under Gallas, and the Danish army.

Mon Maistre m'a expressement commende de dire a Sa Ma^te^ quil n'a fait construire ses vaisseaux propres pour la guerre a autre intention, que pour en pouvoir mieus servir Sa Ma^te^, car pour son particulier il luy suffit de vaisseaux mediocres pour porter et rapporter ses denres. Que si outre les vaisseaux . . .[5] Sa Ma^te^ en desirera d'advantage, mon Maistre s'offre de les faire construir et equiper aux frais de Sa Ma^{te} avec le Moindre depense qui luy sera possible.

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[1] *Quintans*? quintaux. The quintal was 100 lb. See *Accounts*, 1645.

[2] Illegible in the original. Perhaps Webster, a factor in Amsterdam, often mentioned in the letters of the period. See Thurloe, vol. i. p. 514, Letter of Intelligence, 7 Oct. 1653—'Bryan O'Neale hath bin at Amsterdam with Webster from C. Stewart to borrow money, but his ould friend would part with none.' See XXXIII-VI below.

[3] From this it seems likely that this memoir was drawn up by Major G. von Firks. See Nos. VIII and XVIII.

[4] The Queen embarked at Falmouth, July 14, 1644, and reached Britanny on the 16th. After staying at Bourbon for her health she arrived in Paris early in November.—Gardiner, Index.

[5] Sc. dejà envoyés.

Et a fin, que leur Ma^{tes} recognoissent, que ce ne sont point de simples compliments, que Mon Maistre leur fait; mais bien des verites reelles et effectives, il supplie leur Ma^{tes} qu'elles envoyent un homme en Courlandt, qui verra evidement tout ce que ie . . . representer. Mais il faudra que cet homme soit depeche sous main, a ce que les ennemis et malveillants de leur Ma^{te} n'en soit [soient] pas imbus et n'en ayent aucune connoisance, estant certain, s'ils en avoient le moindre vent, ils n'empecheront seulement, que les bons desseins de Mon Maistre reussissent mais aussy luy conservient [causeront?] de tres grandes pertes dont Mon Maistre en a dessein [desia? *i.e.* dejà] resenti les effects comme iay rapporte cy dessous, n'y ayant point de doute, quils continueront touiours a veiller sur les actions et desseins de Mon Maistre. C'est pourquoy Mon Maistre supplie tres humblement leur Ma^{tes} de luy vouloir assigner en [un] lieu certain ou ses vaisseaux pourront aborder seurement et quel moyen il tiendra pour les y envoyer; . . . qu'il plaise a leur Ma^{tes} de partir a Mon Maistre leur commendement et comme quoy et en quoy elles desirent, quil les serve, ce quil sera touiours ponctuellement[1] selon tout son pouvoir, et sil eut en une response cathegorîque de Sa Ma^{te} comme Mon Maistre s'est donner [donné] plusieurs fois l'honneur d'escrier a Sa Ma^{te} en luy faisant le propositions subdites, il n'y pas de doute, quil eut desia tesmoigne par effect, comme il est de . . . et de l'affection tres humble et tres fidel serviteur de leur Ma^{tes}.

[The original is very badly written in faded ink].

[The Duke of Courland, my Master, feeling himself extremely obliged to their Majesties of Great Britain, as soon as he saw them involved in open war with their subjects, formed the design of offering them all the assistance in his power, of which he has given evidence by diverse letters to his Majesty. And as my Master wished to be fully informed of their Majesties' intentions, [he] commanded me two years ago (?) to cross over to England, to offer their Majesties on his behalf as many men and ships as he can supply.

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[1] *Punctuellement*, sc. faiet, exécuté.

This command however was so straitened, that the passage not being free, because of the armies of the Parliament, I had to treat with the ministers of their Majesties at the Hague, who dissuaded me from the voyage as impracticable. To them I handed over the letters for his Majesty, and explained to them on my Master's behalf the offers I had orders to make to their Majesties.

And as I had learned from them, that their Majesties for some reason did not wish to employ foreigners, and had no need of men, but much of war material, I reported the matter faithfully to my Master, who upon this advice immediately resolved to assist their Majesties with the said materials, which resolution was not at that time executed because of the war with Denmark, from fear that in passing the Sound, where there were three armies, they [the materials] would run a risk of being lost. But not long since my Master has sent 100 quintals or barrels of powder, which have arrived safely at Amsterdam, and are consigned to Mr. . . . My Master continuing always in his first design to serve their Majesties faithfully and effectually also expressly commanded me to go to England, if opportunity should occur, but as I met with the same difficulties as before, and learned that the Queen was in France, my Master has expressly commanded me to deliver the letters to her Majesty, and offer on his behalf all that I have represented below, with this protestation, that my Master regrets extremely the time that has been lost, without being able to give their Majesties effectual proofs of the zeal which he has to their very humble service. To this may be added the faithlessness of one of his shipmasters, a Scot by nation, named Teyrfull, whom he had ordered to convey a vessel fraught with lead for his Majesty's army, and though the said shipmaster had promised to perform faithfully the commands of my Master, he proceeded to surrender to the enemies of his Majesty, into whose hands he delivered up the vessel and my Master's letters, whence they have discovered all his designs, and thereby the enemies of their Majesties by their . . . machinations have caused the loss of several of my Master's ships.

My Master has expressly commanded me to inform his Majesty that he has caused ships suitable for the war to be built solely with the object of being better able thereby to serve his Majesty. As for himself he requires only ships of moderate dimensions to bring and take his goods . . . that if besides the[se] ships . . . his Majesty shall desire more of them, my Master offers to have them built and manned at his Majesty's charge with the least possible expense.

And in conclusion, that their Majesties may recognise that these are not mere compliments which my Master makes to them, but real actual truths, he begs their Majesties to send a man to Courland, to see with his own eyes all that I [am commanded] to declare. But this man must be sent at once, in order that their Majesties' enemies and ill-wishers may not obtain any hint or knowledge of it, [it] being certain that if they get the least wind of it, they will not only thwart the good designs of my Master, but will also cause him great losses, whereof my Master has already felt the effects, as I have reported above, having no doubt that they will always continue to watch the actions and designs of my Master. Therefore my Master very humbly begs their Majesties to be pleased to indicate to him a definite spot where his ships can put in with safety, and what means he shall take to send them thither; . . . that it may please their Majesties to communicate to my Master their commandments, how and in what they desire him to serve them, which shall always be punctually [performed] to the utmost of his power, and that he may have a categorical reply from his Majesty, as my Master has several times had the honour to write to his Majesty to make the proposals hereto appended, he has no doubt that he has already given proof in deed that he is . . . and of his very humble affection and very faithful servant of their Majesties.]

III

Mitau, in private ownership.

1645. Juli 20, Hereford.[1] CHARLES I., King of England, to DUKE JAMES of Courland. (*Holograph.*)

. . . J'ay depesché vers vous le porteur le cheualier Cockeran pour vous representer le ressentiment que J'en ay . . . Aussi Je vous supplie de vouloir adiouster foy et entiere croyance à ce que le dit cheualier vous dira touchant l'estat de mes affaires.

[. . . I have despatched to you the bearer, Sir John Cochran, to inform you of the esteem I feel for . . . Also I beg you to put faith and full belief in what the said knight shall tell you concerning the state of my affairs.]

IV

1645. August 30, La Haye. D. VICQFORT[2] to DUKE JAMES of Courland.

Celuij qui rendra la presente a V^{re} Altesse est le Colonel Cokeron, qui ne porte seulement des lettres de leurs Maiestez

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[1] Charles arrived at Hereford on June 19, 1645. On July the 21st the king was at Raglan.—Gardiner, *Hist. Civ. War*, vol. ii. p. 255.

[2] Abraham de Vicqfort. Vicquefort or Wickfort was born at Amsterdam in 1598. In 1626 he was appointed the Duke of Brandenburg's resident at Paris. In 1638 Mazarin sent him to the Bastille, and next year he was expelled from France. In the same year he visited England, and was appointed Historiographer to the Dutch Estates. A letter of his, referring chiefly to Polish affairs, dated the Hague, 1 Sept. (N.S.) 1656, is given in *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. v. p. 332. In

de la Grande Bretagne a V. A. mais luij dira aussi de bouche quel estime le Roy et la Reyne font de la personne de V. A. et de l'affection quelle porte au bien et ladvancement de leurs affaires. Celle qu'il a pleu a V. A. faire paroistre par l'ordre qu'a esté donné a Danzig pour les 100 quintaux[1] de po^{re} [poudre ?] sera si aggreable, que (etc.) Je feraij mettre ordre au Texel[2] pour recevoir la marchandise quand elle sera arrivee.

[The bearer of this letter is Colonel Cochran, who not only carries letters from their Majesties of Great Britain to your Highness, but will also inform your Highness by word of mouth what esteem the King and Queen have for the person of your Highness, and for the affection your Highness bears to the good and advancement of their affairs. What your Highness has been pleased to show by the order given at Dantzig for the 100 quintals of powder, will be so agreeable that, etc. I shall see that orders are given at the Texel to receive the merchandise when it comes.]

V

Mitau, Ducal Archives.

1645. Mem̄el, 12 December 1645. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James. (*Original.*)

J'avoy auparavant beaucoup ouy parler de la personne de V. A. et des excellent dont [dons] avec les quels dieu l'a orna et en discouroy selon le peu de capacité que dieu m'a donne, mais maintenant puisque i'ay eu l'honneur de la voir et ressenter les effects de sa courtoisie et de Madame la Princesse,

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December 1656 he received an offer from the King of Poland to negotiate for him a treaty with Holland, but he declined to quit the service of Brandenburg, 'if he would pay him his arrears,' *id.* 699. He is mentioned as at the Hague in a letter written there by the Queen of Bohemia, January 11 (1654-5).—Evelyn's *Diary* (1827), vol. v. p. 217. Later he was resident at the Hague for the Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg-Zell, imprisoned November 1675, escaped February 1679, died near Zell, 23 February 1692. He was the author of *Histoires des Provinces Unies*, *Memoire touchant les Ambassadeurs*, and *L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions*. See Woodward and Cates' *Encycl. of Chronol.* 1872. His connection with Duke James of Courland was perhaps through the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, whose sister, Louise Charlotte, was married to Duke James.

[1] See No. II.

[2] An island at the entrance of the Zuyder Zee, off the Helder Point. The roadstead to the east affords good anchorage, and a rendezvous for outward-bound merchantmen. Here Monk defeated the Dutch, 31st July 1653, and Van Tromp, their admiral, was killed.

sa Tres illustre consorte,[1] comme aussi de voir la splendeur de sa suitte, ordre et œconomie de sa famille sa rechosse [richesse] et puissance par terre et mer intendement se trouve tellement escloury [?] que ie suis quasiment devenu muett et ne peur [peux] dire autre chose, si non que ces choses sont autant superieurs aux pensees que i'en avoy auparavant, comme inferieures aux merites d'ic luy [de celuy] qui les possede: J'aij tant receu de courtoisie de V. A., que ie ne scauray iamais par mes petits services demonstrer suffisament ma gratitude, Ce gentilhomme qui m'a faiet la courtoisie de me conduire icy, a tant monstrer de discretion, qui merite bien a servir a un si genereuse et brave prince, mais non obstant prieres il ne me veut geurre donner de temps pour escrire la presente a V. A. Je ne manqueroÿ d'escrire a V. A. a tout occasion et tascheraij par le peu de service qui me sera possible du rendre a V. A. me demonstrer non du tout indigné.

[I had heard much before of your Highness' person and of the excellent gifts wherewith God has adorned you, and I have discoursed (?) thereof according to the little capacity God gives me, but now, since I have had the honour of seeing you and experiencing the effects of your courtesy and that of Madame the Princess, your most illustrious consort, as also of seeing the splendour of your following, order, household, riches, and power by land and sea (I have been so dazzled ?), that I am become as it were dumb, and can only say that these things are as far superior to my anticipations as they are inferior to the deserts of him who owns them. I have received so much courtesy from your Highness, that I shall never by my small services know how to show my gratitude sufficiently. The gentleman who has done me the courtesy to conduct me hither, has shown me so much discretion, that he well deserves to serve so generous and brave a prince; but in spite of prayers he was most unwilling to give me time to write this letter to your H. I shall not omit to write to your H. on every occasion, and shall endeavour by my small service to show that I am not altogether unworthy.]

VI

1646. Danzig, 2 Januar. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James.

(Original.)

Monsieur Smeyssen m'a envoyer de Kunsberg[2] une chaisne d'or avec la portrait de V.A. ce que ie conserveray come un tesmoigne de le faveur de V. A. Je confesse bien n'avoir aucunement merite cette courtoisie. C'est pourquoy il faut que ie le attribue a generosité et bonte de V. A. et non a aucun mien merite, ie tascheraij cente fois par mes treshumbles et plus fidelles services a faire paroistre a V. A: que Vostre courtoisie n'est pas du tout mal employer et co͞me i'en rendray compte au Roy, mon Seigneur. . . .

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[1] See note, p. 155.

[2] Doubtless Königsberg in Prussia.

. . . J'ay confere avec Monsieur Albrecht von Low,[1] touchand le bled que V. A. de sa grace ordonne pour le service du Roy mon Seigneur nous ne l'avons peur [pu] l'embarquer a present par ce que la chambre de gabelle est firmer aussi la glace estant si forte nous avons creu quil ne seront [seroit] expedient de le commettre en cette saison a cette mer ou l'on ne peut bien arriver aux ports pour la glace qui est partout, toute fois pour ne negliger ne service du Roij mon Seigneur. Ce quel a faut de bled souffre extreme prejudice, J'ay pris un asseurance d'Albrecht von Law par laquelle il s'est oblige a me faire tenir dans le Súndt aussi tost que la glace sera degelée cent sinquante last[2] de bled conforme a l'ordre de V. A. par le moyen de cette asseurance ie pourray obtiner a Coopenhaaven une semblable quantite de bled et le seray immediatement transporter la[3] ou le service du Roy Mon seigneur a besoin. . . . [*From Danzig he will travel to Denmark.*]

[M. Smeyssen has sent me from Königsberg a gold chain with the portrait of your H., which I have kept as evidence of the favour of your H. I confess that I have not at all deserved this courtesy. I must therefore ascribe it to the generosity and goodness of your H., and not to any merit of mine. I shall endeavour a hundredfold by my very humble and most faithful service, to show your H. that your courtesy

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[1] The Duke's agent at Danzig, frequently mentioned in these letters. Was he the 'cabten law' (Captain Law) of Sir John Maclear's letters to Montrose, 13 February 1650?—Wishart's *Montrose* (1893), pp. 284-5. Note that Cochran writes Low, Law, and Läw. The name suggests origin from Scottish ancestors settled in Germany. See Postscript, p. 225.

[2] The Last was about 2 tons or 4000 lbs. This item of 150 lasts of lead does not appear in the *Accounts*, where we have 150 lasts of rye, not mentioned in these letters.

[3] *i.e.* Scotland, see No. VII.

has not been altogether ill-bestowed, and as I shall give an account thereof to my Lord the King . . .

I have conferred with M. Albrecht von Low concerning the lead which your H. graciously orders for the service of my Lord the King. We have been unable to ship it at present, as the customs-house is closed; also the ice being so strong, we thought it would not be expedient to send it to sea at this season, when one cannot well make the harbours owing to the prevalence of the ice everywhere. However, not to neglect the service of my Lord the King, who for want of lead suffers much prejudice, I have taken a bond from Albrecht von Low, by which he contracts that I shall receive in the Sound, as soon as the ice thaws, 150 last of lead in accordance with the order of your H. By means of this bond I shall be able to obtain at Copenhagen a like quantity of lead, and shall have it transported at once whither the service of my Lord the King has need . . .]

VII

1646. Danzig, 5 Januar 1646. Jo. COCHERAN to DUKE JAMES.

J'ay recey ordres de haster en tant quil me sera possible une proportion de bled vers l'Escosse,[1] c'est pourquoy (com̃e i'escrivy a V. A. dans ma derniere) icy . . . l'obligation d'Albrecht von Low pour la proportion quil me doit livre dans le Sundt, sur la quelle sans doute i'obtendray une semblable proportion dans le Sundt, ce que ie depescheray vers l'Escosse Immediatement aussi jay receu ordre de solliciter instamment pres de V. A. deux mille mousquetts avec bandolliers, mesche et balles proportionables et 100 centner de poudre pour y envoyer, C'est pourquoy ie supplie V. A. du vouloir escrire a Albrecht von Law et luy donner ordre pour mille mousquettes avec bandolliers,[2] les 100 centner de poudre autant de mesches com̃e aussi des balles de plomb pour les Mousquets.

[I have received orders to despatch as soon as I can a consignment of lead to Scotland. This is my reason why (as I wrote your H. in my last) here [I have accepted] the bond of Albrecht von Low for the consignment which he is to deliver to me in the Sound, on which I shall doubtless obtain a like quantity in the Sound, which I shall at once send off to Scotland. Also I have received orders urgently to beg your H. for 2000 muskets with bandoleers, match and ball in proportion, and 100 cwt. of powder to send hither. Therefore I beg your H. to be pleased to write to Albrecht von Low, and give him an order for 1000 muskets with bandoleers, the 100 cwt. of powder, as much of match, as also of lead bullets for the muskets.]

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[1] Doubtless intended for Montrose.

[2] See No. XIV, and *Accounts*, where there is no mention of powder supplied this year. The centner was 28,000 lbs. or 7 lasts. A *bandolier* was a wooden case covered with leather. Every musketeer carried twelve of these slung in a *banderole* or shoulder-belt.

VIII

Mitau, in private ownership.

1646. Januar ii. St. Germain. HENRIETTE MARIE,[1] Queen of England to DUKE JAMES of Courland. (*Holograph.*)

Jay reseu les offres que le sieur de Firks,[2] ma fait de votre part . . . Jay chargé le S^r de Firks particulierement de se [ce] que nous desirons de vous: Layant empesche daler trouuer le Roy monseigneur estant tres difisille : et luy ay donne un papier pour sa memoyre.

[I have received the offers which Sieur de Firks has made me on your behalf . . . I have charged S^r de Firks particularly with what we desire of you, having prevented him from going to seek the King my Lord, [the journey] being very difficult: and I have given him a paper for his memory.] [i.e. *a memorial in writing?*]

IX

Mitau,[3] Ducal Archives.

1646. Copia Vidim.[4] Jo. COCHERAN to DUKE JAMES (1662, 6 März): Lübeck, 20 January '46.

Tellement que ie suis arrivé dans cette ville aujourdhuy ou iay parle avec Berndt Freze[5] le facteur de V. A., du quel j'ay apris que V. A. luy a trois fois escrit touchant les pieces de Canon que ie dois recevoir de luy, ce qui est un tesmoignage

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[1] See p. 151, n. 3.

[2] See Introduction, p. 147 and n. 3.

[3] Mitau, chief town of Courland, on the river Aa, and the railway between Riga and Libau. Old ducal castle, with archives.

[4] Copia vidim, *i.e.* vidimata (barbarous Latin) denotes 'certified copy.' The date in brackets indicates the time when the copy was made.

[5] See Nos. X, XIV, and *Accounts*.

plus que evident du soing que V. A. use pour advancer les affaires du Roy Monsigneur, aussi il ma dit que V. A. luy a escrit demeliurer [de me livrer] douze pieces de 6 livres de balle avec huit autres de 3 livres avec ving quintaux de Boullets et que V. A. dans sa lettre n'a pas faiet mention des affustz . . . et autres choses necessaires avec les dites pieces. Cest pourquoy ie prens la hardiesse et escrire la presente a V. A., pour la supplier tres humblement de vouloir mander son ordre pour m'en faire seulement 12 pieces des quelles ie desire que six soient de douze livres de balles, les autres six de six livres au moins avec cinquante ou soixante Boullets pour chasque piece.[1]

[. . . As soon as [?] I arrived in this town to-day, where I have spoken with Berndt Freze, the factor of your H., from whom I have learned that your H. has written to him thrice concerning the pieces of cannon which I am to receive from him. This is a proof more than evident of the care your H. has to advance the affairs of my Lord the King. He has also told me that your H. wrote to him to deliver me 2 six-pounders with 8 others, three-pounders, with 20 quintals of shot, and that your H. in your letter made no mention of the gun-carriages . . . and other things necessary with the said pieces, I therefore make bold to write this letter at your H., to beg you very humbly to be pleased to send your order to deliver me only 12 pieces, whereof I wish 6 to be twelve-pounders, the other 6, six-pounders at least, with 50 or 60 shot for each piece.]

X

1646. Hamburg, 4 February 1646. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James.

Quant a ce que V.A. me mande que ie n'escrivy rien touchant les mousquets. J'ay assurance de les recevoir a Kopenhaven aussy tost que la glace sera passée, et a Lubeck ie trouray [trouvai ?] que le Facteur de V. A. n'eust pas les moyens alors de me livrer les canons ordonnes par V. A. mais promist de le faire au moys de Mars ou Apvril aussij tost quils viendroient de Suede[2] sur quoy ie pris la hardiesse d'Escrire a V. A. de faire livrer seulement douze pieces, six des quelles ie desirois de douze livres de Balle, les autres de huit ou six livres de balles, car les petites pieces ne sont pas de grand usage ny aucunement profitables, aussij ie desiraij une proportion convenable de boullets de mesme. J'escrivy de Dantzig supplient V. A. d'avoir pour agreable que de donner ordre a Albrecht von Läw, de me faire livrer mil mousquets d'avantage, avec cent barils de poudre et mesche proportionable ce que [ie] remets tout a la discretion de V. A. J'apprends aussy que V. A. souppionne [souppçonne ?] son Facteur de Lubek, d'Estre un peu Parlementaire parce quil n'a pas livre le pieces de canon, selon l'ordre de V. A. mais rentablement [veritablement] ie ne pense pas quil eust moyen de le faire ausy bien ne s'avoit [scavoit] il pas a qui J'estoit et quand il les eust livres ie n'en eusse secu que faire tant que la glace duroit, ce pendent il a promis de me les livrer au moys de Mars, toute fois, sy V. A. trouvoit [trouvroit ?] bon de les faire livrer a Kopenhagen a Albrecht Nesmijth[1] marchand Escossois en ce lieu la, qui donnera ma quietance [quittance] en les recevant, sy ce cy se pouvoit faire au Moys d'Apvril. Ce seroit une affaire bien advantageuse pour le service du Roy Monseigneur sur quoy i'attends la resolution de V. A. asseavoir [à scavoir] quil plaise a V. A. de les faire livrer a Koppenhagen au moys d'Apvril ou autrement de mander son ordre a Son Facteur a Lubek.

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[1] For the guns, etc., see Nos. x, xiv, and *Accounts* 1646. At this time six-pounders went by the name of *Falcons* or *Sakers*, and weighed 15 cwt., or dragons, 12 cwt. Three-pounders were called *Falconets*, and weighed about 15 cwt.

[2] The iron guns of Sweden were the best.

[As for the message of your H., that I wrote nothing about the muskets, I have assurance that I shall receive them at Copenhagen, as soon as the ice breaks up, and at Lübeck I found that the factor of your H. had not then the means to deliver me the cannons ordered by your H., but he promised to do so in March or April, as soon as they should come from Sweden, whereupon I made bold to write to your H. to cause deliver only twelve pieces, six of which I desired to be twelve-pounders, the others eight or six-pounders, because the little pieces are not much used, and not at all serviceable. Also I desired a suitable proportion of shot for the same. I wrote from Danzig begging your H. to be pleased to give orders to Albrecht von Low to cause deliver to me 1000 muskets more, with 100 barrels of powder, and match in proportion, which I left [or leave] entirely at the discretion of your H. I learn also that your H. suspects his factor at Lübeck of being somewhat Parliamentarian,

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[1] See No. XIV.

because he has not delivered the cannons according to the order of your H. But in truth I do not think that he had the means to do so, and also he did not well know for whom I was [acting?], and when [if] he had delivered them, I should not have known what to do, as long as the ice lasted. Meantime he has promised to deliver them to me in March. Nevertheless, if your H. should find it good to have them delivered at Copenhagen to Albrecht Nasmyth, a Scottish merchant there, who will give my quittance on receipt of them, if that can be done in April, it would be very advantageous to the service of my Lord the King, whereon I await the decision of your H., namely, that it may please your H. to cause them to be delivered at Copenhagen in April, or otherwise to send your order to your factor at Lübeck.]

XI

Ducal Archives, Mitau.

1646. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James, 18 February 1646. dd. Hamburg.

Monsieur,—Je receu hier bonnes nouvelles d'Angleterre, ascavoir [à scavoir] que diz mil Irlandois ont mis pied a terre en Angleterre et deux mil en Escosse et qu'il y a un armee en France preste a passer en Angleterre pour le service du Roy mon Seigneur. J'espere qu'avec l'ayde de dieu ceux la qui se sont mocques des gracieux offres du Roij payeront a la fin la peine de leur sotise: dans deux sepmaines je partiray d'icy pour aller a Coopenhaaven ou je seray jusques a la fin d'Avrill. En Espagne Les Castiliens ont obtenu une grand victoire des Portugais et en Flanders on faiet de grands preparitifs pour le campagne qui vient. Je ne mancqueray a faire entendre a V. A. tout ce que occurrera d'importance, et tascheray partous les moyens, qui me seront possibles de m'entretenir dans les bonnes graces de V. A. desirant de vivre et mourir Monseigneur de V. A. . . .

Hamborgh, 8/18 Febr. 1646.

[Sir,—I have received good news here from England, namely, that 10,000 Irish have set foot in England and 2000 in Scotland, and that there is an army in France ready to cross to England for the service of my Lord the King. I hope that with God's help those who have set at nought the gracious offers of the King will pay the penalty of their folly. In two weeks I shall set out hence for Copenhagen, where I shall be till the end of April. In Spain the Castilians have gained a great victory

over the Portuguese; and in Flanders great preparations are being made for the coming campaign. I shall not fail to inform your Highness on all events of importance, and shall use all possible means to continue in the favour of your H., desiring to live and die, etc.]

XII

1646. Coopenhagen, 28 March 1646. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James. (*Original.*)

[Acknowledging receipt of the Duke's letters, dated Mitau, 21 February, and Libau, 2 February].

Je n'ay pas encore receu les pieces de Lubeck, mais je les attends a toute heure ausij tost que je les auray receu, i'en escriray a V. A.

[I have not yet received the cannon from Lübeck, but I am expecting them every hour. As soon as I receive them I shall write to your H.]

XIII

1646. Coopenhaaven, 7/17 April. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James.

[Acknowledging receipt of the Duke's letters, and conveying to him the King's thanks.]

XIV

Mitau, private ownership.

1646. Mai $\frac{2}{12}$, Coopenhaaven. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James of Courland.

Depuis ma derniere j'ay receu trois lettres de V. A. datteez Myttaw du 15^{me}, 23^{me}, et 29^{me} de Mars, qui ne spirent autre chose qu'une sincere et invariable affection vers les affaires du Roy Mon seigneur, j'espere que V. A. trouvera avec le temps qu'elle n'a pas este mal employee. J'ay considere la proposition de V. A. touchant les navires qu'elle proffea[1] au service de Mon Roy, et les conditions qui sont plus que raisonnables, j'en ay escrit a la Reyne Ma Serenissime Dame et Maistresse. . . .

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[1] Proffra? an Anglicism for *offrit*?

J'ay receu de Berendt Freize le facteur de V. A. a Lubeck douze pieces de cannon, six de six livres, et six d'huicts livres des balles, avec douze affusts, et autant des centeniers des balles de fer, les cannons pesent en tout environ huictante quatre talents (ou shippondt)[1] les affusts sont tels come l'on use dans les vaisseaux : j'ay receu aussi d'Albrecht von Low quatre cent septante mousquetts, mais pour dire la verite, ils ne valent pas le frais du transport, sont tous des differentes calibres et du fort basse mattiere, je suis tres marry qu'il me les a mandes [mandé] de cette fasson, n'estants pas proportionnez ny a l'honneur ny a l'intention de V. A. C'est pourquoy je supplie tres humblement V. A. d'y vouloir mettre ordre come il luy semblera estre le plus expedient. Albrecht von Low a desia ma quittance sur 1000 musquets, et ay escrit a la Reyne les avoir receu. . . . Je seray icy ou a Hamburgh encor pour deux mois, a ce que Je crois, Mon facteur Albrecht Nesmyth sera tousiours icy. . . . En Angleterre les affaires de Mon Roy vont mal, En Escosse le Marquis de Montrose[2] faict de grand progres pour le Roy, qui est desia, ou (come je croy) sera bientost joint avec luy. A Londres il y a autant des Religions come a Amsterdam. . . .

[Since my last I have received three letters from your Highness, dated Mitau, the 15th, 23rd, and 29th March, which breathe nothing but sincere and unchanging affection for the affairs of my Lord the King. I hope that your Highness will find in time that it has not been ill-bestowed. I have considered the proposal of your Highness touching the ships, which you have offered for the service of my King, and the conditions, which are more than reasonable. I have written about it to the Queen, my most Serene Lady and Mistress . . . I have received from Berendt [Bernard] Frise, the factor of your Highness at Lübeck, a dozen pieces of cannon, six six-pounders, and six eight-pounders, with a dozen gun-carriages, and as many hundredweight of iron shot. The cannons weigh in all about 84 talents (or shippond), the carriages are such as are used in ships. I have also received from Albrecht von Low 470 muskets, but to speak truth they are not worth the cost of transport, are

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[1] The shippondt, skippond, or ship-pound weighed 2½-3 centner, or 3-400 lb. 84 shippounds equalled about 30,000 lbs. The eight-pounders were probably of the sort called demi-culverins, and weighed about 30 cwt.

[2] Probably by this time Cochran had heard of the battle of Inverlochy, Feb. 2, 1645. The King's misfortunes in this year culminated at Naseby, June 14, and Philiphaugh, Sept. 13. For Montrose's progress see *Deeds of Montrose* (1893).

all of different calibre and of very base material. I am very sorry that he has sent them to me in this fashion, as they are not suited either to the honour or intention of your Highness. I therefore most humbly beg your Highness graciously to give such orders in the matter as shall seem to you most expedient. Albrecht von Low has already my receipt for 1000 muskets, and I have written to the Queen that I have received them . . . I shall be here or at Hamburg still for two months I expect. My factor, Albrecht Nesmyth, will be always here. . . . In England the affairs of my King go badly. In Scotland the Marquis of Montrose is making great progress for the King, who has already, or (as I believe) will soon unite with him. At London there are as many religions as at Amsterdam . . .]

XV

1646. Juni $\frac{12}{22}$, Coopenhaaven. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James of Courland.

. . . J'ay receu une lettre de V. A. dattée Myttaw, May 28, par laquelle V. A. desire que je renvoye les 400 mousquetts que j'ay receus, come n'estants pas conformes a l'intention de V. A. ny propres pour aucun service, Il est bien vray que je ne les auroy receus, si je n'eusse creu qu'en les renvoyant, j'auroy faict ce qui pourrait estre mal interpréte de V. A. depuis cela Monsieur von Low a passe icy, qui m'a livra le reste des Mousquetts qui sont tresuffisant . . . ils sont desia en mer.

[I have received a letter from your Highness, dated Mitau, May 28, by which your Highness desires me to return the 400 muskets which I had received, as not being suitable to the intention of your Highness nor fitted for any service. It is quite true that I should not have accepted them, if I had not believed that in returning them I should have done what might have been interpreted ill by your Highness. Since then Mr. von Low has passed through here, and has delivered to me the remainder of the muskets, which are very satisfactory. . . . They are already at sea.]

XVI

Mitau, Ducal Archives.

1646. Hamburg, $\frac{16}{26}$ July 1646. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James. (*Original.*)

V. A. m'escrit dans quelques lettres que j'ay trouve icy

touchant les mousquetts, que ie receu d'Albrecht von Low, desirant quies soient restituer, puisquils n'estoient pas asses suffisants conformes a l'intention de V. A. J'en escrive de Coopenhaaven a V. A., quil Albrecht von Low comēe il passa la abort [? avoit] change les meschants mousquetts et m'avait livre de bons en lieu tellement que j'en demeuray, bien satisfaiet, et les depeschay de Coopenhaaven avec une bonne proportion d'artillerie et amunition en Escosse,[1] ou mes ordres requirroient.

[Your H. writes to me in some letters which I have found here concerning the muskets, which I received from Albrecht von Low, requesting that they should be returned, as they were not suitable to the intention of your H. I wrote on the matter from Copenhagen to your H., that Albrecht von Low, as he passed there, had changed the bad muskets and had delivered the good ones instead, so that I was quite satisfied, and despatched them from Copenhagen, with a good quantity of artillery and ammunition, to Scotland, where my orders required them.]

XVII

Mitau, private ownership.

1646. August 10, St. Germain. Henriette Marie, Queen of England, to Duke James of Courland.

Les changements[2] qui sont arrivez dans les affaires du Roy monseigneur depuis ma derniere lettre, me faisant apprehender que vous puissiez juger que les vaisseaux[3] que je vous auais demandes nous peuvent estre moins utiles que dans l'estat ou estoient lors les choses . . . il est apparent que le roy monseigneur en pourra encore a cet' heure estre aussi advantageusement serui que jamais.

[The changes which have occurred in the affairs of my Lord the King since my last letter, causing me to fear you might think the vessels which I had asked of you could be of less service than formerly. . . . it is

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[1] Probably intended for Montrose. The King's intention of joining him in this year was frustrated by Naseby and Philiphaugh.

[2] See No. XIV, n. [2]

[3] See *Accounts*, May 1647.

evident that my Lord the King could at this moment employ them as advantageously as ever.]

XVIII

1647. März 24, Paris. Henriette Marie, Queen of England, to Duke James of Courland.

Je vous adiousteray que le sieur de Firk m'ayant communiqué ses ordres d'aller trouver le Roy Monseigneur de vostre part; il [et ?] le subiect de son envoy, je l'en ay empesche de faire son voyage qui lui auroit peü'etre en cette saison inutil. . . .

[I will further add that M. de Firk having communicated to me his orders to visit my Lord the King on your behalf, and the subject of his mission, I have deterred him from making the journey, which perhaps would have been useless at this season.]

XIX

Ducal Archives, Mitau.

1648. Cocheran to Duke James. Amsterdam, 3 August 1649.[1] (*Original.*)

J'ay resey la derniere de V. A. a S. Germain [comme ?] j'estois prett a partir avec le Prince de Galles, je la communiquay a la Reyne et au Prince et leurs remonstray la constance de l'affection de V. A. aux affaires du Roy et avec combien de zele vous tacher tousiours a en donner des preuves. Ils m'ont donné ordre de faire entendre a V. A. quilz ne luy ont pas voulu escrire pour ne sembler pas vouloir payer de Compliments vos services qui meritent des Remerciements plus amples et plus signales, mais quilz sen souviendront, sy . . . [une ?] occasion le [se ?] presente par laquelle ils s'en puissent dignement acquitter. . . .

[I received the last from your Highness at St. Germain, and [as ?] I was ready to set out with the Prince of Wales. I communicated it to the Queen and Prince, and showed them the constancy and affection of your Highness for the King's affairs, and with what zeal you always endeavour to give proofs thereof. They have ordered me to inform your Highness that they were unwilling to write to you, that they might not appear desirous of repaying by compliments your services, which deserve more ample and more signal thanks, but that they will remember them, if [a favourable] opportunity occurs to acquit themselves worthily of the debt, . . .]

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[1] Probably an error in copying. In Aug. 1649 Cochran was at Hamburg: see No. XXVIII. The Prince of Wales left Scilly for Jersey, April 16, 1648, and left Jersey to join Henrietta in France, June 6.

XX

1648. Hamburg, 18 October 1648. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James. (*Original.*)

Je me fusse mieux acquitté de mon devoir envers V. A. sy depuis ma derniere j'en eusse [ne fusse ?] esté sur mer avec Son Altesse Royalle le Prince des Galles[1] apres me (?) arrivé en Hollande ie receus mes ordres en aller en Dennemarck et estant maintenant arrivé en ce lieu ie n'eusse voulu passer outre que ie n'eusse presenter a V. A. mes tres humbles services. Son Altesse Royalle m'a aussy authorizé de ses lettres de credence et donné ordre d'aller trouver V. A.

[I should have acquitted myself better of my duty to your Highness, if, since my last, I had not been at sea with his Highness the Prince of Wales. After my arrival in Holland, I received orders to go thence to Denmark, and having now arrived at this place, I was unwilling to proceed without having presented to your Highness my very humble services. His Royal Highness has also authorised me by his credential letters and ordered me to visit your Highness.]

XXI

1648. Coopenhaaven, ii November. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James. (*Unimportant.*)

XXII

1648. Coopenhaven, 25 November. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James. (Se ibi hospitio receptum esse nuntiat.)

In Private Ownership.

[Reports that he has been hospitably received at Copenhagen].

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[1] In May 1648, nine ships of the rebel fleet revolted, and crossed to Goree n Holland. On June 25, Charles left St. Germains, and about July 9 sailed from Calais for Holland, where he was 'enthusiastically welcomed' [on the 11th] by the fleet at Helvoetsluys. On 16th put to sea; 22d in Yarmouth Roads; 23d in the Downs, where his fleet lay till Aug. 29, when he sailed up the Thames, and returned to Goree, Sep. 3.—Gardiner, *Civ. War*, *v.* Index 'fleet'; but *vide* p. 169 n. 3, below.

XXIII

1649. Februar 21, Hamburg. Jo. COCHERAN to DUKE JAMES of Courland.

. . . Mardy passe il y a quatorze iours[1] fust cruellement mis a mort mon tres gracieux Roy . . . les particularitez de cett' horride massacre V. A. pourra apprendre dans les papiers imprimez que Je l'ay envoy . . . nostre Jeune Roy m'a mandé ordre de l'aller trouver, et de representer par lettres ses desirs a V. A. . . . il ne doubte aucunement de vostre concurrence pour l'heureux accomplissement d'iceluy [de celuy?] . . . La necessite de ces [ses?] affaires luy donne sujett de supplier V. A. de luy vouloir faire fournir trois cent last du blé[2] . . . Sa Ma^{té} scait bien que V. A. a desia fournie un' assistance bien considerable au Roy son pere . . . et eust souhaitte que restitution en fust faicte devant que d'avoir charge V. A. de nouveau.

[A fortnight ago last Tuesday, my most gracious King was cruelly put to death. . . . The particulars of this horrid murder your Highness will learn in the printed papers which I have sent you. . . . Our young King has given me orders to visit you, and represent to your Highness his desires by letter. . . . He has not the least doubt of your concurrence for the happy accomplishment of that. . . . The necessity of his affairs causes him to beg your Highness to be pleased to furnish him with 300 lasts of lead. . . . His Majesty knows well that your Highness has already furnished very considerable help to the King his Father, . . . and would have wished that it had been repaid, before he had to charge your Highness afresh.]

XXIV

Ducal Archives, Mitau.

1649. 31 Mai 1649, a la Haye.[3] CHARLES II. to DUKE JAMES of Courland. (*Original.*)

Mon cousin les tesmoignages d'affection que vous avez de

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[1] Feb. 21, the date of this letter, was a Thursday. The King was executed Tuesday, Jan. 30, *i.e. three* weeks before 'Mardy passe,' namely Feb. 19. Perhaps Sir John confuses the date of the event with the date on which he heard of it at Hamburg, a week later.

[2] Not in the *Accounts* (*q.v.*) for this year.

[3] According to information from Herr van Rienndyk, Keeper of the Archives

tout temps rendu au Roy defunct mon honnoré seigneur et Pere d'heureuse memoire ayant tousiours esté prest de luy prestir ayde et assistance pour l'advancement et restablissement de ses . . . fait naitre en moy des grandes inclinations de vous honnorer et cherir ce que ie souhaitte avec passion de vous tesmoigner quand l'occasion se enpresentera aussy que le S. Cocheran Chevalier que J'envoye vers Vous et qui m'est fort affidé vous assurera plus particulierement de bouche, Je vous prie de croire tout, ce quil vous dira et proposera de ma part, sur tout touchant le prest des vaisseaux que ie vous demande pour ioindre a ma Flotte. Sy vous octroyez cette faveur en un temps qui la requirt sy fort, et que ie reconnoistray au possible aussi tost que Dieu m'en aura donné le moyen, vous adiousterer infiniement au obligation, que ie Vous ay desia et obliger a demeurer eternellement etc. . . .

[My Cousin, the evidences of affection which you have at all times given to the late King, my honoured Lord and Father of happy memory, having always been ready to lend him aid and assistance for the furtherance and re-establishment of his [rights], engender in me great inclination to honour and cherish you, which I desire with passion to witness to you when opportunity shall occur, whereof Sir John Cochran, whom I send to you, and who is very faithful to me, will assure you more particularly by word of mouth. I beg you to believe all that he shall say and propose to you on my behalf, above all concerning the loan of the ships which I ask of you, to join to my fleet. If you grant this favour at a time when the need of it is so pressing, and which I shall recognise to the best of my ability as soon as God grant me the means thereto, you will add infinitely to the debt I already owe you, and oblige me to remain ever, etc.]

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at the Hague, Prince Charles returned to Brielle (Brill) on Sept. 12 [2d o.s.]. In Nov. his fleet came to anchor at Helvoetsluys. Sept. 5/15 the Prince went to the Hague, where he took up his abode in a house appointed him by the States-General. In Oct.-Nov. he had an attack of small-pox, which prevented him giving audience till Jan. 23. Feb. 20 he was visited by the States-General 'en corps,' and condoled with on his father's death. March 30 his desires, expressed in writing, delivered to the States-General. No answer had been returned when he left the Hague, June 9, 1649. For his negotiations with the Scots Commissioners at this time in 1649, see *Deeds of Montrose* (1893), Pt. II. cciv-vii. At the date of this letter Charles had resolved to send Montrose to Scotland, and himself to go to Ireland. For these purposes he needed a strong fleet. Rupert at this time was blockaded with the fleet in Kinsale, and did not break out till the end of October.

XXV

1649. Hamburg, 4[1] Juni 1649. COCHERAN to DUKE JAMES of Courland. (*Original.*)

. . . Le Marquis de Montrose nostre Generalissime estant maintenant arrive a cette ville,[2] J'ay receu mes ordres de Son Ex^{ce} et s'il plaist a Dieu, partiray dan deux iours[3] pour venir trouver V. A. La constance et l'affection de V. A. vers les interestz de mon Roy me rend confident de pouvoir rencontrer encore des tesmoignages de sa bonne Volonté, convenables a la present condition de mon Roy . . .

[. . . The Marquis of Montrose our Commander-in-Chief . . . having now arrived at this town, I have received my orders from his Excellency, and, please God, shall set out in two days to visit your Highness. The constancy and affection of your Highness for the interests of my King assure me that I shall again meet with evidence of your goodwill, suitable to the present condition of my King. . . .]

XXVI

1649. 26 Juni, Hamburg. COCHERAN to DUKE JAMES of Courland. (*Original.*)

. . . J'ay ordre aussi d'aller vers sa Ma^{te} de Dannemarck, de traiter avec cette ville et cette de Dantzigk,[4] d'aller trouver Sa Ma^{te} de Pologne[5] et les Escossois, habitans dans ce Royaume le [la] pour m'aboucher avec les Escossois, Je ne s'auray trouver meilleur occasion que la foura du Dominicque[1] qui commence a Dantzigk ce sinquiesme d'Aoust, ou de Serislave que commence le 15me d'Aoust. J'ay grand envie d'avoir l'honneur de baiser les mains de V. A. vers le fin de Juillet, s'il est possible et si ie pourray, expedier les affaires de mon Roy en cett endroit ou ie me trouve assez a temps. Mon Roy a receu des grands offres d'amitié et d'assistance des Electeur de Brandenborgh,[2] Mayence[3] et Colongue,[4] du Landgrave d'Hesse,[5] des Ducs de Newborgh,[6] Meckelborgh,[7] et Lunenborgh,[8] mais principallement de l'Empereur,[1] des Roys de France,[2] Espargne,[3] Dannemarck,[4] Portugall[5] et la Reyne de Schwede,[6] a la verite la Reyne de Schwede a commencee a verefier ces offres par les effects, elle a faict tenir a mon Roy quinze mille pieces d'armes et mille centenier du poudres avec mesche et balles proportionables et a declarer que ce n'est qu'un commencement de ce quelle est resolve de faire pour la restitution de nostre Roij. Nous . . . [sommes?] icy dans un nouveau monde: puis que nous recevons des preuves signales de l'affection de la Couronne de Schwede, nous nous en trouvons grandement encourages et esperons, que nos Calamites pourront estre encore changer et que nostre Jeune Roy pourra estre capable de ressenter les affections des Roys et Princes qui ont preste leur assistances ou au Roy, son pere, ou a son Personne. V. A. mentionne dans sa derniere un autre lettre, escritt a mon Roy. Je peux assurez

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[1] This date renders it certain that Sir John in his Report from Hamburg (No. XXIX) uses New Style, when he says 'arrived on Juin 11,' that is, June 1st, Old Style.

[2] Montrose was then at the Hague, attending Charles II., and did not reach Hamburg till early in Sept. Probably Cochran wrote or meant to write '*ne estant* . . . *arrivé* . . . *ville*, j'ay etc,' '*not* having yet arrived.'

[3] Cochran's despatch (No. XXIX) shows no trace of this expectation. Did he write 'deux mois'? He left Hamburg early in Sept. *Deeds of Montrose* (1893), pp. 258-9.

[4] See Nos. XXXV, XXXIX. Danzig was full of Scotch and English merchants. For the troubles of the Company in the wars of Sweden and Poland, *v.* Thurloe, Indices.

[5] See Nos. XXXVII-XLI. The king was John Casimir V., b. 1609, a Jesuit and a Cardinal, succeeded his brother Ladislas VII., 1648, crowned Jan. 17, 1649. Wars with the Tartars (1650) and with Sweden rendered his promises of help ineffectual.

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[1] The feast of St. Dominick, August 4. 'Serislave' was probably St. Stanislas Kotka, a Jesuit, and Polish Saint. In the Roman Calendar the Assumption fell on the 15th Aug., and Stanislas was transferred to Nov. 13. He was beatified by Clement VIII. in 1604; canonised in 1727. The Poles ascribed several victories over the Tartars in 1651 to his intercession.—Butler, *Lives.*

[2] Frederick William, the Great Elector, 1640-88. See *Deeds of Montrose*, p. 252 and App.

[3] Mayence or Mentz, the seat of the Archbishop-Elector and Chancellor of the Empire. The town was taken by d'Enghien and Turenne Sep. 17, 1644, evacuated 1651. In a Letter of Intelligence, 18-28 May 1653 (Thurloe, i. 246), the Elector is said to show great zeal in the cause of Charles, 'one of the prime abbettours of our machinations,' but 'wee have no great confidence' in him. His object was to make a Catholic of Charles. He was one of the few whose promises went beyond words.—Clar. iii. 537.

[4] Cologne, one of the seven Electors of the Empire. The Electorate was suppressed in 1803 by Napoleon I., and the title abolished 1806.

[5] Landgrave of Hesse. The Landgraviate was divided in 1567 into three, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Hesse-Homburg, ruled respectively in 1649 by William IV., George II., and William Christopher. 'Hassia,' Newbourgh, Brandenbourgh, Bavaria, and Brunswick are mentioned in the letter of n. 3 above as to be visited by 'our embassador.' Probably Hesse-Cassel is meant. —See Clar. iii. 537.

[6] Newborgh. Pfalzgraf Wolfgang William, b. 1578, succeeded 1614, and became a Catholic. In 1609 his father, on the death of the last Duke of Cleves, claimed the duchies of Berg, Juliers, and Cleves. Wolfgang revived this claim in rivalry to George William of Brandenburg, with whose son, 'the Great Elector,' he divided the Cleves inheritance at the close of the Thirty Years' War. He died 20 March 1653. The 'Newbourgh' of n. 5 above was his son Philip William, b. 1615, d. 1690, who obtained Berg and Juliers in 1666. Germany suffered severely from these subdivisions of great estates and family feuds engendered thereby. Newburg is a small town in Bavarian Schwabia, capital of the Counts, 1503-1799.

[7] Mecklenborgh. The spelling approximates to the Low-German pronunciation, 'Meckelborg.' In 1621 the duchies of M.-Schwerin and M.-Güstrow were conquered and given to Wallenstein, restored by Gustavus Adolphus to the dukes 1631. In 1631 the Duke of Güstrow died, and was succeeded by Gustavus Adolphus.

[8] Lunenborgh. Christian Ludwig, Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, Dec. 1648-

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1665. His brother Ernest became Elector of Hanover, whose son was George I. of England.

[1] L'Empereur. Ferdinand III. 1639-58. See *Deeds of Montrose* (1893), pp. 227-8, 245, 259, n. 42. This letter seems to supply the confirmation required for Nicholas' report, there quoted. From the same it appears that Colonel Sir Wm. Johnston, who accompanied Montrose to Orkney in 1650, was sent in 1649 to the Dukes of Brunswick, Celle, and Hanover. Perhaps the long delay at Hamburg prevented Cochran from fulfilling this part of his programme above.

[2] France. Louis XIV., 'Le Grand,' b. 1638, succeeded, under his mother's regency 1643, declared of age, 7 Sep. 1651. Mazarin, the Queen-regent's most potent minister at this time, was lukewarm in his friendship to the Stuarts. Wars with Spain and internal troubles frustrated all hopes of effective help from these countries.

[3] Espagne. Philip IV., 1621-1665. Besides the war with France, Spain was at war with Portugal 1640-1666.

[4] Dannemarck. Frederick III., 1648-1670, cousin of Charles I. The real power of the kingdom was at this time in the hands of a council of nobles. For the help the King gave to Charles II., see *Deeds of Montrose*, Index.

[5] Portugal. The Duke of Braganza, John IV., elected king 1640. See n. [3], above. For his bearing to the exiles see Warburton's *Rupert*.

[6] Schwede. Christina. See *Deeds of Montrose*, Index. As for the 15,000 stand of arms, etc., in 1649-50, Montrose received from her arms, etc., for 1500 men (*Montrose Redivivus*). Sir Wm. Johnston, quoted by Nicholas (Carte's *Ormonde*, i. 367 ff.), credits her with giving Montrose '16 or 18,000 arms, 24 excellent field-pieces, 9 pieces of battery,' with 'store of powder,' etc., and corn. In another letter of this period, undated, she is said to have given Charles '10,000 arms and munition proportionable, whereof one half is assigned to the Marquis of Montrose.'—(*Id.* pp. 345 ff.)

V. A., que le Roy n'a veu que la derniere, qui fust addresser a Moy . . .

[. . . I have orders also to go to his Majesty of Denmark, to treat with this town and with Danzig, to visit his Majesty of Poland and the Scots resident in that kingdom, to speak with the Scots. I shall find no better opportunity than the feast of Dominick, which commences at Danzig the 5th August, or of Stanislas, which begins the 15th August. I have a great desire to have the honour of kissing the hands of your Highness about the end of July, if possible, and if I shall be able to hasten the affairs of my King in this locality, where I find myself sufficiently in time. My King has received great offers of friendship and assistance from the Electors of Brandenburg, Mayence, and Cologne, from the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Neuburg, Mecklenburg, and Luneburg, the Kings of France, Spain, Denmark, Portugal, and the Queen of Sweden. In truth, the Queen of Sweden has begun to verify these offers by deeds. She has caused my King to receive 15,000 stand of arms and 1000 hundredweight of powder, with match and ball in proportion, and has declared that this is only a beginning of what she has resolved to do for the restoration of our King. We [*live*] here in a new world. Since we receive signal proofs of the affection of the Crown of Sweden we find ourselves greatly encouraged thereby, and hope that our calamities will undergo a change, and our young King be enabled to show his sense of the affection of the Kings and Princes, who have lent their aid either to the King, his father, or to his own person. Your Highness mentions in your last another letter written to my King. I can assure your Highness that the King has seen only the last, which was addressed to me. . . .]

XXVII

1649. Hamburg, 4 August. COCHERAN to DUKE JAMES.

(*Original.*)

. . . Icy le Marquis de Montrose[1] qui se va mettre a la teste du parti Royale en Escosse et le dont[2] embarquer en Denmarck pour cett effect. Je hasteray tant que me sera possible, a venir trouver V. A.

[*I am expecting*] here the Marquis of Montrose, who is going to put himself at the head of the Royal party in Scotland, and embark in Denmark for this object. I shall hasten as fast as possible to visit your Highness.]

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[1] See p. 171, n. 2 above. With *icy* understand *j'attends.*

[2] *le dont* unintelligible. The sense requires 'intends' or 'is to',—*il doit*?

XXVIII

1649. Hamburg, 21 August 1649. Jo. COCHERAN to DUKE JAMES. (*Original.*)

Ma dernier le 4^{me} d'Aoust sans doubte est livrer a V. A. depuis en temps nos affaires en Irlande s'ameliorissent tous les iours . . . Je ne fais qu'attendre a tout heure le Marquis de Montrose il y a onze iours[1] pour venir en ces quartiers, si tost que son Ex^{ce} arrivera, Je me mettray en chemin pour venir trouver V. A.

[My last on August 4th has doubtless been delivered to your Highness. For some time our affairs in Ireland have continued to improve. . . . For eleven days I have been expecting every hour the coming of the Marquis of Montrose. As soon as he arrives, I shall set out to visit your Highness.]

XXIX

1649. SR JOHN COCHERANS relation of the particulars that have occurrd in his negotiation since his coming to Hamborgh. [*Original*, Advocates' Library, Wodrow MSS. Fol. lxvii, 89.]

Upon Monday the 11th Juin old styll[2] I arryved at Hamborgh. So soone as I had fitted my self with some necessarie equipage, upon the 16 (dito) I gave notice to the Senatt of my being here and of my desyre to be admitted to audience.

Vpon Monday the 18. Juin one Liuftenant Nantwyck (who had been a Liuftenant of horse in his Ma^{ties} service in England) came to me from Gluckstadt,[3] and complaind that a shipp which ane captain Brun. Thomas having commission from the king, had taken from the Rebells, wes by Mr. Crespe[1] one of the English Companie here arrested: under pretext, as was impudentlie averred, even before the king of Denmark his admiraltie att Gluckstadt, that the king was but a pretended king, and consequentlie could not in right grant any commissions: I no sooner gott notice hereof than I dispatcht Liuftenant Colonell Jones to the Governour of Holstein, to give him notice of the trust the king had putt upon me, and desyring in my king's name that justice might be administratt upon some of his Rebells, who were not ashamed even before the admiraltie of Gluckstadt to vent their malice against his sacred person. Lykewyse I desyred that the pryze might be released from the arrestment and remitted to the disposition of the kings servants who had brought in the same, as the coppie of my letter to the Governour of Holstein Num. B.[2] will more amplie testifie: I conceaved my self obleiged in duetie to try if I could stopp the progress of those insolencies att their first appearance, least afterward (they acquyrring strength) I might find it a business of much more difficultie, just as Liuftenant Colonell Jones averred at Gluckstadt, the Rebells depairted and came to this toune, so the first pairt of my letter concerning justice requyrred against the Rebells was waved; and the last concerning relaxation of the arrestment condescended, as you will find be the coppie of the Gouvernoure's answere to me Num. C. translatted word to word out of the dutch, the letter I receaved the 22 dito, the pairty who delivered it told me he had something to impairt to me from the Gouvernour, which was that he wondred how it wes possible, that I could comport with the insolencyes which were daylie practised be the Rebells against Our King; that there wes many wayes to gett the cheif of them brought to condigne punishment, which wes easie to contryve, that he beleaved I would find few to crosse any designe against them, but many well wishers, that for their pairts they would be wanting in nothing that might be condiscended, by them, without a direct prejudice to themselves.

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[1] The delay was probably due to preparations at Amsterdam to send Kinnoul to Orkney, with the first detachment, which sailed in Aug. or Sept. 1649. —*Deeds of Montrose*, pp. 253 ff.

[2] See p. 171, n. 1. Owing to the great fire of 1842, May 5-7, in which the archives of Hamburg were almost totally destroyed, no information relative to these events has been recovered from local sources. For an interesting account of Hamburg and Lübeck at this period see *Journal of the Swedish Embassy* by Whitlocke, who visited these towns on his return in 1654.

[3] Glückstadt, in Holstein, on the Elbe, twenty-six and a half miles north-west of Hamburg. Formerly a strong fortress, with a 'Block-House,' where the Danish authorities at this period were apt to interfere with the trade of Hamburg.

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[1] Crespe. See p. 187.

[2] The letter itself was doubtless 'Number A.' These enclosures have not been found. Cochran's report was sent by Charles II. to Montrose along with his commission to settle Cochran's dispute with Hamburg and raise a loan, dated St. Germains, Sep. 5, 1649. See *Deeds of Montrose*, App. v. This report of Cochran was found among Montrose's papers taken in Dunbeath Castle, 1650. —*Id.* App. ix.

Upon Wednesday the 20. dito, two of the Senators of the toun came to me and told me they were sent be the Burgermaisters and Councell of the toune, to welcome me to their toun, and to know what I had to propound in my kings name. I thankt them for the courtyssie they manifested to me, but did show withall that the main busines which I was to propound wes of that nature that my Gracious King and Maister wishd it to be published (if possible) to the whole world, and therfore in order to the trust putt upon me be my King, I conceived meself obleiged to demand a publick audience. They usd many arguments to dissuade me from it; I answered their arguments, and told them I expected a resolution from the Senatt with all possible speed. I wes the more earnest in this particular, because I had gott intelligence that the Rebells had been using all wayes imaginable to hinder me from publick audience, and indeed they had reason, for they knew that they would be able in process of tyme by bryberie and threatning, to effectuate with the Senatt what they pleased, so that if I should gett publick audience, they observed that I wes *ipso facto* acknowledged a publick minister, which wes a busines could not be againe recalled, but if my busines were propounded privatelie, they thought it might prove afterwards a claim to obscure the lustre of the kings deputation, and a president in other places of dangerous consequence. As also they conceived, they were in a capacitie afterward to prevaill with the Senatt so farr as to make them deny I had had any audience att all, and consequentlie had not been admitted a publick Minister; for those reasons I resolved not to pass from my demand upon no terms whatsoever.

Upon Fryday the 22. Juin those same two Senators came againe, and usd the same arguments they had usd before, and added one which they conceived unanswerable, that in observance of a due respect to my king, the Senatt found it expedient to send to me to heare what I had to propound, that they conceived I should undervalue my self too much to come to them; I answerred in these words: I am bound to render you thanks in my kings name for the tender care you profess to have at [as ?] a due respect to his Ma^{tie}, but by your leave my opinion differeth much from yours, in this particular; I doe not think it ane undervalluing of my king, that I should goe to publick audience, seing my Credentiall letters are to the Senatt of Hamborgh, them I must deliver to the Senatt, and certainlie in obedience to my kings commands, and as is usuall, must demand audience of them to whom my Credentiall letters are directed. Secondlie, Certainlie it would be a greatter undervalluing of my king to have no audience att all then to be admitted to publick audience; if I propound my busines privatlie to you, I count it no audience att all. Thirdlie, if I be not admitted to publick audience I cannot be esteimed a publick Minister, for when I treatt privatlie with you, I cann take no other notice of you then under the Character of Subordinatt persons, delegatted for that purpose by a Superior pouer, so shall the respect to my king be less then when I am admitted to audience of them in whose hands the supreme power is. Some dispute whither or not a publick Minister sent by a Monarch be obleiged to treatt personallie with those who are deputed to attend him att privatt conferences; the negative hes bein practised by some in our age. Fourtlie, I know many publick Ministers, and particularlie the last Legatt from the Emperor in this place, had publick audience of the Senatt. Suirlie if it was no undervalluing of his Maister, no more can this be of myne. Fyftlie, one word I may use for all, If there had never bein a president for a publick audience in this toune, that which had occurrd in the person of our late king,[1] a busines without a perfect parallell (for any thing I know) in the wholl world, is not to be told in Corners, but rather publicklie to be proclaimed to the eternall confusion of its authors, Contryvers, and exequutors.

Upon Satturday the 23. dito, the same Senators came, and told me that the Senatt admitted and acknowledged me a publick Minister, so they hoped I would no more presse for publick audience; I answered that it wes not enough to me to be acknowledged be them a publick Minister, which might be afterward altered upon occasion, but it must be approven by the publick act, which cannot be recalled; if this could not be, I entreatted them to excuse me, I would propound nothing at all.

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[1] *sic* in MS.

Upon Monday the 25. dito, the Senators returned, and told me, seing I wes so earnest to have publick audience, they had orders from the Senatt to show me that it wes resolved the Senatt would admitt me to audience upon Wednesday att 10. a clock, and that some of the Senators would come to attend me to the toun house, and upon occasion of some former discourse about the English Companie;[1] told me lykwyse that the Senatt entreatted me to send to the English house, to desyre that some of their number might be deputed to me to know what I had to impairt to them—this I accorded.

Upon twesday the 26. dito, the English Companie sent to me the meannest of their triviall servants, who told me he had orders from the Companie to come heare what I had to say to them; I answerred I had nothing to say, unless they usd me with greatter civillitie I wes resolved to impairt nothing to them at all.

Upon Wednesday the 27. dito one of the Senators came with three Coaches, and brought me to audience, where the wholl Senatt wes assembled, who after Credentiall letters delivered and ordinarie Ceremonies ended, I usd a lattin speach, the Coppie wherof you will find Num. D. answere wes made by one of the Senatt, after that I wes brought back to my lodgeing as formerlie; the Senator who brought me to my lodging askt me if I had sent to the Companie, I answerred I had, and relatted the wholl busines to him. I wes daylie getting intelligence of the pernicious practises of the Rebells against me, and their most abhominable reproaches against the king, togither with their tyrannicall oppression, of all those who entertained any thought of loyaltie, whereupon I wes resolved to give in to the Senatt my complaints against some of the most eminent of them, yet I submitted so farr to the advyse of some of the kings good subjects, that I wrott a letter to them to try if any hopes were left to prevaill by faire means, the Coppy of the letter you will find Num. E.

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[1] For interesting details of this English Company in Hamburg, see Thurloe, from which it appears that Richard Bradshaw, parliamentary agent in Hamburg, had as much trouble with Royalists as Cochran had with the rebels. An instance of Cochran's high-handed proceedings is given in *Whitlocke's Journal*, p. 394, 1649, Ap. iv.:—'Letters from Hamburg that Colonel Cockeram and his servants there, laid wait for the Minister going to preach in the English House, and attempted to murder him; but he was rescued by the Citizens.' Letter No. XXIII above shows that Cochran was about that time in Hamburg.

Upon Wednesday the fourth July the Barron Platemborgh, President for the Emperor, came to see me, he told me he wes sorrie to heare of the insolencies of the Rebells of the English Companie, that they were insupportable, but said with all he wes affrayed the Senatt of Hamborgh swayed too much their way, otherwyse that they durst not insult in that manner, offerrd to interpose his Maisters power with the Senatt for the kings behoove.

Upon thursday the fyft July the English Companie sent to me a marchant of the meannest note amongst them, togither with the same servant mentionnd above, who told me they were sent by the Companie to desyre me to wrytt them what I had to say to the companie. I said, though they usd me, their kings Minister, with less civillitie then they would any of the ordinarie Marchants in toune, and though I knew any paper of myne would meatt with nothing from them but contempt and disdaine, yet to pursue my orders according to my king and Maisters pious intention, I wes resolved to leave nothing unassayed that might have any appearance of prevailling, and therfore told them they should heare from me too morrow.

Upon fryday the 6. dito I sent a letter to them containning thrie Quærees, the Coppie wherof is Num. F.

After this I understood alwayes further of their Rebellious practises.

Upon Monday the 9. dito, the two who had bein last with me, came again from the English Companie, and told me the Companie would give me no answere att all to the Quærees, pretending they did not concerne them, and without saying any more, or giving care to any thing I would have said suddenlie depairted.

Upon twesday the 10. dito, when the Deputies from the Senatt came to heare my particular propositions, I presented to their consideration thrie articles, first concerning some supply to the king, which, though it were not of greatt consideration, yett in this nick of tyme might prove a meane to assure the kings affection to them for ever; this I enforced with many other arguments which would be tedious to rehearse; the other article wes to desyre that no Minister might be admitted from the barbarous Murtherers of our late king, as had bein breiflie mentiond before in my speach att publick audience; the third was to represent the horrid and barbarous practises of some of the Rebells of the English Companie, both against the late king of blessed memorie, and our most gracious king now reigning, desyrring that according to the tennor of the treattie betwixt the kings Royall predecessors and the Senatt of Hamborgh, such persons as I wes to accuse might be securred, to be convoyed to answere before right, where his Ma^{tie} should be pleased to ordaine; they askt me what I had to lay to their charge, I answerred I wes willing to satisfie their desyre in that particular, protesting withall it might not prejudge my kings authoritie over his subjects, seing I know it wes directlie expressed in the treattie betwixt the kings predecessors and them, that whensoever the king of England should call for any of his subjects of the English Companie they were obleiged to send him without any notice to be given of any reason wherefore, then I did show them what I accusd those persons of.

As first that before the Murther of the Ever glorious Martyr our late king, they had presented a bloodie supplication to the Rebells of the pretended Parliament, desyrring that the king might be putt to death.

Secondlie, that so soone as they understood of the kings murther they had causd print a most prodigious false Pamphlett, ascryving amongst many other odious cryms to that blessed Martyr that he had poysond his Royall father King James, and had dispersed this Pamphlett throughout the Germane Impyre.

Thirdlie, that having regrited [negated?] the just authoritie of Charles the Second, the undoubted righteous heare of the Crouns of England, Scotland and Irland, they had against all law and reason, subjected themselves to the Murtherers of our late king Charles the first.

Fourthlie, that they oppressd with their crueltie and tyrannie all the good and loyall subjects of the Companie, and condemned them to prisons and Irons, for no other cause but because they would not submitt themselfs to the authoritie of most abhominable usurpers.

And last, that some of them had vented reproaches against our Most Gracious King (which I tremble to rehearse) that he was but a Rogue, a pretended King, that they hoped he should die as his father did, if not worse; the Senators seemd to be much mooved att the mentionning of these particulars, I pressed instantlie for a speedie answere to that pairt of my propositions, for the first concerning the supply they might considder of it att greater length.

Upon twesday the 10. July, the Senators told me they could not meddle with the English att all, that seing there wes two different pairties in England, they intended to remain newters, and neither to appeare for the one nor the other; and that for receiving a publick Minister from the parliament, the Senatt had given them orders to tell me expresslie that whenever any publick Minister from the Parliament should come they were resolved to admitt him, and entertaine him with the lyke civillities as they did others, whereunto I replyed they were no more Newtralls but pairty against the king, they said they could not now be tyed be the treattie, till busines were cleared in England: So, said I, I see my king must suffer those unparallelld barbarities from his own subjects living in your toune, and can find no redresse; I must tell you freelie though I were not heir, the king hes good subjects heir who would not suffer those injuries to pass unpunished, they said for them they could not meddle into it, I might take such course as I judged expedient, withall, said they, wee expect you will not encroach in any kynd upon the liberties and priviledges of this toune: I think they forwarnd the Rebells that they should look to themselfs, for after that they went verie seldome out of the toun, and if they did goe out it wes upon the other syde, in the territorie belonging to the toune. But their insolencies were attained to that height that no loyall heart could comport with them, and I being heir the kings publick Minister, and consequentlie their Magistratt, be vertue of the trust and authoritie conferrd upon me be the king, esteimed me self obleiged to endeavour to bring them to a condigne punishment, upon any termes whatsoever: For the effectuatting heirof, I desyred Liuftenant Colonell Jones to fraught a small shipp as it were for Holland, which I causd to attend in a place convenient for the purpose. In the meanwhyll I gott assurance from the King of Denmarks officers that if any of the Rebells could be apprehended in their bounds, they would rather help then hinder so good a worke, then I gott them of the cheifest of the Rebells intysed out of the toune into a place of the country of Pinneberg,[1] belonging to the king of Denmarck, where I had a brother of myne (Liuftenant Colonell Jones had bein their if he had not bein diverted by sicknes), with ten good fellowes attending them in ane ambuscade, who apprehended them, putt them in the shipp, and carried them away, but being too much puffd up with their former success, and ane opinion that no creature living would assist the Rebells to pursue after them, they were too negligent of the opportunitie, and stayd a wholl day and a night in the river, till the rest of the Rebells heir, through assistance of the toune, armed two vessells instantlie, and mand them with two hundreth Musqueteers, pursued and overtook our people, fell upon them, who not being able to defend against such a number, were constraind to submitt, after one of them wes killed and me brother mortallie wounded,[2] the rest brought prisonners to this toune, and be the Senatt heir committed to the Hangmans house, though they had done no wrong to the toune att all. Vherupon I being incensed against the Senatt heir for their carriage in this particular, first that they denyed to executt justice upon the persons accused by me, Next that when I had usd means to gett them apprehended in the king of Denmarcks bounds, having no more relation to Hamburgh then if they had bein taken in the Ocean, they suffered vessells to be armed and mand in their toune, to pursue, kill, and take prisonners the kings good subjects, who had done them no offence att all: thirdlie, that they had committed to such ane ignominious prison, against all right and reason, the kings good and loyall subjects: I sent a paper instantlie to the Senatt, requyring in my kings name, first that the thrie prisonners of the Rebells taken in the king of Denmarcks bounds be my kings good and loyall subjects, without the least appearance of any encroachment upon the liberties and priviledges of Hamburgh, might be restored to me: Next that the pairties who had pursued my kings good subjects, killd and wounded some of them and taken the rest, without any just warrant or Commission, might be secured and punished according to reason: Thirdlie, that the skippers who had hyred their shipps to the Rebells might be punished: this paper wes sent to the Senatt upon the 22. July.

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[1] Pinneberg, now a pleasant suburb on the Altona-Kiel railway.

[2] Nothing further appears to be known of this brother, whose fate is thus mentioned by Cochran with such Spartan brevity.

Upon Monday the 23. July I understood that the Senatt of Hamburgh had drawn up ane agreement be way of contract with the Rebells, whereby the Senatt of Hamburgh obleiged themselfs to protect the Rebells against all persons whatsoever, and the Rebells obleiged themselfs not onlie to secure the toune from all losses they may incurre be the king, but also that within a month the parliament shall ratifie the contract.

Vpon Wednesday the 25 July, two of the Senators came to me, but gave me no satisfaction att all, pretending the English were their Burgers, and consequentlie they were obleiged to protect them, I answered, I hope, said I, you will not doe the King my Maister that wrong, to pretend that his sworne subjects are your burgers, they live in your toune enjoying their own Lawes, rights, and customes, they ow no taxes or duties to any but their own king, and are tyed to take yeirlie the oath of allegeance, and all this expresslie by vertue of the contract betwixt the kings predecessors and this Senatt: They usd some frivolous shifts to no purpose, and when I urged them with reason, they acknowledged in the end that they were constraind to doe what they did for their own safetie and the wellfare of their people—for, said they, the king is banished from his kingdomes, wee see small appearance of recoverie, if he hes any navy we know not, some of the parliaments fleet are almost allwayes in our river, wee cannot goe to sea but wee find them: and then the English Companie secures us from all losses, if the king can secure us [as] they doe, you shall find us more willing to grant your desyrs then theirs: So said I, I see privatt considerations are of more value with you then conscience, equitie, or reason: and then said I, doe you think that the English Companie wilbe able to secure your losses if the king should declair against you? For as low as you esteime the king, and that you conceive small hopes of his recoverie, I hope you shall repent your choyce and wish you had never followed this course: they answerred, if it should fall out that a shipp were taken from us be the kings people, though she were not worth an hundreth thallers,[1] all our power would not be able to save the English from the rage of the people: It seems, said I, you have projected this busines to gett the Rebells throatts cutt.

This is breiflie the true relation of all the particulars have occurrd in my negotiations heir: Now it may be you will expect to heare my opinion what I would have the king to doe, advyse in a busines of so high a nature might puzzle greater habilities then myne, yet because I am heir upon the place, and have occasion to know more of their affaires then others who have not bein heir, I shall in all humilitie present to your consideration my judgement concerning their interests and condition, that you may with the greatter facilitie resolve what may be expedient to determine upon the present occasion.

This toune is verie well situatt upon the Elve, a pleasant and commodious river for navigation, that under the toun to the sea (which is over threescore and twelf English mylls)[2] it is portable of the greattest shipps, above the toune, for above two hundreth English mylls greatt Cabarrs[3] and boatts pass too and fro upon it.

The toun being seatted so farr within the Cuntrie is apt as well to receave all forrain commodities (which are again dispersed into the Germane Impyre pairtlie be the river and pairtlie be transportation through land) as to export what the Germane Impyre may spare to other Cuntries.

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[1] Thalers.

[2] The town is sixty miles from the river-mouth, but perhaps Cochran reckoned to the island of Neuwerk outside of Cuxhaven.

[3] Cabarr, a lighter: French, cabarre, or gabare, from gabarer, to scull. A very rare word in English. Spalding, *Hist. Trubles*, vol. ii. p. 57, is the only instance given in Jamieson and the *New Engl. Dict.*

The Magistracye is composed of four Burgermaisters and twentie Senators, all for the most pairt necessitous and poore, and consequentlie the more subject to be corrupted. They entertaine a garrison of twelf hundreth men, more to restraine the tumults att home then to defend themselfs from any invasions abroad. Shipps of warre belonging to the publick they have none: they have good store of warreshipps belonging to particular Marchants wherof they make use upon occasion; but by reason of penurie are not able to entertaine many nor long.

By reason of their neighbourhood and interests with the Impyre they cannot subsist, without the correspondence and amitie of the neighbour princes, as the King of Denmarck, Electors of Saxen and Bradenborgh, Dukes of Meckelnborg, Brunswick, Lunenborgh, Saxen Lowenborgh, and (now of late by reason of the Bishoprick of Bremen[1]), the Queane of Schweden, who are all affectionatlie devotted to our king's interests.

Their Commountie is well inclyned to our king, and apt enough to ryse against their Magistratts if our king declare against them.

Their shipps of warre trade altogither in Spain and within the Straitts, the Boyars [2] and small shipps most with Holland, and many with the toun of Rowen in Normandie, they transport from hence to Rowen, honey, waxe, potashes, pitch, tarre, and butter, from thence they bring linnen cloth, all sorts of wollen and silk stuffs, and other costlie commodities: the shipps that goe for Rowen are builded in forme of Boyars, and can carrie no ordonnance att all.

If the King should grant commissions against them, I doe not see any prejudice he could suffer by it att all, but rather (as I take it), it would be ane advantage to him, for they are not able to maintaine any shipps in posture of warre, unles they should be payed be the Rebells: and endeid, I beleave, they are readie enough to serve the parliament for pay, whither the King declare against them or not: the advantage to the King is clear, that it wilbe easie to seaze upon their shipps as well those that trade with Spain and the Straitts, as those that trade with Rowen.

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[1] Given to Sweden by the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648.

[2] Boyar. Also a rare word. A Flemish sloop with raised work at each end. 'Ships called Boyers, Hoybarks, Hoyes . . . made to hold great bulke of Merchandize.'—Raleigh, *Remains* (1661), p. 167; *New Engl. Dict.*, q. v. for other instances of this period.

It would be considdered what a prejudice it may draw upon the King's affaires, if such slighting and partiall dealling from this toun, and the Rebels heir, should be tolleratted in this nick of tyme, when his Ma^tie^ enters to the prosequetion of his interests.

It would be lykwyse considdered that it is a high slighting of his Ma^ties^ authoritie, to deny him the persons of any of his subjects in this toune, to the which they are directlie obleiged by vertue of the treattie, and durst never deny to any of his predecessors.

I would think it expedient the King should instantlie demand the persons of Isaack Lee, deputy, together with Henrie Crespe and Robert Palmer, Marchants of the Companie, who are the persons that were apprehended in the King of Denmarks bounds, by the Kings loyall subjects as above mentioned.

It will fright this people extremlie if they marke that the King is displeased with them, so that if his Ma^tie^ wilbe pleased to declare against them, and send his orders to me to that effect, I am confident they will instantlie condiscend a considerable soume of money for the Kings uses: and I shall dispose of the orders, as the King shall be pleased to lay his Gracious commands upon me. As I shall be answerable.

Since the wrytting of the premisses I have understood be their own lawyers (as Liuftenant Colonell Jones knowes) that the toun of Hamborgh never committed such ane injustice (to their memorie or knowledge) as they have now manifested in this busines, and that their must needs ensue badd consequences upon it.

XXX

1649. Riga, 15/5 October 1649. Cocheran to Duke James.

(*Original.*)

En obeyssance des ordres du Roy de la Grande Bretaigne, mon Maistre ie rendray [viendray ?] trouver V. A.

[In obedience to the orders of my Master, the King of Great Britain, I shall proceed to seek your Highness.]

XXXI

1649. 28 October, Mytau. COCHERAN to DUKE JAMES.
(*Original.*)

Par cette dont V.A. m'honnora de Windau[1] il semble qu'elle trouve a propos ce que me comporte come un cavallier probatte, mais par la parmission de V. A. je presumeray de luy representer en tout humilité, que la presente condition des affaires du Roy Mon Maistre estant bien different de que quell'estoit alors que ie me trouvay dernierement aupres de V. A. m'obligera me declarer Ministre[2] du Roij de la grande Bretaigne et a desirer audience publique des princes et estats aus quels ie suis mande, pour pouvoir mieux obvier aux preiudices que nos occasions pouront remontrer pour le futur. Je croy aussi, que ie peut estre sans aucune reflexion dommageable sur les interestz de V. A. Toutefois, si V. A. y trouve aucune difficulte substantielle, ie me comporteray selon en [ce ?] quil plairra a V. A. d'en ordonner, estant de tout mon iour [cœur ?] et desirant de tesmoigner en toutes occasions, etc. . . .

[By the letter with which your Highness honoured me from Windau, it appears that you find *apropos* what beseems me as an approved knight, but by your Highness' permission I shall presume to represent to you in all humility that the present condition of the King my Master's affairs, being very different from what they were when I was last with your Highness, will oblige me to declare myself the Minister of the King of Great Britain, and to desire public audiences of the Princes and Estates to whom I am sent, that I may better obviate the prejudices which our circumstances may occasion for the future. I believe also that I can be [i.e. *do so*?] without any reflection damaging to the interests of your Highness. Nevertheless, if your Highness find therein any substantial difficulty, I shall comport myself as it shall please your Highness to ordain, being with all my heart [?] and desiring to prove on all occasions, etc.]

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[1] Windau, a small town in Courland, at the mouth of the river Windau, on the Baltic.

[2] The declaration (No. XXXII) shows that Cochran put this resolution into effect.

XXXII

1649. Declaration of Cocheran. October 31, 1649, dd. Mytaviae [logia vidim [1] of March 1662, in Latin].

Joannes Cocheranus Eques auratus magnae Brittaniae et Hyberniae Regis, Caroli Secundi, ad Sereniss. Daniae et Poloniae Reges et celsissimum Principem Curlandiae Ducem Legatus. Authoritate et commissione Regia munitus Sr^{mi} Regis mei nomine promitto, omnes apparatus bellicos aut alia quaecunque quae Cels. Princeps Jacobus Curlandiae et Semigalliae [2] Dux, vel per me, vel per alios in usum Serenissimorum meorum Regum, scilicet Caroli primi gloriosissimae memoriae et Caroli Secundi iam regnantis, suppeditabit aut suppeditaverit, ea omnia aut eorum valorem Serenissimum meum Regem, Quam primum Divina gratia in Avitum thronum restitutus fuerit, Celsissimo Duci Curlandiâe aut Celsitudinis suae haeredibus bona fide retributurum et Ill^{imam} Curlandicam familiam omnibus sincerae amicitiae et debitae gratitudinis officiis pro viribus prosecuturum summo etiam studio alloboraturum ut Dictus Celsissimus Princeps amici et benevoli sui affectus indicia in gratissimos reges collocata esse percipiat, simul etiam procul dubio curabit Serenissimus meus Rex ut pensionis [3] illius annuae a Sr^{mo} Rege Jacobo avo suo Gloriosissimae memoriae Celsissimo Curlandiae Duci concessae iusta et debita fiet solutio. In huius rei ratificationem . . .

[John Cochran, Knight, Ambassador of Charles II., King of Great Britain and Ireland, to the most Serene Kings of Denmark and Poland, and to his Highness the Duke of Courland, armed with the Royal authority and commission, I promise in the name of my King that all war material and whatsoever else his Highness, James, Duke of Courland, shall supply or has supplied, for the use of my most Serene Kings, Charles I., of most glorious memory, and Charles II., now reigning, shall all, or the value thereof, be repaid in good faith to his Highness the Duke of Courland, or to his Highness' heirs by my most Serene King, as soon as the Grace of God shall have restored him to his ancestral throne,

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[1] Should be 'Copia vidim.' See p. 159, n. [4] above.

[2] Modern Courland formerly comprised the duchies of Courland and Semgallen; the latter formed its present eastern portion, the districts of Mitau and Seelburg, with Lettish population.

[3] See Introduction, p. 145.

and that the King will ever to the utmost of his ability treat the most illustrious House of Courland with all services of sincere friendship and due gratitude, and will also endeavour with utmost zeal that his Highness the said Prince may perceive that the proofs of his friendly and benevolent affection have been bestowed on most grateful Kings; as also without doubt my most Serene King will take care that just and due payment shall be made of that yearly pension granted by his grandsire, King James of most glorious memory, to his Highness the Duke of Courland. In ratification thereof. . . .]

XXXIII

1649. Frauenborgh,[1] 12 November. Cocheran to Duke James. (*Original.*)

Je trouve icy un des Serviteurs de V. A. lesquel a este par ordre de V. A. despeche avec quelques hardes qu[e] l'on croyont avoir este oublier mais puis quils n'appartiennent pas a moy, ie les renvoy, ensemble i'envoy a V. A. le Cyphres promis il nos [ne sont ?] pas en si bon ordre que jeussu disire servia pourtant a nostre propos. i'auroy escrit plus amplement a V. A. si je neusse este interrompu par la superflute de la bonne chere, que ie trouve par tout dans les maisons de V. A. Du Memmell[2] a plus grand loisir je presenteray a V. A. les treshumbles respects de celuy qui est tant quil vivra, etc.

[I find here one of the servants of your Highness, who has been despatched by order of your Highness with some baggage supposed to have been forgotten, but I send it back, as it does not belong to me. At the same time I send your Highness the cypher promised. It is not in so good order as I could have wished, but will serve our purpose. I should have written more fully to your Highness if I had not been interrupted by the flood of good cheer which I find in all the houses of your Highness. From Memel at greater leisure I shall present your Highness the very humble respects of him who is as long as he shall live, etc.]

XXXIV

In private ownership.

1649. November 17, Memel. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James of Courland.

. . . Mon Roy sans doubte ressentira les grands offices

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[1] Frauenburg, a ducal castle in Courland.

[2] Memel, in Prussia, on the north-east side of the entrance to the Kurisches Haff.

d'amitie que V. A. luy a rendu . . . Je supplie tres humblement V. A. qu'il luy plaise de vouloir mander ordre a son facteur a Amsterdam touchant la livrance de vaisseaux[1] avec les cannons, ammunitions, provisions et autres appartenances.

[. . . My King will without doubt be sensible of the great services of friendship which your Highness has rendered him. . . . Very humbly I beg your Highness to be pleased to send orders to your factor at Amsterdam concerning the cannon, ammunition, provisions, and other goods.]

XXXV

1649. December 22, Danzig. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James of Courland.

. . . Je trouve cette ville extremement affectionee aux affaires de mon Roy . . . J'ay mande a Son Ex^{ce} le Marquis de Montrose l'ordre de V. A. pour recepuoir les trois navires a Amsterdam,[2] et j'ay trouve icy des marchands[3] qui m'ont fourny 1000 tonneaux de blé, selon le manuscript de V. A. Je ne scay encor s'ils le voudront recepvoir a Riga ou au Sundt, ce sera a resoudre apres mon retour de Warsavie.

[. . . I find this town exceedingly well disposed to the affairs of my King. . . . I have sent to his Excellency the Marquis of Montrose the order from your Highness to receive the three ships at Amsterdam, and I have found here some merchants who have furnished me with 1000 barrels of lead, according to the writing of your Highness. I do not yet know if they wish to receive it at Riga or at the Sound. This will have to be settled after my return from Warsaw.]

XXXVI

1650. Februar 4, Warsavie. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James of Courland.

. . . Je trouve a cette Cour grandissime profession d'affection vers les affaires de mon Roy, mais peu de moyen pour en fournir des preuves . . . Je croy que Je passeray d'icy vers Lublin[1] et Cracovie[2] pour voir si les marchands Escossois voudront contribuer quelqu'assistance pour les necessitez de mon Roy.

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[1] Were these the 'three or four very fair vessels' attributed to the generosity of the Duke of Holstein by the *Montrose Redivivus* author, pp. 170-2, where 'Col. John Oglebie,' Montrose's agent left in Amsterdam, is censured for delaying them? See No. XXXV below; and for Colonel J. Oglebie, *Deeds of Montrose*, Index, and No. XL below.

[2] See preceding note.

[3] Doubtless Scottish, and among them Albrecht von Low.

[I find at this Court the most lavish expression of affection for the affairs of my King, but little means to furnish proofs of it. . . . I believe that I shall travel from here to Lublin and Cracow, to see if the Scottish merchants there will contribute some assistance for the necessities of my King.]

XXXVII

1650. Warschau, 4 Februar. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James of Courland. [See in the copy by Godofred Fabricius, 6 März 1662.]

Depuis ma derniere de Dantzig,[3] Je n'ay rien recontre digne de la reconnoissance de V. A. Je trouve a cette cour grandissime profession et affection vers les affaires de mon Roy, mais peu de moyen pour en fournir les preuves toute fois. En ay[4] receu toutes manifestations que l'apresente [la presente] necessiteuse condition de cet etat peut permettre. J'auray besoin a ce que ie croy de quelques grains[5] a Dantzigk au Commancement de ce Printemps cett [c'est] pourquoy sy V. A. pourroit fie [faire] livrer a Dantzig les mille tonneaux de bled[6] quelle a de sa grace octroyée pour les occasions du Roy mon Maistre, ce servit un grand advantage pour les affaires de mon Roy, J'attends sur ce subiect la resolution de V. A. Je croy que ie passeray d'icy vers Lublin et Cracovie pour voir sy les marchands Escossois voudront contribuer quelque assistance pour les necessitez de mon Roy, tellement que ie desire tres humblement de pouvoir recevoir a Dantzig a mon retour la resolution et commendement de V. A. affin que . . .

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[1] Lublin, now chief town of the district Lublin in Russian Poland, on the Bistrzyca. The Reichstag of 1569 here united Poland and Lithuania—'Union of Lublin.' There is a trade here in wool-weaving, cloth, and corn.

[2] Cracow in Galicia, on the Vistula. After 1609 the kings of Poland were crowned here. In 1795, at the Partition of Poland, it passed to Austria; 1815 a republic; 1846 reverted to Austria.

[3] *i.e.* No. XXXV?

[4] Read: 'preuves. J'en ay receu,' etc.

[5] Grains. See *Accounts* for 1650.

[6] Blé. Not mentioned in the *Accounts*.

[Since my last from Danzig, I have met with nothing that deserves your Highness' notice. I find at this Court [etc., as in No. 36]. Nevertheless, I have received all evidence of it that the present necessitous condition of this State will admit of. I expect I shall require some corn at Danzig. So if your Highness will cause to be delivered at Danzig the 1000 barrels of lead which you have graciously assigned for the needs of the King my Master, it will be a great service to the affairs of my King. I await the decision of your Highness on this subject. I believe that I shall travel [etc., as in 36], so that I very humbly beg to receive at Danzig on my return the resolution and command of your Highness, in order that . . .]

XXXVIII

Mitau, Ducal Archives.

1650. Warschau, 26 Febr. 1650. Jo. Cocheran to Duke James of Courland. (*Original.*)

Ayant certain intelligence que Son Exce Marquis de Montrose[1] a mis pied a terre en Escosse avec sinq mille bons soldats. J'ay receu ordre de luy mander tout le bled qui me sera possible de procurer. Espere aussi par le moyen de l'assistence, que Sa Mate icy a gracieusement prester a mon Roy, d'en trouver une quantité considerable. C'est pourquoy je supplie tres humblement V. A. de vouloir mander ordre a ses acteurs a Dantzigk pour me faire livrer les mille tonneaux[2] de bled, qu'ell a de sa grace ottroyer pour le service de Mon Roy, que satisfaction aux tres humbles et tres instantes sollicitions de celuy qui est eternellement, etc.

[Having certain intelligence that his Excellency the Marquis of Montrose has set foot in Scotland with 5000 good soldiers, I have received orders from him to send him all the lead I can possibly procure. . . . [I] hope also by means of the help which his Majesty here has graciously lent to my King to find a considerable quantity of it. Wherefore I very humbly beg your Highness to order your agents at Danzig to deliver me the 1000 barrels of lead, which you have graciously assigned for the service of my King, which [will give] satisfaction to the very humble and very urgent solicitations of him who is ever, etc.]

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[1] Cochran's information was premature, and exaggerated as to the 5000 men. Montrose did not sail from Gothenburg till March 1650, and in all had only some 1000 foreign troops with him on his last expedition.

[2] See p. 192, n. 6.

XXXIX

1650. Dantzig, 21 März, 1650. Jo. COCHERAN to DUKE JAMES of Courland. (*Original.*)

A mon arrivee dans cette ville j'ay receu de V. A. par *Albrecht von Lau* deux lettres, une du 18me, l'autre du 25me febrvier. La derniere en chyffre par les quelles i'apprends avec beaucop [1] le chargement de la resolution de V. A. touchant les trois navires,[2] qui desvoient [doivent ?] estre livres au service du mon Roij par l'ordre de V. A. les deux lettres contiennent une mesme chose a se avoir [scavoir] un absolu refu de V. A. au livrer les navires pour la reception des quels V. A. me donna un ordre de sa propre main, le rest des lettres ne contient que des excuses, dont ie ne disputeraij par [pas] la suffisance me contenant de representer a V. A., que la plus part de ses excuses sont fondes sur de tres sinistres informations dont ie trouve V. A. tousiours bien . . . en ce que concerne le service du Roy, mon Maistre. Pour ce qui est de l'obligation de mon Roij, il est vray, que comme ie traittay avec V. A. ie luy fay offre de ce que la presente condition de mon Roy scaurront fournir, pour assurance de ce quelle advanceroit et particulierement de l'obligation de Mon Roij, s'il est etoit requis, Mais V. A. se souviendra bien, qu au lieu de l'obligation du Mon Roy elle accepta la mienne, qui est de la mesme valeur entant que mon Roij de sa grace m'avoit constituer son plenipotentiaire et sest engage a ratifier et approuver tout ce que conclurroy avec V. A. ou aucun autre dans les limites de ma commission, aussi V. A. ne pouvoit pas penser de reception l'obligation de mon Roij devant la livrance des navires iusque V. A. m'avoit donne a ordre pour reception les navires a l'instant sans aucun exception que donna sujett de beaucoup des despenses inutiles prierement [premièrement ?] en envoyant l'ordre de V. A., a Son Excell. le Marquis de Montrose,[1] qui estoit pour lors a Gottenborgh, puis le dit Marquis expedie ses deputes [2] a Amsterdam pour recepvoir les navires ne doubtant rien de la livrance puis quil tenoit l'ordre de V. A. de vouloir revoquer en memoire, comme elle a voulu que dans mon obligation iust expressement mentionne que je m'oblige au nom de mon Roy a faire restituer a V. A. ce quel advance a present qui s'entendoit de ses navires et les mille tonneaux de bled [3] dont V. A. me donna son obligation a lors pleust a Dieu que mon Roy n'eust plus de difficulte a estre remis sur son throne, que de rendre a V. A. ce qu'elle a advance a present pour son service. Pour le Prince Rupert il y a vingt bons vaisseaux de guerre,[4] a vendu ses prizes en Portugall tout l'hyver passe, avec autant de liberte come si mon Roij estoit presentement Reynant dans Londres pour le Marquis de Montrose Il est bien loin de ces penses que de se vouloir retirer,[5] au contraire V. A. entendra d'autres nouvelles de luy dans bien poude [peu de] temps ! V. A. peut donc voir, par ce que je presente en toute humilite a sa consideration que ses informations ne sont pas de plus assurez ; Ainsi l'est [c'est] ma tres humble requeste, que V. A. m'a veille de sa grace faire intendre positivement sa volonte, touchant les navires, a scavoir si elle se vont [veut ?] laisser persuader a en faire livrance conforme a l'ordre desia donne pour cet effect, ou sil faut necessairement, que l'obligation de mon

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[1] Sc. *de chagrin* or some such word.

[2] See p. 147, n. [1] above. This action of the Duke is attributed by the author of the *Montrose Redivivus* to a suspicion that Sir John was dishonestly appropriating the funds supplied for the King. In plain terms he says the Duke of Holstein (?) 'contributed very nobly, . . . six great ships laden with corn,' etc., . . . 'but Sir John having procur'd very considerable summs of money upon that score, and other provision for the furthering that [Montrose's] expedition dispos'd of the money for his own uses,' 'sold shipe of corn and provision, and did himself turn tayl to the quarrel.' See *Deeds of Montrose*, p. 259. The letters of Charles below lend strong colour to these 'sinister informations.'

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[1] See No. XXXV.

[2] *i.e.* Col. John Ogilvy. See p. 191, n.[1] above.

[3] As they do not appear in the *Accounts*, we must suppose that the Duke's action effectually prevented Sir John from receiving the lead.

[4] A gross exaggeration. At this time Rupert's fleet numbered only about seven sail. Warburton's *Rupert* (Paris, 1849), p. 337. At Lisbon he made a bargain by which he expected £40,000 for his prizes, *id.* p. 341.

[5] Montrose's delay had probably given rise to such a rumour. News of the King's resolution to renew negotiations at Breda with the Presbyterian Scots may have seriously inclined Montrose to withdraw. The King's and Henrietta's urgent letters to him to persist are suggestive. Montrose disliked these dealings, and had perhaps remonstrated.

Roy soy procurre [?]. Je desire que V. A. m'a veille laisser entendre la forme de l'obligation qu'elle recherche et a quelle valeur elle estime les navires car un obligation generalle ne sera pas peu estre trouver, assez sortable a la dignité de mon Roij ny aucunement pour le profit de V. A. V. A. ne m'escrit point de response touchant les mille tonneaux de bled. J'ay recherche par mes lettres de Warsavie et le fay encore instainment, que V. A. a veille mander ordre a l'Albrecht von Low, son facteur icy, pour me faire livrer les dits mille tonneaux de bled. J'aura occasion de faire charger icy une proportion de bled qui me doit estre livre par ordre du Roy de Pologne. Si V. A. veut aussi adiouster ce quelle a promis, dont ie tiens son obligation ce sera encore un tesmoignage asseure de son affection vers les interests de mon Roy et m'obligera a demeurer, etc.

[On my arrival in this town I received from your Highness by Albrecht von Lau [Low] two letters, one of the 18th, the other of the 25th February, the latter in cypher, by which I learn with much [surprise?] the change in the decision of your Highness with regard to the three ships, which were to have been delivered to the service of my King by order of your Highness. The two letters contain the same thing, namely, an absolute refusal from your Highness to deliver the ships, for which your Highness gave me an order with your own hand. The remainder of the letters contains only excuses, the adequacy of which I shall not dispute, contenting myself with representing to your Highness that most of your excuses are founded upon very sinister informations, of which I find your Highness always well [advised?] in what concerns the service of the King my Master. As for the bond of my King, it is true that as [*when*] I treated with your Highness, I offered you what the present condition of my King could afford, as surety for what you should advance, and particularly (as surety for) the bond of my King, if required. But your Highness will remember well, that in place of the King's bond you accepted mine, which is of as much value, inasmuch as my King had graciously appointed me his plenipotentiary, and has bound himself to ratify and approve all that I shall conclude with your Highness or any other in the limits of my commission, as your Highness could not think of receiving the bond of my King before the delivery of the ships, until your Highness had given me order to receive the ships at once without any demur, which caused much useless expense, firstly in sending the order of your Highness to his Excellency the Marquis of Montrose, who was then at Gothenburg, since the said Marquis is sending [*has sent?*] his deputies to Amsterdam to receive the ships, having no doubt of their delivery, since he held your Highness' order. [*If your Highness*] recall to mind that you desired in my bond an express engagement in my

King's name to restore what your Highness now advances, and this included the ships and 1000 barrels of lead, for which your Highness gave me your bond, as soon as it pleased God that my King should have no more difficulty in being restored to his throne, he would then repay your Highness what you advance for his service. As for Prince Rupert, he has twenty good warships, has sold his prizes in Portugal all the late winter, with as much freedom as if my King were at present reigning in London. As for the Marquis of Montrose, it is very far from his thoughts to wish to draw back; on the contrary, your Excellency will hear other news of him in a little while! Your Highness can see then by what I offer in all humility for your consideration, that your informations are not more certain. Therefore it is my very humble request that your Highness will be pleased graciously to inform me positively of your will, as regards the ships, namely, if you will allow yourself to be persuaded to have them delivered over according to the order already given to that effect, or if it be absolutely necessary to procure the bond of my King. I beg your Highness to let me know the form of the bond which you require, and at what value you reckon the ships, for a general bond cannot perhaps be found sufficiently suitable to the dignity of my King or at all fitted to the profit of your Highness. Your Highness wrote me no answer at all concerning the 1000 barrels of lead. I have looked through my letters from Warsaw, and again urge that your Highness would send orders to Albrecht von Low, to cause the said 1000 barrels of lead to be delivered to me. I shall have opportunity here to ship a portion of lead which is to be delivered to me by order of the King of Poland. If your Highness would also add what you have promised, for which I hold your bond, it will be again a certain proof of your affection for the interests of my King, and will oblige me to remain, etc.]

XL

Mitau, private ownership.

1650. April 2, Breda.[1] KING CHARLES II. to DUKE JAMES of Courland.

. . . de vous remercier . . . particulierement de nous avoir presté les six navires, trois[2] desquels ont esté de'ja consigné au Chevalier Jean Cocheram qui a substitué Nostre tres feal et tres amé le Colonel Jean Ogleby[3] pour les reçevoir pour estre

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[1] Charles reached Breda in time to meet the Scots Commissioners there on March 15 (O.S.), the day appointed. The above date is N.S.

[2] See Nos. XXXIV, XXXIX, above.

[3] From this it would seem that Cochran and J. Ogilvy were partners in the plunder. But as Charles continued to employ the latter after his unsatisfactory conduct to Montrose, possibly Ogilvy's delay was due to secret orders from the King, who may have wished to reserve the ships for himself.

employé en Nostre service. . . . Aussi promettons nous, non seulement de vous faire restitution des dites navires et leur equipage, mais aussi de vous satisfaire pour les frais avec toute reconnoissance.

[I write] to thank you . . . particularly for having lent us the six ships, three of which have been already consigned to Sir John Cochran, who has appointed our very faithful and well-beloved Colonel John Ogilvy to receive them, to be employed in our service. . . . Further, we promise not only to restore to you the said ships and their crews, but also to satisfy you for the expenses with full recognition.]

XLI

Mitau, Ducal Archives.

1650. Breda, $\frac{18}{28}$ Mai,[1] 1650. KING CHARLES II. to DUKE JAMES of Courland. [Vid. in the copy. *i.e. certified.*]

Ayant depuis peu receu du nouveau tesmoignages de l'Amitié que vous avez pour mois dans les lettres, qu'il vous a plu m'Escrire, j'ay cru devoir vous en envoyer response parce Gentilhomme, Le S^r Armorer,[2] mon Escuyer et Serviteur Domestique et Quoique i'ignore entiérement ce qui c'est passe du vivant du Roy mon Pere, ie ne laisseray pas de vous avoir de l'obligation des assistances que vous avez donné a luy et a la Reyne, ma Mere, comme aussy de celles dont ie vous suis redevables, moy mesme, selon que le Chevalier Cocheran m'en a rapporté en general, et puis quil ne ma point encore envoyé les Articles quil Vous a plus arrester avec luy et qu'aussy de la part de Monsieur de Viquefort,[1] ie n'ay rien entendu, de ce qui a esté consigné entre ses mains, je suis oblige de Vous prier, de me faire avoir des copies authentiques de tout ce quit [qu'il] a esté convenue entre Vous et le S^r de Cocheran et un memoire de ce que Vous avez fourny au Roy mon Pere, et la Reyne, ma Mere, et pour le bien de mes affaires sur quoy ie ne manqueray point de vous envoyer l'assyrance, que Vous desirez. Quant a ce que regard ce Colonel, inconu[2] qui a faiet des demandes impertinentes et beaucoup de bruit, comme ie ne me souviens point d'En avoir authorize quelqu'un cette [c'est ?] verité, que ie ne vous ay pais [?] moins Dobligation d'avoir retiré vos vaisseaux, que j'espere vous en avoir encore dans quelque temps, pour L'Emprunt des mesmes navires, quand jen auray affaire et ie vous prie de croire, que i'en auray soing particulier de les employer en sorte, quils ne soient subiects aux inconvenients, que Vous avez ou [eu] de craindre et eviter. Je me souviendray aussy dans cette occasion, de me servir d'une personne secrette et affinée[3] pour Vous les venir demander, quand il sera de saison et a qui ie confieray quelques blancs signez de ma main, m'assurant autant en V^{re} amitié quils seront employer a mon advantage que ie crois estre obligé par la Franchise dont il vous plaist user envers moy, que vous prie de me continuer tousiours. Il a plu a Dieu de disposer en sorte de ce traité a Breda[4] que ie me trouve aux termes d'un accord avec mes subiects d'Escosse, esperant d'en tirer des advantages considerables au recouvrement de mes Couronnes, et pour cet effect ie me prepare de m'en aller au plus tost en Escosse pour ye recevoir la Couronne et les obeissances de mon peuple et pour y mettre ordre a mes affaires, et comme ie suis a present de pour vueu de quelques chevaux bien dresses et propres pour ma mon-

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[1] At this date probably Charles had heard of Montrose's defeat at Carbisdale, April 7 (O.S.). On this same day Sir Wm. Fleming, his messenger to the 'Estates,' landed at Leith, the day after Montrose had been brought by Leith to the Tolbooth.

[2] Armorer. Sir William, not to be confused with Major Sir Nicholas Armorer, of whom see Thurloe, indices. Sir William was with Charles at the Hague in 1649, and reported to him a violent speech of Lauderdale against Montrose.—Clarendon (1717), vol. iii. p. 289. He was on the expedition to Worcester in 1651. After the fight he retreated with Leslie to Yorkshire, but left him on a suspicion that Leslie had betrayed the King, *id.* p. 410. In 1660 the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands formed a plot to seize Charles. 'On word of it the King commanded the Chancellor's Secretary to call up his Majesty's Query [Equerry], Sr William Armorer; and to Him his Majesty gave his Orders, charging him with secrecy, That he [the King] would be gone at three of the Clock that Morning; and accordingly he went, attended by the Marquis of Ormond, Sr William Armorer and two or three Servants more,' *id.* p. 740. In Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 425, is an intercepted letter of his, from Cologne, 16 May 1655 (N.S.), with a note, 'this William Armerror is eldest querre, but now waits as master of the horse.'

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[1] Viquefort. See Introd. and p. 154, n. [2], above.

[2] Perhaps the Crafts (or Crofts), mentioned in No. XLII.

[3] The name of this agent does not appear, unless Charles means Armorer.

[4] Charles had expressed assent to the treaty on May 3 (O.S.). On June 23 he landed at Garmouth, and signed the League and Covenant.—Balfour, *Ann.* iv. pp. 59-60.

ture, ie ne fait point de difficulte d'user de cette liberté envers Vous, que de Vous prier de m'en fournir quelques uns sans vous incommoder et de me les faire tenir par ce mesme porteur les [le S.? *i.e.* le Sieur?] Armores [Armorer] que i'envoye tout expres pour m'en faire une provision necesaire. Je recevray de croir qu'il ny a personne au monde, qui souhaitte plus passionement de Vous donner des marques reciprocques de sa reconnoissance et de son affection que, Mon Cousin, V^re^ bien affectionée Cousin, Charles R.

[Having lately received new proofs of the friendship which you have for me in the letters which you have been pleased to write me, I have thought it my duty to send you a reply thereto by this gentleman, Mr. Armorer, my esquire and household servant, and though I am entirely ignorant of what occurred during the King my father's life, I shall not cease to be indebted to you for the assistance you gave to him and to the Queen my mother, as also for that with which you have obliged myself, in accordance with what Sir John Cochran has reported to me in general, and since he has not sent me at all the articles which you have been pleased to arrest with him, and also I have heard nothing from M. de Viquefort of what has been consigned to his care, I am obliged to beg you to let me have full authentic copies of your agreement with Sir John Cochran, and a memoir of what you supplied to the King my father and the Queen my mother, and for the good of my affairs, whereupon I shall not fail to send you the assurance you desire. As for what concerns this unknown Colonel, who has made some impertinent demands and much noise, as I have no remembrance of having authorised any one thereto, I am in fact not less indebted to you for withdrawing your ships, as I hope soon to be still more in your debt for the loan of the same ships, when I shall have need of them, and I beg you to believe, that I shall take special care to use them in such sort that they may not be subject to the inconveniences which you have had to fear and avoid. I shall remember also on this occasion to employ a secret and intimate person to ask them of you, when the time comes, and I shall intrust to him some blanks signed by my hand, resting assured in your friendship that they will be employed to my advantage, as I believe that I am obliged for the frankness which it has pleased you to use towards me, which I beg you to continue to me always. It has pleased God to dispose of this treaty at Breda in such sort that I find myself on terms of agreement with my subjects of Scotland, hoping to derive from it considerable advantages for the recovery of my crowns, and for that object I am prepared to cross shortly into Scotland, there to receive the crown and the homage of my people, and to set my affairs there in order, and as I am at present in need of some horses well trained and suitable to mount me, I do not hesitate to use this freedom towards you, in begging you to furnish me with some, without inconveniencing you, and to let me have them by the same bearer, Mr. Armorer, whom I am sending in all haste to provide me with the necessary supply of them. I shall continue to believe that there is no one in the world who desires more passionately to give you reciprocal marks of his recognition and affection than, My Cousin, your very affectionate Cousin, CHARLES R.]

XLII

1650. December 9th, Perth. KING CHARLES II. to THE SCOTTISH SUBJECTS in Poland. (Latin contemporary copy. Also a German Translation therewith.][1]

Fidelibus Nostris atque dilectis salutem. Nonnullorum Vestrum ex Gente Scotica subditorum nostrorum in Regno Polonico habitantium mercaturamque exercentium relatione accepta, quomodo tribunus militiae Cochrovius [Cochranius ?] mandati nostri obtentu ingentes pecuniae summas a vobis exigere easque colligendi publicam potestatem a Rege Poloniae Regio et Honorando Fratre Nostro contendere sustinuerit, non possumus non sancte affirmare, nihil ipsum eiusmodi a nobis in mandatis accepisse. Et quod Crafftium[2] spectat, ad eius

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[1] This letter tends to confirm the account given in the *Montrose Redivivus* that Cochran behaved dishonestly. See p. 194, n. [2] above.

[2] See p. 199, n. [2] above. In June 1651 English merchants at Danzig wrote to the Council in defence against charges brought against them 'by some public ministers sent here by the Scottish King, as Cochran, Culpepper, and now Crafts. Again in Sept. one Jenks wrote, 'Crofts the King of Scotland's orator pursues us here.' This Crafts or Crofts had been agent of Charles at Hamburg. Apparently Charles continued to employ him; for in a letter from Danzig, Oct. 26, 1653 (Thurloe, vol. i. p. 554) it is said that during the time Charles was 'in Scotland with an armey' (1650-1), Crofts was the King's 'ambassador' in Poland, where he obtained an Act of Parliament for raising the fifteenth of all English and Scotchmen's estates; but Benson, the writer and Parliamentary agent in Danzig, had contrived to defeat this. Nov. 26, 1655, Jermyn wrote from Paris to Charles, 'Will Crofts is come out of Gruyen, and hath done you very considerable services,' *id.* p. 689. Again, Paris, Feb. 25, 1656, the same to the same, *id.* p. 692, 'That which you left in charge with Mr. Crofts may perhaps prove in this occasion practicable.' Dr. Frasier wrote from Paris, Feb. 25, 1656, to Charles, 'Mr. Crofftes has two excellent English geldings, on for hunting, another for the way. He is willing to pleasure your majestie in sending them with me' . . . *id.* p. 697. 'My Lord Jermyn and Crofts are come to Brussels this morning with such proposals [to the Spanish Governor, Caracena ?] as will certainly bring a war into England, if not seasonably prevented by the prudence of the Government.—Letter, 5 March 1659, from Brussels, *id.* vol. vii. p. 82.

[cuius ?] instantiam vos denuo ad tertiam bonorum vestrorum et mercium partem in usus nostros erogandam urgeri, fatemur quidem ex Batavis illum a nobis ad Regem Poloniae, Regium et Honorandum Fratrem Nostrum expeditum fuisse, neutiquam vero potestate munitum, a subditis nostris isthoc in regno negociantibus publica authoritate quicquam extorquendi. Etenim nobis de fide et observantia Scotorum subditorum nostrorum, ut domesticorum ita et exterorum, ubicunque terrarum fuerint, bene securis, sicuti haut integrum est nostris hoc in regno subditis, ulla nisi praevio parlamenti consensu tributa imperari, ita nec exteris invitis quicquam imponi. Ea propter exemininius [? exemimus] et praesentibus his ipsis exemptam Crafftio volumus omnem potestatem seu mandati nostri, quod praetexit, authoritate ab ullo unquam Scotorum in Regno Poloniae aut quovis in loco alio commorantium vel minimum exigendi seu eum in finem a Regibus, Principibus aut aliis Magistratibus impetralem libertatem exequendi. Quam Regiam nostram Voluntatem et placitum omnibus in Regno Poloniae commorantibus Scotis et singulis [1] significamusque gratiose indulgentes, ut Regiis his litteris nostris ubi opus est, coram Regibus, Principibus, Magistratibus atque Judicibus adversus quasvis exactiones nostro nomine, seu a Crafftio seu a quovis alio imperatas sese praemuniant ac tueantur, quos ita bene valere iubemus. Data insula nostra Perthana [2] Anno 1650 regni vero nostri secundo, die mensis Decembris nono.

[To our faithful and beloved subjects, greeting.—Having heard from some of you, our Scottish subjects dwelling and trading in Poland, how Colonel Cochran, under pretext of our commission, has made bold to exact vast sums of money from you, and has urged public authority from the King of Poland, our royal and esteemed brother, to collect the same, we are constrained solemnly to declare that the same received from us no warrant to that effect in his commissions. And as for what concerns Crafts, that at his demand you are again pressed with a requisition of the third part of your goods and merchandise for our use, we do admit that he was despatched by us from Holland to the King of Poland, our royal and esteemed brother, but in nowise empowered with any open authority to

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[1] Some such word as *edicimus* has here been omitted.

[2] Insula must mean 'Inch.' Charles had written 'insula nostra' often enough from Jersey. He was at Perth.

extort anything from our subjects trading in that Realm. For being well assured of the loyalty and obedience of our Scottish subjects, both at home and abroad, wheresoever they may be, as it is not right for us either that any taxes should be levied on our subjects in this Realm, except by previous consent of Parliament, or that any impost be laid on our subjects abroad against their will, Wherefore by these presents we deprive and will that Crafts be deprived of all power either by authority of our commission, which he has pretended, of the least exactions at any time from any of the Scots dwelling in Poland or elsewhere, or of obtaining power to that effect from Kings, Princes, or other Magistrates. And this our royal will and pleasure we signify to all and every Scot dwelling in Poland, and graciously enjoin them by these letters, where there is occasion, to protect and defend themselves before Kings, Princes, Magistrates, and Judges, against any exactions whatsoever made in our name, whether instituted by Crafts or any other person. And so we bid them farewell. Given at our Inch [?] of Perth in the year 1650, the second of our reign, on the 9th of December.]

XLIII

(*Mitau. Ducal Archives. Undated.*)

COMPTES.

De ce que son Altesse de Courland et Semgalle pretend de Sa Maiesté de la grande Bretaigne Pour munitions de guerre, et navires advancez M. Cocheran, Ambassadeur de Sa Mte.

Lan.

1645. Le dernier d'Aoust.

Livré par Albrecht Law a Dantzig Mtr. Cocheran par l'ordre exprez de Son Altesse 100 Quintaux de poudre Le centner de 120 lb. à 30 Rx le quintal faiet, ... 3000 Rx.[1]

Voitures et peages[2] au Zondt, . 34 Rx.

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[1] Rx. = Reichsthaler or Rixdollar, a coin then worth about 4s. 6d. English. The sum total in these accounts, not reckoning the pension and items mentioned but not counted in, amounts to 375,923 Rx. or £84,582, 13s. 6d., due from Charles II. to Duke James. For the items given see the letters and notes.

[2] These dues were first imposed by Denmark and the Hanse Towns jointly in 1348, agreed to by England 1450. On August 13, 1645, the Dutch concluded a treaty with Denmark at Amsterdam (renewed 1701), the Dutch to pay four per cent. on all merchandise. James I., by his acquiescence, confirmed this usurpation. The English treaties were based on the Dutch: the first in 1670. For the dues fixed in 1701, and still levied in 1752, with curious details as to 'striking to the Castle at Cronenburg, near Elsinorë,' see Beawes, *Lex*

	L'alterum tantum pour la poudre encore que les interestz se montassent plus haut sylz estoient comptez, comme aussy les provisions du facteur et autres depenses que lon [ne] compte pas,	3034 Rx.
Lan. 1646.	Le second de May Livre Mtr. Cocheran par les ordres de son Altesse Monseigneur Le Duc de Courlande par son facteur de Lubek Berndt Frese,	
	6 Canons de 6 lb. a 60 Rx. la piece,	360 Rx.
	6 Canons de 12 lb. a 100 Rx. la piece,	600 Rx.
	6 affustz aux pieces de 6 lb. à 10 Rx. la piece,	60 Rx.
	6 affustz aux pieces de 12 lb. à 12 Rx. la piece,	72 Rx.
	300 Boulets se avoir[1] 150 de 6 lb. et 150 de 12 lb. le cent a la somme de 50 Rx. faiet,	150 Rx.
	Encore une autre fois.[2]	
	6 Canons De 6 lb. a 60 Rx.,	360 Rx.
	6 Canons de 12 lb. a 100 Rx.,	600 Rx.
	6 affustz aux pieces de 6 lb. a 10 Rx. la piece,	60 Rx.
	6 affustz aux pieces de 12 lb. a 12 Rx. la piece,	72 Rx.
	300 Boulets se avoir 150 de 6 lb. et 150 de 12 lb. le cent a la somme de 50 Rx. faiet,	150 Rx.
	Voitures et peages iusques au Zondt,	iii Rx.

Mercatoria (1752), 837 ff. The last of rye, at 20 barrels, then paid 12 stivers = ¼ Rx. = 1s. 1½d., the value of the modern Danish kroner; lead, the fodder ton or 6 schippont, 24 sti.; lead shot the 100 lb., 4 sti.; gunpowder the 100 lb., 6 sti.; iron guns the schippont, 4 sti.

[1] Read *à scavoir* (*savoir*).

[2] This renders the phrase '*L'Alterum tantum*,' 'ditto.'

	Le alterum tantum encore que les interestz se montassent plus haut sylz estoient comptez,	2595 Rx.
	Latus,	11258 Rx.
	sans compter Lalterum tantum.	
Lan. 1646.	Le 12 Juin Livré Mt^{r}. Cocheran par Albrecht Law facteur de Monseigneur Le Duc par ses ordres.	
	1000 Mousquets 1000 Bandolieres } à 3 Rx. faiet,	3000 Rx.
	150 Last de Seigle a 33½ Le Last, faiet,	5000 Rx.
	Voitures et peages des 150 Last de seigle iusque au Zondt a 6 R. pour Last,	900 Rx.
	Lalterum tantum encore que les interestz sylz estoient comptez pussent monter plus haut puisque lon ne compte point le port, le messurage Les provisions du facteur et autres depenses,	8900 Rx.
Lan. 1649.	Le 20 Decembre Livré M^{tr}. Cocheran par Albrecht Law, facteur a Dantzig par ordre de Son Altesse 1000 Tonnes de Seigle, et affin que 50 Last fussent complet Livré de plus 8¼ Last a 30 Rx.⅓ faiet,	1666⅔ Rx.[1]
	Voitures depuis Dantzig iusques au Zondt avec le peage a 6 Rx. le last,	300 Rx.
	Lalterum tantum,	1966 Rx.⅔

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[1] The sense is not clear. 50 last at 30⅓ Rx. = 1516⅔. The last of corn was 12 quarters = 96 bushels. Hence rye in 1646 cost 13s. 4¾d. a quarter. Should we read 33⅓ for 30⅓? At this price 50 lasts = 1666⅔. This would make the price the same as in 1646: see above. We must then suppose the passage to mean that 8¼ lasts had been 'thrown in,' free of charge.

Depuis lannée 1647 en may iusques an 1649 en May deux Navires prestz chascun portant 50 pieces de Canon, qui ont esté equipez a grandt frais et ont esté mis en mer a la requeste de Sa Maiesté de la grande Bretaigne, dou Son Altesse a receu un dommage incroyable Car outre que durant ce temps la, Les d^{s}. [*dits*] Navires ont arrestez au service de Sa Ma^{té}. sans rien faire. L'Equipage en a esté entierement questé. Neantmoins, sans compter se dommages, pour les deux navires seulement, ayant tousiours receu des Venitiens et Hollandois [1] plus que lon ne Compte Son Altesse ne doute point que Sa Ma^{té}. ne luy donne par moys pour chaque navire, ... 1000 R.

faiet 48000 }
48000 }
Latus, 128,991 R.

Depuis Lannee 1647 iusque a Lannée 1649 en may advancé 4 navires asseavoir un de 36. Les 3 autres de 40 pieces de Canon qui ont esté le mesme temps prestz et equipez a la requeste de Sa Maiesté pour chacun par moys 800 R., faiet en deux années, . . 76,800 Rx.[2]

Lalterum tantum, . 76,800 Rx.
faiet 153,600 R.

Sans cela 4 navires sont encore esté prestz a faire voiles et equipez a grands frais quoy quilz ayent extremement cousté a fretter et que Son altesse ayt souffert un tres grand Dommage et auroient esté acceptez en peu. ce [*de?*] temps, sy le malheur d'Angleterre ne fut arrive, mais puisq ilz nont pas esté acceptez son Altesse na pas voulu les mettre en compte, C'est pourquoy elle met cela a la Discretion de sa Maiesté, Laquelle aura la bonté de considerer les frais, Les provisions des facteurs qui la falu payer

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[1] The usage of Venice and Holland was then the model in trade.

[2] Namely £1760 per annum as the hire of each ship. The ships were probably intended to join the fleet which revolted in 1648 to Prince Charles. See n. above. 'Le malheur d'Angleterre' below refers perhaps to the execution of Charles I.

Lan.
1650. Le 4 Decembre Selon L'accord faiet avec Mr. Cocheran, Ambassadeur de Sa Maiesté a sa demande et en vertu dune de ces [*ses*] lettres, dattée d'Hambourg du 28 Febvrier 1649,[1] par la quelle il faisoit connaistre quil auroit bien Voulu avoir, 300 Last, de Seigle pour advancer les affaires du Roij, lesquelz 300 Last Son Altesse se resolut aussij tost d'Envoyer et donna ordre pour ce subiect envoyant un navire Nommé L'Esperance,[2] dont le Capitaine se nommoit Jean Volckers, et le commis Jacob Steffens—envoya 200 Last, de seigle, comme aussij les Marchandises suivantes Lesquelles selon L'acord faiet devoient estre livrées a Weymouth, Darmouth, exter et Falmouth[3] ou autres Lieux qui ne fussent point encore occupez des Parlementaires, Ce navire neanmoins avec les marchandises quil contenoit demeura en Norwegue et quoy quil y eut 30 hommes, il n'en est revenue aucun, son Altesse ne

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[1] This letter does not occur in our series.

[2] The history of this ship and of Volckers and Steffens has not been traced.

[3] Were these ports supposed to be in Royalist hands in 1649? The order to deliver the rye and arms, etc., there points to some projected rising in the West.

doutant point que sa Maiesté de la Grande Bretaigne ne prenne consideration, que le dit Navire ayant esté equippé pour son Service soit [*doit?*] selon toute iustice estrepayé.

Le dt navire valoit, .	10000 Rx.
200 last de seigle a 33 R. $\frac{1}{3}$ le last, faiet, ...	6666 Rx.
Selon Laccord convenu avec M. Cocheran estoit chargé dans le dt Navire—	
1000 Mousquetz 1000 Banderoles a 3 R. faiet, .	3000 Rx.
900 Quintaux de poudre a 30 R. le quintal, . .	27000 Rx.
Lalterum tantum faiet, .	46666 Rx.
Pour la pension[1] restante accordée au Duc Guillaume Pere de Son Altesse, a 2000 Escus par an, Comme le Roij Charles de glorieuse memoire Pere du Roy a present regnant, en consideration des Merites de son Altesse luy a promis par M. Cocheran, que la dite pension Sentendroit [*s'étendroit*] sa vie durant, et veu que Le Duc Guillaume est mort en Lannée 1640 le 7 d'aprvil, ainsy ces 2000 Escus sont a Compter iusque a present, qui font, .	
Lon ne met aucunement en Compte des grands frais que Mon seigneur Le Duc de Courlande a faiet pour L'Ambassadeur Hulpeper,[2] qui demeuré dans le Duché	

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[1] See introductory note by Herr Seraphim.

[2] Colepepper or Culpepper was sent to Muscovy to recover £8000 lent by James I. to the Emperor.—Carte's *Ormond*, vol. i. pp. 310, 358-9. *Id.* p. 313, Oct. 8, Nicolas to Ormond, mentions that Culpepper had set out. The same news was sent to Montrose by the Queen of Bohemia in a letter of Oct. 2. See *Deeds of Montrose*, p. 262. In the councils of Charles II. he supported the faction of Henrietta and Jermyn, as opposed to Rupert and Montrose. In 1654 he was at Amsterdam settling a dispute between Henrietta and Webster (see p. 151, n. [2]), about her jewels in pawn, which were redeemed out of the 'Lombard' for

pendant quelques sep maines. [*semaines*] devant que d'avoir permission d'entrer en Moscovie, comme aussy de Monsieur Cocheran, Ambassadeur de sa Maiesté qui a pereillement voiage sur les terres de son Altesse et a la requeste de sa Maieste a ester aydé a Passer en Pologne. Ce que son Altesse remet a la Discretion de sa Maiesté La quelle comme elle espere aura la bonte de commander qu on luy donne satisfaction.[1]

[Accounts of what his Highness of Courland and Semgalle claims from his Majesty of Great Britain for munitions of war and ships advanced to M. Cochran, his Majesty's Ambassador.

		Rx.
1645.	Aug. 31.	
	Delivered by A. Law at Danzig to Mr. Cochran, by express order of H. H., 100 quintals of powder, the cwt. of 120 lb. at 30 Reichsthaler, comes to	3000
	Carriage and tolls at the Sound,	34
	The same again for the powder, though the rate of interest would be higher, if it were counted, as also the provisions of the factor and other expenses not counted in,	3034
1646.	May 2. Delivered to Mr. Cochran, by order of H. H. the Duke of C., by his factor at Lübeck, Berndt Frese—	
	6 cannons of 6 pounds, at 60 R. the piece,	360
	6 ,, ,, 12 ,, at 100 R. ,, ,,	600
	6 gun-carriages for the 6-pounders, at 10 R. the piece,	60
	6 ,, ,, 12-pounders, at 12 R.,	72

£17,000 sterling by the French ambassador.—Letter from Holland, March 27, 1654, N.S., Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 169. [For Culpepper's embassy to Russia *v.* Camden Society, *Nicholas Papers*, edit. G. F. Warner. His despatches are in the Clarendon MSS. Note from S. R. Gardiner.]

[1] These accounts were perhaps drawn up in answer to the request of Charles II. for authentic information of his debts to the Duke. See his letter May 18, 1650 (No. XLI), and note that various items are reckoned up to May 1650, but none thereafter. Cochran's letters terminate abruptly at Danzig, March 21, 1650 (No. XXXIX).

	300 cannon-balls, viz., 150 of 6 lb. and 150 of 12 lb., at 50 R. the 100,	150	
	Again, 12 cannons, 12 gun-carriages, and 300 cannon-balls [*as above*],	1242	
	Carriage and tolls at the Sound,	111	
	The same again, etc. [*as above*],	2595	
	Carried forward without counting the same again,		11258
1646.	June 12. Delivered to Mr. Cochran by A. Law, factor of my Lord the Duke, by his orders—		
	1000 Muskets, 1000 Bandoleers, at 3 R.,	3000	
	150 Lasts of Rye at 33½ the Last,	5000	
	Carriage and tolls for the 150 Lasts of Rye as far as the Sound, at 6 R. the Last,	900	
	The same again [etc.] without counting the carriage measurement [?], provisions of the factor, and other expenses,	8900	
1649.	Dec. 20. Delivered [etc.]		
	1000 barrels of rye, and in order that 50 Lasts might be complete, delivered over 8¼ Last at 30⅓ R. [?],	1666⅔	
	Carriage from Danzig to the Sound, with the toll at 6 R. the last,	300	
	The same again,	1966⅔	
	From May 1647 to May 1649, two ships lent, each carrying 50 guns, which were manned at great cost, and were sent to sea at the request of H. M. of Great Britain, from which H. H. received incredible damage, for besides that during this time the said ships were detained for the service of H. M. without doing anything, the crews have been entirely dispersed [?]. Nevertheless, without counting these losses, for the 2 ships alone, having always received from the Venetians and Dutch more than is counted, H. H. doubts not that H. M. will give him per month for each ship,	1000	
	comes to	48000 48000	
	From 1647 to May 1649 advanced 4 ships, viz. one of 36, the other 3 of 40 guns, which were at the same time lent and manned at request of H. M. For each, 800 R. per month in two years comes to	76800	153600
	The same again,	76800	153600

Over and above, 4 ships were also ready to set sail, and manned at great cost, and though H. H. suffered very great loss, and they would have been received in a short time, if the misfortune of England had not happened, H. H. does not wish to put them in the account, wherefore he leaves that to the discretion of H. M., who will have the goodness to consider the cost, the provisions of the factors, which he has had to pay. . . . .

1650. Dec. 4. According to the agreement with Mr. Cochran, ambassador of H. M., at his request and in virtue of one of his letters, dated Hamburg, 28 Febr. 1649, whereby he intimated that he desired to have 300 Last of Rye for the service of the King, which 300 Last H. H. at once resolved to send, and gave orders to that effect, sending a ship named 'L'Esperance,' whereof the captain was one John Volckers and the 'commis' [clerk, supercargo?] Jacob Steffens—sent 200 Last of Rye, as also the following goods, which, according to the agreement, were to have been delivered at Weymouth, Dartmouth, Exeter, and Falmouth, or other places not yet occupied by the Parliamentary troops. This ship nevertheless with its goods remained in Norway, and though it had a crew of 30 men, not one of them has returned, H. H. not doubting that H. M. of Great Britain will take into consideration that the said ship, having been manned for his service, should in all justice be paid.

The said ship was worth . . . 10000

200 Last of Rye at $33\frac{1}{3}$ R. the last, . . 6666

According to the agreement made with M. Cochran, the said ship was loaded with

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{1000 Muskets}\\ \text{1000 Banderoles}\end{array}\right\}$ at 3 R., . . . 3000

900 Quintals of powder at 30 R. the quintal, 27000

The same again, ... 46666

For the remainder of the Pension assigned to Duke William, Father of H. H., at 2000 Crowns, as King Charles, of glorious memory, Father of the King now reigning, in consideration of the merits of H. H. promised him by M. Cochran that the said pension should be continued during his life, and as Duke William died on Apr. 7, 1640, these 2000 Crowns are to be reckoned up to the present, which come to . . .

No account whatever is made of the great charges which my Lord the Duke of C. has had for the Ambassador Hulpepper [Culpepper], who remained for some weeks in the Duchy before he received permission to enter Muscovy, as also [the charges] of Monsieur Cochran, His Majesty's Ambassador, who has in like manner travelled in the territories of his Highness, and at H.M.'s request has been assisted on his journey to Poland. This H. H. leaves to H.M.'s discretion, who, he hopes, will have the goodness to order that payment be made to him.]

II

MONTROSE IN SWEDEN.

EXTRACTS FROM DUTCH CORRESPONDENCE, 1649-1650.

[The following fragments of correspondence were courteously communicated by Herr van Rienndyk, of the Royal Archives at the Hague, prefaced by a letter which is here printed, as it seems of much general interest on the period. The translation of this and the fragments is due to the kindness of Mr. Webster, Librarian of Edinburgh University. The extracts refer mainly to Montrose's appearance at Gothenburg in Sweden, whither he betook himself, wearied out by the delays of King Frederick III. and the indifference of the Danish Council. To his sanguine temperament the half-promises of Queen Christina, and the presence of many distinguished Scottish officers, notably General King (Lord Eythin), who had won wealth and experience in the Thirty Years' War, proved an irresistible attraction; and Gothenburg offered a most convenient harbour for his expedition to Orkney. A fuller account of his proceedings there will be found in the letters of the local Governor Ribbing, addressed to Field-Marshal Torstenson, which are printed in the *Deeds of Montrose* (1893).

In reply to your letter of the 19th January of this year, I have to inform you that we have been able to find nothing in regard to the sojourn of Lord Montrose in Holland in 1649. On the 21st July 1648 the Prince of Wales came with some ships to Hellevoetsluis and was there welcomed by Commissioners of the States-General. In the beginning of August he again repaired with his fleet to Duins, returned in September, and arrived on the 12th of the month at Brille, while his ships took up their position in November in the harbour of Hellevoetsluis.

The Prince afterwards went on the 15th Sept. to the Hague, where he took up residence in a house hired for him by the States-General.

In the month of October and November he was attacked by an illness (the smallpox), the result of which was that he was not able to make an official appearance in the Assembly and bring forward his proposals till the 23d January. On the 20th February the States-General in a body presented him with an address of condolence on occasion of the death of his father, Charles I.

On 30th March the desires of the King, put in writing by his Council, were delivered to the States-General, which, in spite of repeated solicitations, had still given no reply at the time of his departure from the Hague on the 9th June 1649.

In the year 1650, the King again visited the Netherlands, arriving at Sas from Ghent on the 18th March, and going thence to Breda, where he was still lingering on the 4th June.

During the whole period there is no trace of the residence of Lord Montrose in Holland. But in the letters of the Commissioner of the States-General at Stockholm, Matthias Römer, there are a few words about his endeavours, which are quoted in the accompanying note.

I have delayed this reply till now, because I was in hopes that particulars about the visit of Montrose to Holland might possibly be found in the Private Archives of His Majesty the King. An investigation which, for several reasons, could only be undertaken a few days ago, has had no more result than the search in the National Archives.

The National Archivaris General,
Th. H. F. van RIENNDYK.]

I

Brief van den Commissaris Matthias Römer te Stockholm an den Griffier van de Staten Generaal Cornelis Murch.

7 April 1649.

Men sall nu oock gaen depecheren den heere Redwin grave van Bramfort, so ick can bemercken inclineert men sÿn heer, den Coningh van Engeland ende Schotland met wapenen te willen assisteeren, voir sooveel volcn, maer soldaeten selffs ofte schepen schynt swarigheyt te maechen.

[Letter from the Commissary, Matthias Römer, at Stockholm, to the Recorder of the States-General Cornelis Murch.

It is said that they are to despatch M. Redwin, Count of Bramfort,[1] so I can observe they are inclined to be willing to assist his master, the King of England and Scotland, with arms, so far as the people are concerned, but the soldiers seem to make difficulties about embarking.]

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[1] That is, Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Brentford and Forth. See *Deeds of Montrose* (1893), Index.

II

15 December 1649.

P.S.—Van Gottenburg werd geschreven aldaer nog een schip met soldaten van Stralsond was aengecomen ende dat Montrose aldaer een kreÿar met volck hadde liggen om aen syn Coning te senden.

P.S.—It is reported by letter from Gottenburg that another ship had arrived with soldiers from Stralsund, and that Montrose had a crayer[1] lying there with people to send to his King.]

III

19 Januarii 1650.

Men is hier selffs verwondert Montrose so bot Gottenborgh blyft ende hier all over einige wecken syne credentialen te hove heeft gesonden ende selffs daerop niet en volgt.

People are wondering here that Montrose stays so long at Gottenborgh; and having sent his credentials here to Court some weeks ago, does not himself follow after.]

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[1] A Swedish or Danish vessel with three masts. Old Scotch, *Crayer*.

III

INTELLIGENCE-LETTER FROM LONDON, 1649.

[THIS News-letter was gleaned almost haphazard from the valuable volume of Wodrow MSS., which has recently yielded rich store of information on Montrose. It is undated, and inserted in the Index, in Robert Wodrow's hand, among the letters of 1644. But internal evidence shows that it was written early in 1649, probably just before and on March 14, the date of the postscript. The handwriting is clear and business-like. Its terse allusions to the events of the day, and references to Scotland at a critical period give it peculiar interest. The day after it was written, on March 15th, Cromwell was appointed Lieutenant of Ireland, but the growing discontent of the Levellers, culminating in the revolt at Banbury, May 6th, and the threatening aspect of affairs in Scotland, delayed his departure till about Aug. 15th. The letter seems to have been written from London. Of Paul Jenkins, the writer, and Andrew Crichton, nothing is known. The latter was perhaps the Andrew Crichton mentioned in the *Acts Par. Scot.* ca. 1662, as receiver of a debt due to a kinsman, who had fled, having acted as 'Intelligencer to the late Usurper.'

The *tone* of the letter is strongly Independent. But owing to difficulties with some of the allusions, a copy was submitted through Mr. S. R. Gardiner to Mr. Firth, Oxford, who declares it to be the letter of a 'strong Presbyterian, disguising his opinions under a veil of Independency, to disarm suspicion, if the letter was intercepted. The veil is not very thick, and the unreality of the language strikes one at once. This view of the case is borne out by the details. The most interesting information is in the few lines following the words "The levellers party." I take it to mean that there was an intention on the part of the Independents to make exemplary, *i.e.* make examples of Martin and Walwyn, probably in consequence of the publication of the first part of *England's New Chains*, but that Ireton stopped it. The proclamation of Charles II. in Edinburgh must have appeared too serious to trifle with. The end of the paragraph, "I desire so much as lies in you may be fomented," is written to suit the assumed character of the writer. What is said of Dublin, just before this, is also not to be taken seriously. Ormond did not stir till the end of April or beginning of May, and, in fact, could not move till the grass was grown to feed his horses.'—*Letter from Mr. Gardiner, including notes from Mr. Firth.*]

WODROW MSS., Fol. 67. no. 40.

Inserted among 1644 letters (but undated) in the Index
written in Robt. Wodrow's hand.

DEAR^ST FREIND,—I cannot but renue our old acquaintance, Our habitations are so distant, otherwise more comon entercourse might be had; Being lately arived, I thought fitt to acquaint yo^u therewith. And in order to my engagement at parting I thought fitt to write unto yo^u a fiew lynes by this Pigmer, a limbe of S^r Jack Pres:[1]

SR,—The newes Books[2] I inclosed in my lrē to yo^u by the weekely Pacquet, yo^u may therein see how resolutely our good freinds of the Ind——[3] goe on to execute Justice w^ch surely must be the foundation of a settled state here, and no question will advantage much (if prosecuted with zeale) agt all, without exception, ffor that will render us terrible to all.

The levelling party, who are matchless villaines, are acting their parts still, notwithstanding some of them have been made exemplary, H. Martin[1] and Wallin[2] the March^{t}, the ffathers of that worke, had bin cut short had not prudent Ireton interposed, as conceiving it most necessary to purge Scotland. And truely that must be the worke on all hands to help our poore longing freinds there and quell the Insolencie of base Antichristian cowards, ffor they are no better. And in order to this gallant worke, fforces are drawing North,[3] and we hope before your divisions are cleered, w^{ch} I desire soe much as lyes in yo^{u} may be fomented. Our forces hence will attend Jocky.[4]

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[1] *i.e.* Sir Jack Presbyter. Sir, a common title applied to priests.

[2] A common expression of the period. See Cl. Walker, *Hist. Independencie*, pp. 189, 231, etc.; Heath, 170.

[3] Independents.

There is nothing troubles us soe much as that wee must take soe much paines upon such undeserving wretches. Wee give out for Ireland, but wee are really for you^{u}, and possiblely may aske leave to march through some part of your Countrey, to shipp our men the more easily to the North of Ir., because ere this comes to yo^{u} it is verily thought Dublin[1] wilbe taken; But our resolution is to stay with yo^{u} to teach yo^{u} more manners.

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[1] Col. Henry Marten, Martin, or Martyn, the regicide, M.P. for Berkshire, a man of keen, virulent tongue, conspicuous in the debates of 1647-8, and at first, as leader of the extreme Independents, anxious to abolish monarchy, violently opposed to Cromwell, but 'made exemplary,' or 'squared' by Ireton. See *Hist. Independency*, by Theodorus Verax (Clement Walker) 1649, p. 164. 'About this time' (*i.e.* early in 1649) 'the House of Commons gave to . . . Harry Martyn 3000 l. to put him on upon the Holy Sisters, and take him from the Levellers.' Also the Commons passed an order making members liable to arrest, and 'It is thought the tyrannical Hocus Pocasses had an ayme hereby to lash Harry Martyn off from the Levellers, and make him come in to them,' *id.* 165. Later on he gets his losses and arrears considered, the latter a prime grievance with the Army, cheated by Members or Commissaries out of their pay, *id.* pp. 208, 213. Clement Walker had a fairly good opinion of Levellers (*id.* pp. 138 and 197), but probably loved them chiefly for their opposition to Cromwell. To modern eyes their proposals do not appear outrageous.

[2] Wallin, called by C. Walker, Mr. Will. Wallwyn, joined Col. John Lilburne in signing the 'Agreement of the People,' or Leveller's manifesto, and was imprisoned in the Tower. See *England's Standard Advanced*, by Will. Thompson—a leader of the Levellers in their rendezvous at Banbury—dated May 6, 1649, *id.* 168-173. 'Ireton, Haslerig, and Postmaster-Attorney Prideaux, by themselves and their bloud-hounds (Spies and Intelligencers) have been very diligent to draw dry-foot after M. Lilborne, Walwyne, etc., and suborne witnesses against them.' . . .

[3] Not till Cromwell actually sailed for Dublin did the Scotch cease to fear immediate invasion. Ireland, it was persistently said, was the mere cover for preparations against themselves. These rumours were perhaps fostered intentionally. Cl. Walker repeatedly declares that the forces were for Scotland.—*Hist. Indep.* pp. 203, 212-13, 229. Cf. also Baillie's *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 97.

[4] Jocky. Generic for Scotland. Hackett, *Life of Williams*, vol. ii. p. 142: 'What could Lesly have done then with a few untrain'd, unarmed Jockeys.' 'These Jocky pedlars that chaffer'd away their King.' Davis, *Gloss.*: a sense of the word not illustrated in Jamieson's Dict. Cf. also

'From pupill, pastor, tutor, flock,
From Gutter Jennie, pupit Jocke.' . .
—*New Litany.*— Maidment, Pasquils (1868), p. 57.

That talke of the damned Peace in ffrance[2] does not a little trouble us. But much is seene from those couragious comaunders who plainly say they care not for all the confederacies in the world.

Sr. Arth. Haslerigg[3] hath order for 80 Peece of Ordinance, small and greate. The Sr Johns[4] are still railing agt the pious proceedings here, notwithstanding one of the fraternity, Cawton[5] by name, is in hold and like to goe the Tyrants way; our freinds doe what in them lyes to terrify that fraternity, by threatnings and blowes and tumults, whilest they are venting their venome as particularly agt Watkins[6] of Southwark, Love,[7] and Jenkins.[1] The printed Papers will shew you^{u} something. Farewell.—Yours, PAUL JENKINS.

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[1] The last hold of the Parliament in Ireland, then besieged by Ormond, and held by Col. Jones, Jun. to Aug. 22, 1649, when it was relieved by a sally, just before Cromwell's arrival.

[2] On April 3, 1649, R. Baillie, one of the Scotch Commissioners to Charles II. at the Hague, wrote thence, 'Our enemies have great confidence by the French peace to get powerful assistance from France.' In this they were disappointed. Mazarin had too much in hand with the Fronde business and war with Spain to help Charles, even if willing; and was soon on good terms with Cromwell.

[3] M.P. for Leicestershire. At this time Governor of Newcastle-on-Tyne, nominated a King's Judge, but not present at the final vote. Credited by Walker (*Hist. Indep.* p. 173) with a motion, May 14th, to revenge the assassination of the regicide Dorislaus, by putting six Royalists 'of the best quality' to death. The leader in the attack on Dorislaus was Col. Whitfurd, a Scot, afterwards taken in Dunbeath Castle, 1650, by David Leslie. See Wishart's *Montrose* (1893), Index. Clarendon says he escaped Montrose's fate by pleading credit for this murder. Walker says the murderers were '18 Scotsmen, friends to Hamilton,' who thus revenged the execution of Duke James, *id.* pp. 173-4. For more on Haselrigg, see Gardiner's *Civil War*, and Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Indices.

[4] Sir Johns, see p. 217, n. 1.

[5] Thomas Cawton, pastor of St. Bartholomew Exchange, who insisted on praying for the King.—*Commons Journals*, March 6, 1649. He married Elizabeth, sister of *William* Jenkyn,—*a relation of the writer of this letter?* This William Jenkyn was pastor of Christ Church.

[6] Stephen Watkins, pastor of St. Saviour, Southwark.

[7] Christopher Love, pastor of St. Anne's, Aldersgate, the 'young eloquent

ffrom your yong Tyrant, the soune of the old little, saue that he is much prest by the fraternity of Presbiters there. And they say he inclines to the mock Covenant. that famous Bird Lauderdaile[2] is reported a principall man with [*him*], a Court well governed where he is prime.

Major Generall Langhorne, Powell, and Poyer,[3] and another of that Anti-christian broode are this 14 of March brought to Whitehall, where I hope they shall be at least shott at a Post to terrifie others.

[*Addressed on the back*]

ffor my Christian freind, Andrew Chrichton, Marcht in Edenbrugh, these.

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divine of hot Welsh blood,' who preached at the Treaty of Uxbridge in 1644 (Carlyle, *Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 150); an ardent Presbyterian, executed on Tower Hill, Aug. 22d, 1651.—*id.* vol. ii. p. 287. See a reference to his imprisonment in Feb. 1644.—Thurloe, vol. i. p. 65.

[1] William Jenkyn, pastor of Christ Church. Cawton, Jenkin, Love, and Watkin were representatives of the ministers of the gospel within the province of London to Fairfax and the Council of War, Jan. 18, 1648-9.

[2] Lauderdale reached Holland, Aug. 7, 1649.—Thurloe, vol. i. p. 98; Burnet's *Hamiltons*, p. 366; *Deeds of Montrose* (1893), pp. 230, 233 n.

[3] Major-General Langhorne and Colonels Poyer and Powell, who had done good service for the Parliament in Wales, being ordered by the Council of the Army to disband, rose in March 1649 to the number of near 8000, and secured Chepstow, Tenby, and Pembroke Castle. At the last Poyer held out against Cromwell till July 11th, when the Castle surrendered. The three officers were made to draw lots. Two lots bore 'Life given by the Lord.' The third was blank. Poyer drew the blank, and was shot in Covent Garden, against Bedford House wall, April 25, 1649.—Heath; Clarendon; Carlyle's *Cromwell*; Monteith: Indices.

IV

MONTROSE'S FLIGHT FROM CARBISDALE, April 27-May 1 (?), 1650.

[THE graphic details of the following narrative will be read with much interest. A copy of the manuscript was sent some years ago to Mr. S. R. Gardiner, the accomplished historian of the Civil War, by whom it was communicated to the present editor. Unhappily all trace of its source, and of the John Milbourne and his family who succoured Montrose, has been lost. It has been conjectured that 'Milbourne' has been misread for 'Melvine' (Melweine, etc.); and in support of this, it appears that property which Montrose must have passed on his flight from Carbisdale to Assynt was held by some of the name of Melvin. But it is to be observed that the name occurs frequently, and this much diminishes the possibility of such an error.

John Milbourne, according to the narrative, died at about the age of twenty-one. His children, therefore, must have been mere babes, and the preservation of the tradition in the family must have been due to his wife. How far we may accept the narrative as authentic tradition, in the present absence of any evidence that a family of this name resided at that time in Ross or Sutherland, it is difficult to decide. But the episode is described with a simplicity and directness which gives it a strong air of verisimilitude. Nor is there in the events described any fact inconsistent with our knowledge of what did occur during the few days that intervened before Montrose reached the fatal castle of Neil Macleod. The references to the latter are of special interest, as bearing out, if genuine, the repeated assertion of contemporary writers and of tradition that in Macleod Montrose expected to find a friend. The reader will note the absence of all allusion to the ill-fated Earl of Kinnoul, the companion of Montrose's flight, who must have perished before his solitary leader reached the farm of the friendly Milbourne.]

An Account of my Family, with some particular circumstances respecting the Marquis of Montrose, as related by my Mother.

Signed, George Marsh, March 1792.

Her maiden name was Elizabeth Milbourne, whose grandfather, John Milbourne, Esq., born 1630, had a capital fortune in the North, where he resided, when the great Marquis of Montrose was defeated by the king's enemies, who, after suffering very great hardships in living in disguise in woods on berries several days, escaped from the very extraordinary search made all over the country for him, and came to his [Mr. Milbourne's] house by night for protection, in a most wretched condition, as he [the Marquis] well knew he was a faithful subject of the king's, and that he had a very great respect and affection for himself; but before he would take refuge there, he nobly told him the consequences, namely, that if he should be found under his protection, it would be death to him and all his family; who, nevertheless, was very happy to see him safe, and eagerly expressed his earnest desire of taking him under his care, who thereupon wished to be put in some secret place as soon as possible, arguing that he was certain they were hunting for him in every house and place in the country, and therefore would most probably soon come to his for that purpose. Mr. Milbourne was in the habit of buying most of the Scotch cattle, and had a farm-yard or home-field of near three acres of ground, in which he kept them, to be sent into Romney Marsh in Kent to fatten, which was well furnished with barns and outhouses for that purpose. In one part of this ground was a large pond partly dried up, in which was a large broken useless trough, where straw, etc., used to be kept for them, in a great degree covered with mud and dirt, laid not quite upright, which he prepared and laid him in, after a short refreshment, with loose clean straw, throwing some that was dirty carelessly on and about the same, after which he had but just washed and wiped his hands, when a small party of his enemies came to his house in quest of him, who immediately examined all the outhouses in a very particular manner, and going from them to the house to do the like, one of them in a kind of frolic cried, 'What is there?' and immediately run into the mud, and jobbed his sword between the Marquis's legs, but, concluding he was not in so filthy a thing, did not run his sword in a second time; but proceeded with the party to the house, and examined every room and place about it, behaving with great insolence and cruelty in running their swords in the beds, and after eating and drinking what they pleased to seize, they departed in the morning from it, but not without violent threats to him and his family, if it should ever appear he had secreted the Marquis. The house was so situated that they could see any passenger for near a mile round it; so that soon after they were gone, he placed a faithful person to look out, and give timely notice if he should observe anybody coming towards it, and then took the Marquis out of the trough, when he found him all over in a violent perspiration, who exclaimed in tears, 'O! my dear friend Milbourne, I never knew I was a coward before; I endangered the lives of you and yours, in the manner I have done, to save my own.' And said he was, however, determined never to do the like again to avoid death, of which, he thanked God, he was not afraid. Then taking a little more refreshment, he begged to have a prayer-book, and to go into a private room, to prepare himself for it, and to make his peace with God; and at night took his leave, and kissed Mr. Milbourne and all his family, loading him with thanks and all possible gratitude, for his particular kindness and friendship to him; and signified he would go a contrary way from the house, to prevent suspicion, to the Laird of Assints (Lord Astons),[1] with whom he wished to speak about his family affairs, as having been a friend and follower of his; but added, he had a fixed resolution that he would afterwards go and deliver himself up to his enemies to do with him what they pleased, for he said he shuddered on reflecting how narrowly he escaped being found in the trough, when the sword went between his legs, and that he was affected to his heart in thinking how nearly death and destruction was to him [Mr. Milbourne] and his family for his friendship to him. And notwithstanding every argument was used to dissuade him from it, and that his narrow escape in the trough seemed to presage that Providence had preserved his life for noble purposes, he could not be persuaded to change his mind. Upon his entering Lord Aston's house, he, treacherously, either from fear or from meanness, for the sake of the reward, seized and delivered him up to his enemies in Edinburgh, where he was shamefully and ignominiously hanged on a gallows thirty feet high for the space of three hours; his head cut off and fixed on Edinburgh Tolbooth, his legs and arms on the gates of the cities of Stirling, Dundee, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, and his body buried. The Marquis's progenitors were of ancient extract, and had held the highest places in Scotland, and had been allied to the Crown. He was a man of intrepid courage, and his virtues far exceeded his faults, and well deserved to have his memory preserved amongst the most illustrious persons of the age, which Mr. Milbourne used to say he should adore to his last moments, and always kept the print of him in his chamber, which is now in the family of his descendants.

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[1] The title and the form of the name in brackets seem to show that the writer was acquainted with the *Montrose Redivivus* account of these events, copied by Heath, *Chronicles*.

On the 28th of May 1661, eleven years after his execution, the Marquis of Argyll, his avowed enemy and principal promoter of his cruel death, was hanged at Edinburgh, his head and limbs fixed up in the same places, and the remains of the Marquis of Montrose taken down, and a most pompous princely burial made for them, attended with all possible magnificence, which the Marquis of Argyll had the mortification of seeing just before himself was executed.

Soon after the death of the Marquis of Montrose, Mr. Milbourne had intimation from friends that it was known that he had secreted him, and that therefore it would not be safe to continue in his house, who thereupon buried all his plate and valuables in an old dry well, and flew with his family into an obscure part of Scotland, of which information having been given, a party came to his house a few days after he was gone, opened the well, took possession of his effects, burnt his house, and all the barns and outhouses, and almost ruined him and his family; with which, however, he declared that he was not so much concerned, as he was by the opprobrious and cruel treatment of the most noble Marquis, for whom he had the utmost affection, which so preyed on his mind, that he fell into a decline, and died a few months after.

POSTSCRIPT.

While these letters were going through the press, a mass of correspondence came to hand from Danzig, chiefly relating to Sir John Cochran, Crofts, and Albrecht von Law. Dr. P. Gehrke, of the city Archives, courteously informs us that Law, Low, Lawen, or Loewen, is frequently mentioned in the letters of Duke James to the city in 1641-3, as 'the noble Albrecht Lawen,' his 'factor,' and 'plenipotentiary' in a trial against the faithless sea-captain Bernt Rassau and against Adolph Wulfrath. In the 'Bürgerbuch' he is mentioned as a merchant in 1637. He was probably related to one Thomas Law, who in 1634 obtained civic rights as a lace-maker, and is mentioned as from 'Enstroeder' [Anstruther] in Scotland. He can hardly have been the 'cabten law' of Maclear's letter (see p. 87, n.[1]), as in those days in Germany the title captain could only denote a ship's-master, and was never honorary.

ERRATUM: *page* 225, *third line from foot* (see p. 87, n.[1]) *should be* (see p. 157, n.[1]).

THIRTY-FOUR LETTERS
WRITTEN TO JAMES SHARP
ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS, BY THE
DUKE AND DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE
AND BY CHARLES MAITLAND
LORD HATTON

1660-1677

Edited from the originals in the Episcopal
Chest, Edinburgh, with Introduction and Notes, by
the Right Rev. JOHN DOWDEN, D.D.,
Bishop of Edinburgh

INTRODUCTION

The letters to Archbishop Sharp here printed are preserved in the 'Episcopal Chest' in Edinburgh, where they were deposited by Bishop Keith, the historian and compiler of the *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops.* Permission for their publication was given many years ago by the Bishops of the Episcopal Church, and the letters were to some extent consulted by Thomas Stephen when preparing his *Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp.* But, so far as I am aware, with one exception, none of the letters have been printed before. This exception is Letter XVI.,[1] and as it occupies but little space, and is to be found only in a book of not very common occurrence, it is printed here from the original, so that this little collection of letters from the Lauderdale family to Sharp may be regarded as complete.

Mr. Osmund Airy's *Lauderdale Papers,* in three volumes, printed for the Camden Society (1884-5), from the manuscripts in the British Museum, have helped much to elucidate allusions. In some cases, indeed (as in Letters I., VII., X.), we have the advantage of finding in the British Museum the answer to the letter preserved in Edinburgh, or among the Edinburgh letters the answer to that in London. Wodrow (though often inaccurate in his dates) has preserved an invaluable body of contemporary records, which have been made constant use of.

Nearly all the letters of Lauderdale, and all those of the Duchess and Hatton, are holograph. In a few instances, indicated in the notes, those of the Duke are written by another hand, and only dated and signed by Lauderdale. Most of the letters retain their seals. The spelling of the original has been preserved; but it has not been attempted to follow always the vague and vacillating modes of punctuation that are to be found in the informal correspondence of the seventeenth century.

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[1] The letter is printed by Stephen, p. 455. A part of Letter I. is also printed, though not correctly, in the same work, p. 147.

By the second half of the century the standard of our present-day orthography was comparatively closely approached in official documents, and there was already a generally acknowledged right and wrong way of spelling. But it seemed to be a matter of no moment to most people of rank and fashion how they spelled, so that they succeeded in conveying their meaning. The accuracy of a Government clerk's spelling was obviously no more an object of desire than the neat regularity of his penmanship. Yet the letters of a man of considerable learning and culture like Lauderdale could not but contrast favourably in this respect with those of many letter-writers of the period. His brother Charles Maitland's letters, here printed, are specimens of phonetic adventurousness, which for ignorance or wanton indifference as to correctness can only be matched, in the correspondence of the public men of the period, by those of the Earl of Rothes, so long Chancellor of the kingdom of Scotland.[1]

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[1] The following few lines from a letter from Rothes to Lauderdale (17th Dec. 1666), printed by O. Airy (vol. i. p. 263), may be offered as a specimen:—'Yit I am resolvid to contineu that you may be eabill to giff a clir acount of everie pasidg of our prosedor when eather the King or anie ells dus requayr it, bot by this I have nothing to ad bot that upon tyousday nixt four of the villands will be heangied in this toun; bot nou to your selff, godcnous it is not my inclinasione to be crouall, ispesiallie as to the teacking of layffs, bot on the contrarie I ashour you all thir persons and all that ar of ther opinion ar abshulatlie incorigabell in ther uay, and for teror to them heanging most not be sun giffin over.'

One is induced to suspect that there was sometimes even an affectation of carelessness in the matter of spelling, when we find a man as cultivated and accomplished as Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, whose style was an object of admiration to Evelyn and Dryden, writing such letters as may be found in Mr. Airy's volumes. The brief letters of the rough and honest old soldier, A considerable body of correspondence and other documents illustrative of Scottish history between the Restoration and the Revolution has been already printed, and a large mass of material still remains to be digested and made available to historical students.[1] In the meantime every addition to our information should be welcomed. Even in the few familiar letters here published we come across occasional side-lights, illustrative of character, of the historical situation, or of the life of the period, that are not without their interest.

The figures of Lauderdale and Sharp bulk large on the canvas of Scottish history in the second half of the seventeenth century. The long prevailing popular views of the characters of these two remarkable men have, beyond doubt, been considerably modified in recent years. Their characters are still *sub judice* at the bar of History; and everything that tends to place the figures in proper perspective, and to illustrate the extraordinary and complex difficulties of the situation, both in Church and State, amid which they were called upon to act, is of value to the historian who would cultivate the judicial temper.

Even the cursory reader of Scottish history is familiar with the leading incidents in the life of Lauderdale. But something may be said here of the two other correspondents of the Archbishop, the Duchess of Lauderdale and the Duke's brother, Charles Maitland, better known as Lord Hatton.

In the world of political and public life in Great Britain during the second half of the seventeenth century, no woman possessed more power or exerted a greater influence than Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart, and afterwards Duchess of Lauderdale. She was the eldest daughter of William

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Sir Thomas Dalyell of Binns, need hardly be taken into account. They seem of a piece with the entire indifference to the proprieties which he exhibited in his grotesque style of dress.

[1] The hope may be expressed that the letters of Archbishop Sharp and Archbishop Burnet, in the possession of the Duke of Newcastle, may be allowed to see the light.

Murray, who, having been in his early years 'whipping boy' of Prince Charles, and afterwards a familiar at Court, was, in 1643, created[1] Earl of Dysart and Lord Huntingtower in the peerage of Scotland, with remainder to his heirs-general. In default of male issue of her father, she, on his decease, succeeded to the title. She married, first, Sir Lionel Talmash (or Tollemache) of Helmingham, in the county of Suffolk, the third baronet of that name, and bore him eleven children, of whom six died young. Of the children who survived the drastic treatment of Sir Alexander Fraser (physician to Charles II.), to which reference is made in the letters here printed, three were sons, and two daughters. Her husband, Sir Lionel, died in 1669; and on the 17th February 167½ she was married in the parish church of Petersham, in Surrey, close to the fine mansion of Ham (from which some of the letters are dated), to John, Earl of Lauderdale. The marriage rite was celebrated with ceremony by Walter Blandford, Bishop of Worcester.[2] After their marriage 'they made a progress round the country, where they were attended with regal pomp and respect.'[3]

At the time of this marriage Lauderdale was a widower of only six weeks' standing. His first wife, Anne, daughter of the Earl of Home, does not seem to have been very happy in her relations with her husband; and his enemies have asserted that the closing period of that lady's life was embittered by the knowledge of Lauderdale's marked admiration for Lady Dysart.

Lady Dysart possessed in large measure two eminent qualifications for the highest successes in the world of society and of court intrigue. She was handsome, and she was clever. And to these distinctions she added the further attractions that come from a more than ordinarily well-cultivated mind.

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[1] The patent is dated, Oxford, 3d August.

[2] Lysons' *Environs of London*, vol. i. p. 402.

[3] Douglas's *Peerage*.

The portrait of the Duchess of Lauderdale by Lely, now in the possession of the Earl of Dysart,[1] represents her when she was past middle life, and shows us one still possessing good looks, and one who certainly in earlier years might well have justified the contemporary eulogies of her beauty. Without accepting the discreditable view of their relations which has sometimes been put forward,[2] there need be no question as to the strong personal influence exerted over Oliver Cromwell by this clever and beautiful woman. And we may believe that Lady Dysart did not go beyond the truth when she claimed the credit of having, by her intervention with Cromwell, saved the life of Lauderdale after the battle of Worcester. Sir George Mackenzie (*Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 218) believes that Lauderdale's gratitude for her protection at that critical juncture was a potent influence in bringing about the marriage, but he adds, 'nor was her wit less charming than the beauty of other women; nor had the extraordinary beauty she possest whilst she was young ceded to the age at which she was then arrived.' According to 'her *friends*,' as the same writer playfully remarks, she was then 'but forty-five years of age.' Certainly the fascination she exercised over Lauderdale cannot be doubted. His friends pointed out that he had no son to inherit his honours; both friends and the public were clamorous against the match effected with such indecent haste; but he was not to be stayed.

Another among many who had fallen under her spell for a time was the grave and reverend divine, Gilbert Burnet. Those who know the Bishop of Sarum best by his *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles* and his *Pastoral Care* will find it hard to picture him writing enthusiastically eulogistic verses to the beautiful Countess of Dysart.

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[1] This is reproduced in a not very meritorious etching in C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe's edition of Kirkton.

[2] Sir John Reresby, who was on such friendly terms as to be a guest at Ham, speaks of her as the 'supposed mistress of Oliver Cromwell.'

Burnet assures the lady that though

> 'Thy form and children call thee woman,'

he would not dare to apply such a commonplace term to her.

> 'Cherub I doubt 's too low a name for thee,
> For thou alone a whole rank seems to be.
> The only individual of thy kynd,
> No mate can fitly suit so great a mind.'[1]

A great lady was pretty sure in those days to have many complimentary verses addressed to her. But verses in a very different strain, and some of them in a high degree scurrilous, were freely composed upon one who had rendered herself very unpopular by her haughty demeanour, and by her supposed influence in directing the offensive measures of Lauderdale in Scotland. Yet even in some of these effusions her beauty is still acknowledged:—

> 'Since the King did permit her to come to Whytehall,
> She outvies Cleveland, Portsmouth, young Fraser, and all.'[2]

It is not often that the mother of eleven children can hold her own among the beauties of a court.

Burnet has made us amends for his dull verses by his graphic picture of the Duchess in his *History of his own Time*, which, though taken from a work so easily accessible, the reader may be pleased to see here. The passage should be read with the recollection that Burnet had broken with the Duchess and her party, and was now himself married to a lady,[3] of whom Lauderdale had once been an admirer, but whom he was commonly supposed to have afterwards slighted. The piety of even such a *dévote* as Lady Margaret may not have been proof against animosities engendered by the *spretæ injuria formæ*.

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[1] Quoted by Maidment (*Scotish Pasquils*, 1568-1715, p. 237). I have not been able to verify the authority for Burnet's authorship.

[2] Maidment's *Scotish Pasquils*.

The 'young Fraser' here named, afterwards Countess of Peterborough, was the daughter of Sir Alexander Fraser, of Durris, Physician to the King, whose medical treatment of the Talmash children is described in Letter XXVI. Her portrait hangs among those of the beauties at Hampton Court.

[3] Lady Margaret Kennedy.

'She [the Countess of Dysart] was a woman of great beauty, but of far greater parts. She had a wonderful quickness of apprehension, and an amazing vivacity in conversation. She had studied not only divinity and history, but mathematicks and philosophy. She was violent in everything she set about; a violent friend, but a much more violent enemy. She had a restless ambition, lived at a vast expense, and was ravenously covetous; and would have stuck at nothing by which she might compass her ends. She had been early in a correspondence with Lord Lauderdale, that had given occasion to censure. When he was prisoner after Worcester fight, she made him believe he was in great danger of his life, and that she saved it by her intrigues with Cromwell, which was not a little taken notice of. Cromwell was certainly fond of her; and she took care to entertain him in it, till he, finding what was said upon it, broke it off. Upon the King's restoration, she thought that Lord Lauderdale made not those returns that she expected. They lived for some years at a distance. But upon her husband's death they made up all quarrels. So that Lord Lauderdale and she lived so much together that his Lady was offended at it, and went to Paris, where she died about three years after. The Lady Dysart came to have so much power over the Lord Lauderdale that it lessened him much in the esteem of all the world; for he delivered himself up to all her humours and passions. All applications were made to her. She took upon her to determine everything. She sold all places, and was wanting in no methods that could bring her money, which she lavished out in a most profuse vanity. As the conceit took her she made him fall out with all his friends one after another; with the Earls of Argyll, Tweedale, and Kincardine; with Duke Hamilton, the Marquis of Atholl, and

Sir Robert Murray, who had all their turns in her displeasure, which very quickly drew Lord Lauderdale's after it. If after such names it is not a presumption to name myself, I had my share likewise. From that time to the end of his days he became quite another sort of man than he had been in all the former parts of his life.'

The conferring of a dukedom and the Garter upon Lauderdale within a few months of his marriage may perhaps be reasonably connected with an ambition stimulated by his wife. But the state, dignity, and pomp affected by the Duchess was, we should remember, due to her in Scotland as wife of the High Commissioner and representative of royalty. The stately and sumptuous obsequies of his first wife in Paris were accorded to her as 'Vice-Queen of Scotland,' so that we need not be surprised that on the day of Lauderdale's marriage with Lady Dysart, 'the castle [of Edinburgh] shot as many guns as at his Majesty's birth-day' (Mackenzie, *Memoirs*, p. 218). And one can in our day condone an act which at the time gave marked offence in Scotland, when on the occasion of her husband's opening Parliament in Edinburgh in 1672 'she caused place some chairs for herself and some ladies who were of her train,' from which in great state she heard the Duke's speech (p. 219).

The Duchess's house and grounds at Ham were splendidly maintained. Evelyn, whose large experience of foreign travel made him a very competent judge, writes in 1678, 'I walked to Ham to see the house and garden of the Duke of Lauderdale, which is indeede inferior to few of the best villas in Italy itselfe; the house fournish'd like a greate Prince's; the parterres, flower gardens, orangeries, groves, avenues, courts, statues, perspectives, fountaines, aviaries, and all this at the banks of the sweetest river in the world, must needes be admirable' (*Diary*, Aug. 27, 1678).

The Duchess was not given to exercising control of her temper; and Rothes gives an amusing glimpse of her 'huffing' and 'ranting,' and of her crying at the thought of the Duke's infirmity of falling into fits of passion.[1]

Her capacity and keen eye to business may be seen, better than in any of the letters here printed, in a letter to Sir Thomas Murray, of Glendoick, in which certain legal questions are stated with singular clearness, and an opinion asked.[2] Her determination to maintain what she thought her rights is exemplified in her long and disastrous litigation with Lord Hatton after the Duke's death (in the process of which her enemies did not scruple to accuse her of perjury), in the litigation with Sir James Dick of Priestfield as to the ownership of five swans which the Duke of Lauderdale had placed upon Duddingston Loch, and in the suit with Lady Boghall, who laid claim to certain jewels formerly belonging to Lauderdale's first wife.[3]

The letters of the Duchess, it is true, add little to our knowledge of either the writer, or of the history of the time, but here and there they throw a side-light which is not to be undervalued.

The desire of the Duchess to make great matches for her daughters might not unreasonably be set down as much, at least, to ambition as to maternal solicitude; but her painful anxiety about the health of her third son, William, when a lad at St. Andrews, and her unfeigned expression of gratitude to those who had tended him in his illness are plainly the natural outcome of a mother's love. And we are left in no doubt that the haughty and domineering great lady, the eager partisan, and, as she is represented, the unwearied and unscrupulous *intrigante*, was, at least, not devoid of strong natural affection.

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[1] See letter quoted by Mark Napier (*Memorials and Letters illustrative of the Life and Times of John Graham of Claverhouse*, vol. i. p. 367).

[2] This letter will be found, with three or four others of the Duchess, in the appendix to *Letters from Lady Margaret Kennedy to Lauderdale*, printed for the *Bannatyne Club*.

[3] Some account of these proceedings will be found in a note to Maidment's *Scotish Pasquils*, p. 238.

The universally acknowledged intellectual ability of the Duchess of Lauderdale has little scope for displaying itself in these brief letters. And one can hardly help smiling at the barefaced flattery that, in one place, represents the happiness that this poor world can afford as incomplete because she was unable to enjoy the society of Archbishop Sharp (see Letter xxiii.). 'Sharp, of that Ilk,' as Cromwell is said to have styled him, was too acute not to have appreciated at their true worth such expressions as these. Her curt treatment of the Archbishop in Letter xxv., and the rating she gave Rothes, the Chancellor, in her 'closett att ye Abbie' (Letter xxiv.), show us a woman who had a temper of her own, and one whom it was better to have as a friend than as an enemy.

William Talmash, the son of the Duchess (referred to in Letters xxvi., xxvii.) recovered of his illness,[1] and lived to be a distinguished officer in the navy. He was in command of a ship in the West Indies when he died of fever in the reign of William iii. His early years were darkened by his having, when about the age of seventeen, mortally wounded in a foolish quarrel in the streets of Paris, William Carnegie, second son of the third Earl of Southesk. Young Carnegie was only nineteen at the time of his death (23 Nov. 1681). The two lads may have become acquainted at St. Andrews, where Carnegie had been a student.[2] Talmash was already in Paris when William Carnegie, accompanied by his elder brother, Lord Carnegie, arrived there. Talmash ventured on giving advice to the Carnegies with respect to a questionable associate of theirs, and so the dispute began. It ended in what was little better than a tavern brawl, and with the melancholy result that has been stated. Talmash was tried before the French courts. His mother, the great Duchess, it is said, made much interest at the court of France on his behalf, and he was acquitted, though required to pay a heavy fine to Lord Carnegie, and 200 livres to be spent on masses for the repose of the soul of the deceased. Two years later a pardon was granted by Charles II. under the Great Seal, and Talmash was allowed to return to England.[1]

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[1] Through the kindness of Principal Cunningham, of St. Andrews, I am able to state that it appears that William Talmash returned to St. Andrews, and matriculated in the University, 22 Feb. 1678. The name in the Register appears as 'Gulielmus Tollmagh.'

[2] Carnegie matriculated a year before Talmash, 28 Feb. 1677.

Thomas Talmash, the second son of the Duchess (referred to in Letter XXVII.), rose to distinction in the army. He served in seventeen campaigns. He had command of the troops in the disastrous expedition against Brest (1694), where 800 out of the 900 men landed fell in the attack, and where Talmash himself was mortally wounded. He died a week after at Plymouth. We possess an admirable engraving by Houbraken of Kneller's portrait of Lieutenant-General Talmash in the collection of the Earl of Dysart. The likeness to his handsome mother is quite apparent.

The eldest son Lionel, the Earl of Dysart, sat in the English House of Commons in several Parliaments. The eldest daughter, Lady Elizabeth, married Archibald, first Duke of Argyll. It was an unhappy marriage, followed by a separation. The younger, Lady Catherine, was married first to Lord Doune, heir to the Earl of Murray, and, secondly, to John, fifteenth Earl of Sutherland.[2]

In Letter XXIX. the Duchess claims relationship with the unfortunate Lady Barbara Erskine, Marchioness of Douglas. I am indebted to the Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen for tracing the connection in the following genealogical sketch. According to Mr. Hallen it will be seen that the Duchess is only fourth cousin, once removed, of Lady Barbara. But her unhappy story, apart from relationship, might well have justified the interest taken in her by the Duchess.

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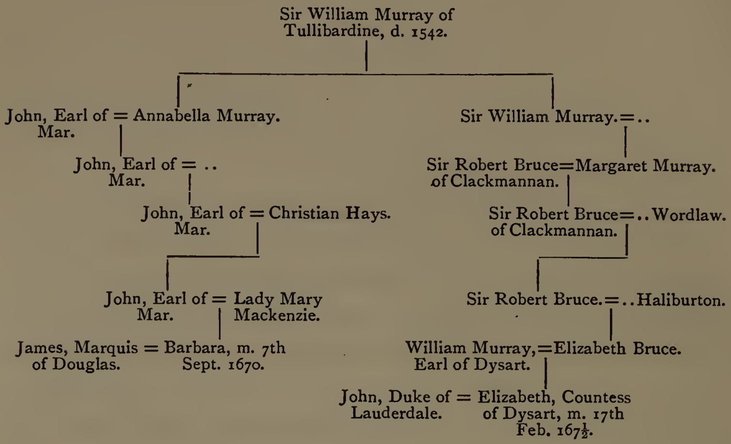
[1] Very full particulars will be found in Sir William Fraser's *History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk*, 1867.

[2] Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland.*


Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, d. 1542.
John, Earl of Mar. = Annabella Murray.
Sir William Murray. = ..
John, Earl of Mar. = ..
Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan. = Margaret Murray.
John, Earl of Mar. = Christian Hays.
Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan. = .. Wordlaw.
John, Earl of Mar. = Lady Mary Mackenzie.
Sir Robert Bruce. = .. Haliburton.
James, Marquis of Douglas. = Barbara, m. 7th Sept. 1670.
William Murray, Earl of Dysart. = Elizabeth Bruce.
John, Duke of Lauderdale. = Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart, m. 17th Feb. 167½.

The well-known popular ballad beginning—

'O waly, waly, up the bank,
And waly, waly, down the brae,'

is commonly connected with this sad story; but the last verse of the poem seems to me to point rather to the common tale of a maid betrayed and a false lover than to an unkind husband.[1]

The facts may be briefly told as follows:—James Douglas was but a child when in 1655 he succeeded, on the death of his father, as Earl of Angus. Five years later he succeeded his grandfather, the first Marquis of Douglas. The estates were deeply encumbered at his entry. According to the generally believed account the young man had become entangled in a discreditable amour with the daughter of a tavern-keeper, 'the Widow Jack' at Perth.[1] But shortly after he came of age he was married (7th Sept. 1670) to Lady Barbara Erskine, eldest daughter of the Earl of Mar. The ancient Castle of Douglas, which was in a ruinous condition, was put into some sort of repair, as a residence for the young couple. Their married life was not happy. Douglas had as an intimate friend and confidant one Lawrie, of Blackwood, who had been involved in the Pentland rising. This man, who seems to have served as chamberlain to the Marquis, is generally believed to have poisoned the mind of his master against his wife; and in a long and affecting letter of Lady Douglas to her husband, which has been preserved,[2] there is certainly a clear intimation that she had had grave accusations made against her character by some person who was an intimate in the Marquis's household. In this letter, dated 'Edinburgh, Desember, '76,' she pleads in pitiful tones for the recognition that was a wife's due. 'My dearestt Hartt,' she wrote, 'to begg with yow if (God so orderied itt) would be no trubell to me, and to denay me your favor and countinance is enough to embiter to me the gretestt earthly injoymentts I can propose to my salfe. . . . If I heaw offended yow in word or deed, I am readie in the mostt humbll and submiss manier you can prescryve to crave pardone.' After declaring her absolute innocence of the faults laid to her charge she goes on, 'Its but a hell upon earth daylie to observe my misery in your countinance when yow cannott looke upone me but with avertion, if nott contemptt, and to think of absence from yow and our dear chyld is a terror nixtt unto death. . . . I give my blissing to our dear Jeamy. . . . I will with patience waitte upon your goode pleasure, and ever continow, my dearest hartt, your mostt fathfull, affectionatt, and obediantt, B. Douglas.' Before 1677 Lady Douglas had sought the intervention of the Privy Council, and in the February of that year she renewed an application for the judicial allocation of an aliment on which she might live apart from her husband.[1] I have given 1677 as the conjectural date for the Duchess of Lauderdale's letter (xxix.), as it suits all the circumstances in a satisfactory way.

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[1] 'But had I wist before I kisst,
That love had been sae ill to win,
I had lockt my heart in a case of gowd,
And pinn'd it with a siller pin.

And oh! if my young babe were born,
And set upon the nurse's knee,
And I mysel' were dead and gane,
For a maid again I'll never be.'

A longer and (historically) still more absurd version of the story is printed by Child (*English and Scottish Ballads*, vol. iv. p. 135) under the name 'Lord Jamie Douglas.' Other ballads on the same story may also be found in Child's collection.

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[1] In *Lamont's Diary* (Maitland Club edition, p. 222) we read '1670 Sept. The Marqwes of Dowglas, a yowng man (after he had fallen with widow Jack['s] dawghter, leatlie taverne[r] att Pearth, bot then att Edb., vnder purpose of mariage with hir, as some affirmed) maried Lady Arskin, dawghter to the Er. of Marr,' etc.

[2] It is printed by Sir William Fraser in *The Douglas Book* (vol. ii.).

Wretched as was this unhappy lady's condition, the ballad-maker (if, indeed, he was thinking at all of Lady Douglas) indulges in some considerable poetic licence in putting into her mouth the lines:—

'Now Arthur-seat sall be my bed,
  The sheets shall neir be fyl'd by me,
Saint Anton's well sall be my drink,
  Since my true love has forsaken me.'

A deed of separation was obtained, and she was received back by her father to Alloa House.

Her son, 'Jeamy,' born in 1671, lived to be a distinguished officer.[2] He raised the regiment known as 'Angus' Regiment' (and afterwards as 'the Cameronians'), and in his opening manhood fell leading his men at the battle of Steinkirk (1692). He died unmarried. The Marquis, on the death of his first wife, married Lady Mary Ker, daughter of Robert, Earl of Lothian. This lady appears to have been a woman of more force of character than Lady Barbara Erskine, and she was not long in getting Lawrie[1] (who was again interfering), dismissed from the service of her husband. Lady Jane Douglas, with whom another romance of the peerage is connected, was a child of this second marriage.

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[1] The *Douglas Book*, vol. ii. p. 449.

[2] The Marquis of Douglas obtained a letter from the king, by Queensberry's influence, 'recommending to the judges the case of that antient family, and giving his son, the Lord Angus, a pension of £200 sterling a year to breed him.' —Fountainhall's *Decisions*, p. 298.

Of the third of Sharp's correspondents little need be said. Charles Maitland was the Duke's youngest brother. In 1652 he married Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of Richard Lauder of Halton, in Midlothian, with whom he was given the lands of Halton,[2] Overgogar, Norton, and Platts. With the rise of his brother to power he obtains office and dignity. He is made a member of the Privy Council in 1661, one of the Ordinary Lords of Session in 1669, and Treasurer-Depute in 1670. He also held the office of General of the Mint. Sir George Mackenzie tells us that, not having been bred as a lawyer, and being ignorant of law, Halton's appointment to the bench, through his brother's influence, helped to bring the Court of Session into contempt (*Memoirs*, p. 240). Towards the end of 1673 Halton was accused of lessening and corrupting the coinage; Lauderdale caused the matter to be investigated, and it became questionable whether at that time the accusation could be sustained (Mackenzie, *Memoirs*, p. 263).

About 1670 Lady Dysart and Halton arranged for the marriage of the eldest daughter of the former with Halton's eldest son; but the young man declined the distinction, and thus earned for himself the enmity of Lady Dysart—an enmity which to some extent overflowed upon Halton himself. Burnet tells us that Halton was 'both weak and violent, insolent and corrupt,' and that he was held even by his brother in contempt. No man in Scotland had more enemies. And an opportunity for an effective attack after a time occurred. In the Parliament of 1681 Halton was accused of perjury, in having sworn at the trial of Mitchell (for his attempt to assassinate Archbishop Sharp), that the accused had not been promised his life if he would confess, while letters of Halton's were unexpectedly produced testifying to the promise having been actually given. And the prosecution of the accusation against Halton was only stopped by the adjournment of Parliament. But the Duke's fall, speedily followed by his death (24th August 1682), made the way open for the ruin of his brother. Halton (now Earl of Lauderdale) was accused of malversation; and orders were given (August 31), by the Council, to prosecute him and the other officers of the Mint. In November the Treasury accounts were ordered to be investigated. Not long after he was deposed from his office, and the Lord Advocate directed to insist against him, by civil or criminal procedure, for malversation. The trial came on in March 1683, and the result was that the Earl of Lauderdale and Sir J. Falconer (Master of the Mint) were found liable to the king in £72,000 sterling. The king mitigated the penalty to £20,000, £16,000 of which was to be paid to the Lord Chancellor, and £4000 to Graham of Claverhouse, for his services against the Covenanters. The Earl of Lauderdale lived for nine years after his disgrace.

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[1] Lawrie, notwithstanding the clemency extended to him after Pentland, was involved in the rebellious proceedings of Bothwell Bridge, and sentenced to death. He was released on the supplication to the king made by the infatuated Marquis of Douglas.

[2] He himself spells the name 'Haltoun;' but the *l* seems not to have been sounded, and the word is very commonly spelled 'Hatton.' We have a similar silent *l* in the name Halket; and the name Haldane is sometimes, as by Fountainhall, spelled Hadden.

Those who have had experience in inquiries of a similar kind will readily understand that a considerable amount of labour was required for the illustration of even this small bundle of old letters. In the case of private letters the sole clew to their sense is often in the hands of the writer and the receiver. Casual allusions are necessarily obscure or unintelligible to a third party. And the difficulties are, of course, much enhanced by the lapse of time. Still it is hoped that most of the difficulties have been sufficiently dealt with in the illustrative notes. Some still remain to whet the interest of those with tastes for the minutiæ of antiquarian or genealogical lore.

For aid of various kinds I have to thank, among others, the Keeper of the Advocates' Library, Rev. Dr. Cunningham, Principal of the University of St. Andrews, Dr. James Magill, of the Coldstream Guards, the Librarian of the Guild Hall, Mr. J. M. Gray, Mr. J. Balfour Paul, Lyon King-of-Arms, Mr. W. Skinner, Town-Clerk of Edinburgh, Mr. J. R. Findlay, the Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen, Mr. A. H. Millar, and lastly, and chiefly, my eldest daughter, to whom the History Society is indebted for the transcription of the letters, and without whose assistance throughout my task would have been incomparably more difficult.

JOHN DOWDEN,
Bishop of Edinburgh.

P.S.—Since the above introductory remarks were in type, my attention has been called to the admirable description of the residence of Charles Maitland in the privately-printed volume of Mr. J. R. Findlay, *Hatton House* (1875). It contains a full description of the fine house and grounds, and reproduces, as the frontispiece, the representation of the house, as it was about 1680, from Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*. Attention may be also called to Lady Sudeley's interesting article on *Ham House* in the *English Illustrated Magazine* for May 1891.

Through the kind offices of Lady Huntingtower, permission was obtained from the Earl of Dysart for the photographic reproduction of the portraits at Ham House, which appear in this volume. The picture representing the Duke and Duchess is by Lely. It hangs in the narrow gallery surrounding the entrance-hall; and it was unfortunately found necessary that the photograph should be taken at an angle. The portrait of Charles Maitland, third Earl of Lauderdale, is from an indian-ink drawing by David Paton. A splendid portrait (attributed to Vandyck) of Elizabeth Murray, in the full beauty of her early womanhood, is also preserved at Ham House. If the work be Vandyck's, it must have been executed at least thirty years before the portrait of her which is here reproduced.

J. D.

THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE

from the portrait by Sir Peter Lely at Ham House

LAUDERDALE CORRESPONDENCE

I

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL, 2 *Dec^r* 1660.

DEARE FREIND,—When such a bearer[1] goes I could not be silent, yet I need say little by him, to whom I refer you for all I could say. I receavd the alterations from y^r brethren of Ed^r, w^ch they desired to be made in the proclamation for the Gen. Assembly,[2] and shall indeavor them, but the King will heare advice from Scotland before he indict one.

Remember me kindely to M^r Douglas and M^r Hutcheson.[3] They will get full information from this bearer, w^ch shall make me not trouble them. The King's cōmands keep me heir, so that I shall not see you till the spring. In the meane time I long for y^r advice as to what I wrote of Glasgow, and the Professor's place at St. Andrews, w^th a draught of these two presentations.[1] Remember me kindely to all freinds.—I am yo^r kinde freind to serv you,

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[1] Sharp's letter to Lauderdale, dated Dec. 13, 1660 (*Lauderdale Papers*, from *Add. MSS.* in the British Museum), printed by Mr. Osmund Airy for the Camden Society (1884), vol. i. p. 43, seems to be the reply to this. Lord Crawford was the bearer alluded to.

[2] In the letter of Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson (Edinburgh, Nov. 10, 1660) to Lauderdale, we read, 'We have seen from Mr. William Sharpe a Draught of a Proclamation for calling a general assembly . . . And we have made bold . . . humbly to offer to your Lordship . . . a few thoughts concerning some amendments and alterations desired therein, which we put in your Lordship's hand to be made use of, as yow in your wisdome shall think fit' (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 35).

[3] Hutcheson and (more especially) Douglas were prominent figures among the Presbyterian ministers of this period. Douglas had preached the sermon on the occasion of the coronation of the King at Scone, Jan. 1, 1651; and, as Wodrow has shown, he afterwards secretly urged Monk to effect the Restoration. Hutcheson was also active at the date of this letter on behalf of the more moderate party. He attended the Marquis of Argyll on the scaffold. In 1669 eh accepted the 'indulgence.' His exhaustive treatment of the Book of Job, upon which he delivered three hundred and sixteen lectures, has been noted by Dr. Burns, the editor of Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 278).

LAUDERDAILL.

[Addressed] *For M^r James Sharp, minister of the Gospell at Craile.*

II

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL, 24 *Jan^ry* [1661].

DEARE FREIND,—I receavd by M^r Drūmond[2] from you a presentation for my honest old freind M^r Bailly, w^ch I heer send you inclosed to him self. I pray you let it be safely conveyed to him.

I acquainted his maj^tie how honestly and like yo^r self you had preached to the parl^t, who was very well satisfyed, and expects a copie of yo^r sermon when it is printed. Pardon me if I doe beg one at least.[3]

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[1] The date of Robert Baillie's appointment to the Principalship of Glasgow University is 23 January 1661. Sharp sent the form of presentation asked for by Lauderdale through Patrick Drummond, to whom, writing on the 12th Jan. 1661, he says, 'I am informed that is designed heer that the place shall be conferred upon another, which would be injurious to Mr. Baily, and brake his heart; his relyance is upon my Lord Lauderdaills favour in it; yow will not doe an unworthy act to be at paines of putting my Lord in mind till it be passed; and I hope yow will pardon [that] I put yow upon this imployment which tends to the good of your countrey, and doing right to a very honest man' (Airy's *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 62). This goes to modify the opinion expressed by Laing (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. lxxvii). The professorship at St. Andrews was filled by the appointment of Sharp himself.

[2] Patrick Drummond, a Presbyterian minister in London, apparently under the patronage of Lauderdale. Several letters of Sharp to him are printed by Mr. O. Airy, and among them the letter containing the draft presentation (here referred to) of Robert Baillie to the Principalship of Glasgow University (No. xxx. of vol. i.). Sharp appears much interested in pressing the claims of Baillie for this office. Patrick Gillespie had been deprived, as having been intruded in the time of the Usurpation. The warrant of the King's presentation to Baillie bears date Jan. 23, 1661. It is printed by Laing (*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 422).

[3] Sharp writing to Patrick Drummond (*ut supra*) says, 'Being pressed to preach to the Parliament upon Sunday last' [*i.e.* the first Sunday after the meeting of Parliament, Jan. 6, 1661], 'I gave them two sermons upon the last verse of the

You know me better then to expect that I should take so much of these calumnies (w^{ch} M^r Drūmond, it seems, wrote to you) as to say they make no impression in the least on me. Had M^r Drūmond been of my minde they should have been no more taken notice of then the barking of Dogs. It seems I have my large share of the scourge of tongues. If these be the fees of my office I could have spared them as well as I have done other fees, and those who gave no other might, if they had pleasd, have spared them also. I shall onely say I am not deceavd, for I never expected a better reward for making my self a slave to other mens busines as I have done. Yet if they were not countenanced from some whom I am sure I have indeavord to serv, they wold not make so much noyse.[1] But I will neither trouble you nor my self with saying more of this subject. I am very glade to heare of the Cōmissioner's[2] moderation, and shall expect to heare from you concerning ane Assembly when you there finde it seasonable. In the meane time it were not amiss that a papist[3] were not sufferd to bespatter the Ministrie of Scotland as y^r last Diurnall[4] does, of w^{ch} I am much ashamed. Remember me kindely to all my freinds of y^r coat, and beleev me to be unchangeably, Sir, yo^r most affectionat freind to serv you,

LAUDERDAILL.

[Addressed] *For my Reverend and worthie freind M^r James Sharp his Maj^{ties} Chaplaine in his kingdome of Scotland.*[5]

18th Psalm ["Great deliverance giveth he to his king; and sheweth mercy to his anointed, to David, and to his seed for evermore"].' The Lords of the Articles and the Commissioner pressed for the publication of the sermons. The line taken by the preacher is described in his letter to Drummond.

[1] Lauderdale, in a letter to R. Baillie, dated the same day, Jan. 24 (printed by Laing, *Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 421), refers to 'twentie sorts of lyes' vented of him, among them the 'fals calumnie' that he was 'the great agent for my Lord Argyll.'

[2] The Earl of Middleton.

[3] Tom Sydserff, the old Bishop of Galloway's son, whom Baillie (*Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 468) says 'some count . . . a profane atheistical papist.' He afterwards opened a theatre in the Canongate. A play of his had success in London.

[4] This was a weekly paper bearing the name *Mercurius Caledonius*. Laing (*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 468) says it ran only for ten numbers, ceasing on March 28, 1661.

[5] Sharp was made Chaplain to the King before leaving London in the autumn.

III

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL, 26 *August* 1661.

RIGHT REVEREND,[1]—Receave heir the Letter w^{ch} I was cōmanded to write. I send it open that you may peruse it, and then seale and deliver it. It is the same w^{ch} you saw, onely I was cōmanded to leave out that clause w^{ch} did insinuat that there wold be no further imposition, and to give reasons why the propositions of the ministers were misliked; so I did adde the clause w^{ch} you will finde betuixt these words, 'This was also misliked,' and these words, 'At last in a full meeting.' Also I was bid adde the last clause w^{ch} begins 'Give me leave to tell you any opposition'—; and thus it was liked and I cōmanded to send it away.[2]

I receaved y^{rs} since you went by S^{r} Da. Cunningham, and I acknowledg it a great testimonie of y^{r} continuous kindenes. This account receave of it—that it is a black fals calumnie wthout shadow of treuth; for I was so farre from keeping correspondence or wryting such Letters to Ireton as is alledged that I doe not remember that ever I saw him in my whole life until I saw him hanging on the gallowes at Tybourn.[3] And sure I am I never wrote line to him, nor receavd line from him since I was borne. But this is not the first lye hath been made of me, and will not, it seems, be the last. Alwayes I know not how to make use of the advertisement unles you will send me word who it was that gott the promise to see those pretended letters, that so I may drive it home, w^{ch} I shall long to doe. You must make my excuse to my freinds for not wryting at this time w^ch^ is not in my power, so I am Your

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[1] This letter is addressed to Sharp as 'Rector of the University of St. Andrews.' Through the kindness of Rev. Dr. Cunningham, Principal of the University of St. Andrews, I am able to give the following entries from the *Acta Rectorum* of the University (vol. ii. p. 137):—'Kalendis Martiis anno Dom. 1661, habitis Academiæ Comitiis electus est Dominus Rector reverendus et clarissimus vir Doctor Jacobus Sharpius S. Theologiæ in Collegio Mariano Professor.'

[2] I have not identified the letter here referred to.

[3] As is well known, Ireton's body, and the bodies of Cromwell and Bradshaw, were disinterred and hung at Tyburn on Jan. 30 (the anniversary of the King's death), 1661.

L.

[Addressed] *For the right reverend Doctor James Sharp, rector of the universitie of St. Andrewes.*

IV

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL, 9 of 8BER 1662.

MAY IT PLEASE YOR GR,—The apologies you was pleasd to make by the letter, wch my Lo. Bellenden[1] gave me, were to me very needles. For if I know any thing of my owne heart I put the least value on ceremonies among freinds, and am as little captious for the omission of them, as any man alive. Indeed I am not arrivd at that degree of selfdenyall as not to feel it when men tread on my heels, and to feel it yet better when my head is indeavord to be tread on. But to quarrell for a ceremonie, yea or to take it ill, is not my custome. Much more should I be to blame if I tooke such a punctilio ill from a freind who hath proved a freind when (I cannot say that I was stoned), but I was indeavored to be soundly banged with billets. This indeed is the onely *incapacitie* I finde my self under as yet. I am *incapable* of forgetting obligations at this time. And I can not deny, my Lord, but you had reason to be shy of wryting when letters were so frequently intercepted. Some of mine, I suspect, were peepd into, and that was one of the many wayes that I have been nibled at these 2 yeers past.[2] But I am beholding to those my very small freinds at last. They now play more above board, first, by ranting at me in publick for not wryting, and at last, by throwing billets at me.[1] Blessed be God, I doe serv a most gratious master. His eminent justice and my owne innocencie are a bulwark too strong for billets to breake through. But of this I will say no more, a little time will discover more, and I throw my self on my dearest masters justice.

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[1] William Bellenden, created Lord Bellenden, 10 June 1661, and made Treasurer-Depute the same year.

[2] Many illustrations are afforded by the correspondence of the period of the danger of letters being tampered with. To meet the danger, when a safe messenger was not to be had, we find the use of sympathetic ink in some cases, and more frequently the use of cypher. Of the latter an example will be found in the *Letters of Lady Margaret Kennedy to Lauderdale*, printed for the *Bannatyne Club* (1828), which though scarcely more than letters of friendship are largely interlarded with cypher.

Be pleasd to receave thretteen of the fourteen presentations w^ch^ you sent me. Yo^r^ brother will tell you why the other was stopt. His letter to my brother did occasion it. And I could not sooner get them past then yow will see by their date, for my Lord Bellenden was long by the way. Indeed I have kept them this week in expectation to heare if my last expres came safe, of w^ch^ yesterday I was advertised, and so I doe send away this.

Now give me leave to tell you some Scots news. Before S^r^ George M'Kenzie[2] went from this I heard that your Lordships of the clergie had written a letter to the King, that it was directed by my Lo: Newbrough unto Tarbet to be by him deliverd to his Maj^tie^ when none was by. This hath been confirmd to me since out of Scotland, and I am sure Tarbet told the King that he expected such a letter: and I am as sure it was not deliverd so long as he was heir. Indeed these

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[1] A long account of the 'billeting' will be found in Sir G. Mackenzie's *Memoirs, etc.*, (pp. 73-111). It was a device of Middleton (suggested by Tarbet) to exclude Lauderdale, Sir Robert Murray, and certain others from any offices of public trust. It was determined that every member of Parliament should name in a private, unsigned paper, or 'billet,' twelve persons to be excepted from offices of public trust. When the result was ascertained, the billets were to be burned. The King's contempt for this unworthy proceeding was marked emphatically: 'After unsealing and reading of these Acts, he threw the Act of Billeting into his cabinet, declaring that he would not follow their advice, nor would he disclose their secret' (Mackenzie, p. 77). The Act was rescinded and ordered to be erased from the records of Parliament. This scheme naturally made a deep impression upon Lauderdale. Next year when triumphant he could afford to joke upon the subject, and dates a letter to the King (Airy's *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 184), 'Halyrudehous, 10 Sepr. 1663, being the day after Saint Billeting's day.' The Archbishop put in a 'blank' billet. See Airy's *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 109.

[2] Of Tarbet, who, when in London, had been intrusted by the Scots Parliament with their request to the King for sending Lorn for trial to Edinburgh.

3 dayes I did not aske after it, nor meane I to aske more after it untill I heare from you.[1]

I shall onely conclude with the renewall of my thankes for all yo^r^ late kindenesses, and the assurance that I am with a true sence of them, My Lord, yo^r^ Gr.^s^ most humble servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

I heare S^r^ And. Ramsay is chosen Lord Provest. Sure I am he cannot be so bad to me as the last[2] was, of whom I did deserv better. But because you broght S^r^ Andrew to me, I shall from you desire to know whether I may expect him to be my freind or not.

[Addressed] *For my Lord Archbishop of St Andrews.*

V

LAUDERDALE AND ROTHES TO SHARP

HALYRUDEHOUS, 20 OCT^R^, at noone [1663].

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R^ GRACE,[3]—Henry M'Kie[4] is at last now returned, and we have stayed this yo^r^ servant even to the endangering the loosing of the tyde, to let yo^r^ Gr. know that by all we finde by our letters, or can learne from him, His Maj^tie^ is exceeding well satisfyed. But alas he was under great greiff for the Queen's heavie sicknes[1] when he dispatched this bearer w^ch^ made our letters short even from Ro. Moray,[2] and the first of us onely had 2 lines under his owne hand.

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[1] Lauderdale was suffering from a temporary discredit with the King. A passage in Mackenzie's *Memoirs, etc.*, p. 73, illustrates the language of the letter: 'Now Lauderdale was brought so low that his Majestie would close the door upon him when he called in Tarbet.'

[2] Robert Murray had been Lord Provost for 1660 and 1661. Ramsay succeeded, and continued as Lord Provost for nearly twelve years. I suspect Lauderdale is here pointing to some reluctance of Murray's to supply money to Lauderdale from the city. For Ramsay's compliance see Mackenzie (*Memoirs*, p. 246). Murray was knighted shortly after he had been installed in office by the Chancellor (Lord Glencairn) acting under a commission from the King. See *Lamont's Diary*, p. 160. Sir Robert Murray, of Cameron, Lord Provost, was Commissioner in Parliament 1661-63. See Foster's *Members of Parliament, Scotland.*

[3] This letter is written by the hand of Lauderdale, and signed by Rothes, whose name appears before that of Lauderdale.

[4] Mackie appears several times in the letters printed by Mr. Airy, as a messenger carrying despatches between the Court and Scotland.

We finde the Chancellar's[3] pacquet w^ch^ we stopt gave his Maj^tie^ offence. We meane his sending in that manner.

All our other news is, his Maj^tie^ hath restored the now Earle of Argyll to that title (but not to be a Marquis) with a small competencie to him, and the rest of the Estate to Creditors.[4]

We meane, God willing, to be at Kelso on thursday and so onwards, but w^th^ impatience till yo^r^ Gr. come, and the rather that we heare in Ed^r^ we are all 3 to be accused. Yet being united we feare no calumnies[?]. Hast you for God's sake,[5] and so without [a word or two are here torn away].—We are most sincerely, My Lord, Yo^{r} Graces most faithfull and humble servants,

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[1] The Queen's death was expected. She was suffering from 'the spotted fever.' The king attended at her bedside, and the French Ambassador confirms the report which Pepys (*Diary*, 19th Oct.) records : 'The King they all say is most fondly disconsolate for her, and weeps by her, which makes her weep.'

[2] Sir Robert Murray, Lauderdale's constant correspondent, one of the best and most high-principled men of that unhappy and distracted period. He was an ardent student in natural and experimental science, and is remembered for his connection with the founding of the Royal Society, of which he was the first President. He shared in the King's studies in chemistry, and his letters are sometimes dated from the King's Laboratory. Burnet (*History*, vol. i. p. 35) says 'He was the most universally beloved, and esteemed by men of all sides and sorts of any man I have ever known in my whole life.' It is very interesting to learn from Burnet (vol. i. p. 138) that Sir Robert had been designed by her father to be husband to Elizabeth Murray, afterwards Duchess of Lauderdale. She subsequently, according to Burnet, brought about the breach between Lauderdale and Murray. He died in 1673.

[3] Glencairn.

[4] The vicissitudes of Lorn's fortune at this time were sudden. He was sentenced to death for treason on August 26th, 1662, liberated from Edinburgh Castle in June 1663, and restored to his grandfather's title of Earl in October of that year ; 'and because his father, the Marquis, died under a great burden of debt, it was ordained that the Lord Lorn should have fifteen thousand pounds per annum paid to him out of the estate, and the rest of the estate was ordered to go to the payment of the debts and creditors' (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 380). Lauderdale had a chief hand in Lorn's restoration. He writes to Lauderdale from Lauderdale's house at Highgate a few days before the date of this letter.

[5] Sharp did not at once respond to this summons. We find him presiding at the Diocesan Synod of St. Andrews on October 27th, when measures were taken for restraining the 'profanation of the Sabbath.' He appears to have gone up to London in December. If any accusation were made at Court against the three, it proved absolutely futile.

ROTHES.
LAUDERDAILL.

[Addressed] *For My Lord Archb^{p} of S^{t} Andrews his Grace.*

VI

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL, 4 *Feb^{ry}* 166¾.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^{R} GR.—When I tell you that since you parted[1] I have not written a word into Scotland, I hope you will pardon my not wryting sooner to yo^{r} Gr. Yet this shall, I hope, come time enough to bid you welcome home, wh^{ch} is all my busines at this time, for I hope I need not tell you when I shall receave any of your cōmands they shall receave ready obedience. I need not put you in minde how advantageous I conceave it wold be for the good of the Church if the Bp of Ed^{r} were provided with Orkney, if it can be with his good liking.[2] You are the onely person can order that matter, and till I heare from you I shall say no more. Bellenden parted this morning, and I hope my Lord Th^{r} shalbe there before him, for the King does promise to dispatch him within 3 dayes. I shall long to heare of yo^{r} safe arrivall, and ever be, my Lord, Yo^{r} Gr^{s} most humble servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

I have recōmended my Lo. Glasgow[3] to my Lord Hamilton particularly, and told him that both you and he did him good offices against what was said of him. Yo^{r} presentations shall come. My service to my Lord of Glasgow.

[Addressed] *For my Lord Archbp of St. Andrews, his Grace.*

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[1] Sharp had gone up to London at the end of December 1663 (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 5); and, as it would seem, made but a short stay at Court.

[2] I do not know why Lauderdale desired to get rid of Wishart from Edinburgh. At any rate the proposal, if ever made, was not 'to his good liking,' for he remained in the see of Edinburgh till his death in 1671, after having distinguished himself by befriending the prisoners from Rullion Green.

[3] That is the new Archbishop of Glasgow, Alexander Burnet, recently translated from Aberdeen.

VII

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL, 20 *May* 1664.

MAY IT PLEASE YOR GR.,—I am so confident of yor justice and goodnes that I am perswaded the confession of my guilt in not wryting for too many weeks will obtaine my pardon. And therfor I shall not trouble yor Gr. wth apologies; but if I could be guilty of any reall omission of duety to you I should not pardon myself.[1] This much I may say for my excuse, that I wrote nothing of importance to Lo. Thr,[2] but I constantly desired it might serv you both. And on monday I sent him ane Index of heads upon wch he might examine my Lo. Tweeddale[3] (to be also cõmunicated to yor Gr.), wch will well serv for one houre's discourse, and better than many Letters.

Now give me leave to hint at answers[4] to what you was pleasd to write to me. I shall not trouble yor Gr. with expressions of thankfullnes for all yor kindenes, and for the good account you have givẽ to my Lo. of Canterburie of me and of my freinds. For you and I are, I hope, past compliments. Nor shall I say much to vindicat my self from giving the least countenance to those pittifull lyes, wh^{ch} you say are spred of his $Maj^{tie's}$ not being reall in the matters of the Church.[1] You know me better then to thinke me capable of so much unworthines as to give the least occasion to so gross a belying of my Master. But, if you thinke it worth the while, I am ready to write to any bodie you please, and to shew how gross a lye it is.

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[1] Sharp had returned from London in February with a grant of precedence of all the nobility as Primate. It was merely a renewal of the grant made to Archbishop Spottiswoode by Charles I., and is such a precedence as is now possessed in England by the Archbishop of Canterbury. All the same, it did not tend to enhance his favour among the Scottish peers. Sharp had had a letter from Lauderdale in April (see O. Airy's *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 194). It is plain the correspondence at this time was not very frequent, for Sharp, after returning many thanks, remarks, 'an apology from your Lop. could not be expected by me who know your divertions and can never doubt of your Lop.'s reall respects.'

[2] The Earl of Rothes.

[3] Tweeddale was at this time restored to the king's favour, but it would seem that Sharp, not unnaturally, suspected him. I cannot further explain the examination referred to. Wodrow is silent; and Sir George Mackenzie's *Memoirs* have here a *lacuna*.

[4] This letter is certainly in reply to Sharp's letter (April 21) printed in the *Lauderdale Papers* (vol. i. p. 194), where we read, 'It is most satisfying to me that my Lo. Canterbury and your Lop. keep kindnes and freedom; it is sure my concerne to further it what I can. I wrot once to him since I came from London.' Sheldon was Archbishop of Canterbury.

As for Staires I am very glade to finde by yo^{r} last letter what I was ever sure off, that you gave no credit to that base calumnie. No, my Lord, I will never countenance, let be indeavor, that any man be dispensed with in the Declaration. I doe confess I was earnest he should take it and continue, and he will doe so. This I thinke good service, for there are not too many very able men in the Session. I could say more if I were with you of my reason to keep him in upon good terms, wh^{ch} is not fitt to write.[2] I was very glade that my freinds doe so well in the Cōmission. And as I have given large thankes to my brother and Renton[3] for it, so you will finde Tweeddale forward and reall for the Church both for his owne sake and mine.[4] The like I will assuredly undertake for my

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[1] Sharp in his letter writes 'that lye of [*i.e.* concerning] the king's reall care of the Church is vented in Sir John Chiesley's name, and of one of another sex in the west' (p. 196). Chiesley had been arrested in 1660, and afterwards liberated. His ecclesiastical proclivities may be sufficiently indicated by the fact that Wodrow (vol. i. p. 78) describes him as a man 'of shining piety.'

[2] The reference is to Sir James Dalrymple of Stair. Sharp, in the letter to which this is a reply, writes: 'We are now told that Stair is sent for to be dispensed with as to the taking the declaration, and that the eyes of our adversaries are much upon him, but I think he is more wise than to putt himself into a singular condition.' The Declaration was that enjoined by Act of Parliament 'to be signed by all persons in public trust,' which declared that it was unlawful to take up arms against the king or those commissionated by him, and that the National Covenant, as it was sworn and explained in the year 1638, and the Solemn League and Covenant, 'were and are in themselves unlawful oaths,' etc. At the end of 1663 and beginning of 1664, this Declaration was more strictly enforced. In December 1663 Stair refused to sign, 'but in a little time my Lord Stair repented and signed it' (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 345). But the king allowed Stair to sign the Declaration with an explanation. See Mr. Æ. J. G. Mackay's *Memoir of Sir J. Dalrymple*, pp. 77-79. This is a strong testimony to the appreciation of the abilities of Lord Stair.

[3] I suppose this was Sir John Hume of Renton, Justice-Clerk, whom Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 38) describes as 'one of the greatest zealots for the Prelates in Scotland.'

[4] Tweeddale's eldest son was married to Lauderdale's only child.

Lo. Argyll,[1] and he shall make it good when you see him. But I scruple a little to write to the Cōmission, seing it wold seem like a doubting of their care in that w^ch^ they oght to know to be their duety. Yet if you will againe desire it, I shall scruple it no more.[2]

The ArchBishop of Glasgow did againe by a late Letter put me in minde of the warrand against Bps receaving more then they served ffor, and therfor I send you heir inclosed the true copie of the Late K^s^ warrant, and one from our Master to the same purpose. Yo^r^ Gr. may open it, and if you desire it fuller, Let me know it, and it shalbe mended.[3]

The M^r^ of Sinclair[4] desired a gift of patronage of the 2^d^ minister of Dysert as he hath of the first. I thoght it reasonable, and past it, but with this expres condition, That I was to send it M. W. Sharpe, that if yo^r^ Gr. have any exception to it that it may not be deliverd to him. Thus you see I will not neglect yo^r^ interest. As for our Advocat he is not in my opinion so wise as he should be.[5] After his solemne accusation signed His Maj^{tie} was gratiously pleasd to give him leave to thinke of it before he should stand to it, and now he gives no positive answer. Alwayes the King hath answerd the accuser that he gives him leave to prosecute it, and is resolved to appoint Judges, and will send him home to answer. These last 4 Lines were written 21 May, for I stopt the bearer till the King had determined.—I am most really Yo^{r} Gr^{s} most humble servant, L.

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[1] Sharp, in the letter to which this is a reply, seems a little doubtful about the Earl of Argyll. He writes: 'My Lord of Argyll may prove a very significant ruling Elder to Glasgow in all that provence.'

[2] Sharp had written, 'I wish we had cause to say that all here [on the Commission] who profess to be convinced that it is high tym to guard against shism were carefull to suppress it.'

[3] This paragraph has been a puzzle to me. After careful inquiry, I am disposed to believe that it refers to the king's disallowing a practice by which an incoming bishop paid a year's revenue to the executors of his predecessor, together with a sum of money in payment of sums expended by his predecessor on the maintenance of the episcopal residence. The draft of the warrant of Charles I. will be found in *The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royall Letters*, edited by Dr. Rogers (vol. ii. p. 852), and is dated May 1635. It was ordered, *ad futuram rei memoriam*, to be recorded in the sederunt-book of the Session. After declaring that the custom of claiming Annats, etc., was not warranted by law, it proceeds: 'the executers of the deceissed have action onlie for [so] much of that yeires rent and benefite wherin the late bischope does die *as in a just proportion is due for the tyme of his service therin*, ffor doeing whairof these presents shalbe your warrand.' The executors of Archbishop Fairfoul had probably been making claims upon Burnet, who had recently succeeded to the see.

[4] The Master of Sinclair (?). The word transcribed Sinclair is almost illegible. Scott's *Fasti* does not record any vacancy in the second charge of Dysart at this date.

[5] This was Sir John Fletcher. In Sharp's letter of April 21 he had written: 'One thing we find exceedingly prejudiciall to us, the want of the King's Advocat to advice and assist us in the service of the Commission, and other

[Without address.]

VIII

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL, 28 *July* 1664.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^{R} GR.—Yesterday I had yo^{rs} of the 21, and am very sorie still to finde so great cause of complaint,[1] and so much the more sorie that I know not which way to apply any remedie untill yo^{r} Gr. be pleasd to propose it. That was the reason of my wryting so earnestly y^{e} 13 of this moneth. For till I know more particularly the causes of the disease, with those remedies w^{ch} yo^{r} Grace thinkes still easie, I know neither what to say or doe. This I can assure you, assoone as you are pleasd either to bring the propositions or to send them, no sooner shall they come to my knowledg, but you shall be served wth all the care and diligence possible for Yo^{r} Gr^{s} most humble and faithfull servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

These 2 inclosed were sent this morning to my chamber by

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concernes of the Church, against the disturbers of the peace of it; I beseech your Lop. to advert to this in tym, else the King's service and the Churche's will be at a great loss.' Fletcher, says Wodrow (vol. i. p. 418), was 'a creature of Middleton.' On Middleton's fall he had gone up to Court, at the end of 1663, with the hope of obtaining permission to retain his post. He was libelled for bribery, partiality, and malversation in his office; and Mr. Patrick Oliphant, advocate, was ordered (14 July 1664) by the king to prosecute him in Edinburgh before the Council. The prosecution was stopped; but Sir John was forced to demit office, and Sir John Nisbet appointed to succeed him. About a year seems to have elapsed without an acting Lord Advocate.

[1] The disturbed state of the country at this time is well illustrated by the letters in Airy's *Lauderdale Papers* (vol. i. pp. 194-200), and in Wodrow.

my Lo. Archbishop his Grace.[1] The great pacquet was sent by Honest S^r^ W^m^ Davidson, who is in towne.

[Addressed] *For My Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, his Grace.*

IX

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

HIGHGATE,[2] 30 *Jan^y^* 1666.

MAY IT PLEASE YOR GR.,—On saterday I receaved yo^rs^ w^th^ out date in answer to mine of the 6. I am satisfyed with the addition to the instruction, and shall mend it accordingly in my register.

What I wrote of yo^r^ Gr. attesting Bps presentations was, it seems, my mistake. But this I am sure shall be no mistake. No Bp shall be offered by me to any vacancie but whom yo^r^ Gr. shall first recōmend. You have said as much to my Lord Argyll as is necessarie. You and I both cannot help the raysing of surmises.

I doe most humbly thanke yo^r^ Gr. for not giving a dispensation[3] to marrie my niece[4] without my consent. It should seem they thinke my consent not necessarie, but they will finde it otherwise. You are the first that gave me notice of any such designe; and as I must againe heartily thank yo^r^ Gr. for that favor, so I must say it passes my patience that a busines of that nature should goe so farr w^th^out once asking my opinion, Especially since I have put my niece expressly into my tailzie. But I shall quickly put any out of my intaile assoone as they dispose themself without my consent. My kindenes to my poore nephew now with God[1] might have deservd more respect from his mother. And if they proceed to neglect me, I know what I am to doe next. I shall conclude with beseeching yo^r^ Gr. not to take heed to what idle clatters are vented, and to beleev that before I take any impression I shall freely tell it you. The same favor and freedome I beg from you.—I am, my Lord, Yo^r^ Gr^s^ most humble servant,

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[1] Sheldon, whose deep interest in the Scottish Church is testified to by the correspondence with Scottish prelates preserved in the Bodleian Library.

[2] Lauderdale's house at Highgate came to him through his first marriage. It belonged to the Countess at the date of this letter, and for her life. See Airy's *Lauderdale Papers* (vol. ii. p. 203) for an interesting letter from the Countess to Lauderdale about the house, the upper rooms of which were in danger of coming down from the weight of Lauderdale's books. The house was little changed till quite lately.

[3] Probably a dispensation for omitting the proclaiming of banns, with a view to secrecy, had been applied for to the bishop of the diocese. *Lamont's Diary* supplies several examples of such dispensations (*e.g.* July 1666; Dec. 8, 1666; June 13, 1669; Jan. 28, 1670; March 8, 1670).

[4] This refers probably to Sophia, daughter of Lauderdale's second brother, Robert Maitland, who had married Margaret, only daughter of John Lundin, of Lundin, in Fife. Robert like his elder brother was taken prisoner after the battle of Worcester, and was some years a prisoner of Cromwell's. He died in 1658. His eldest son died unmarried in 1664, and Sophia became heiress of Lundin. I have not discovered who was the aspirant to her hand at this time. In 1670 she married John Drummond, second son of the Earl of Perth. He was created Earl of Melfort in 1686.

LAUDERDALE.

[Addressed] *For my Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews his Grace.*

X

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL, 2 *of October* 1667.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,[2]—Together with yours of the 16th of September I received the honour of one signed by eleven of my Lords of the Clergie,[3] and because I think there will be no meeting of your Order When this comes to Edenburgh I take the boldnes to address my Answere unto your Grace to be by you communicated as you think fit.

In the first place I crave leave to returne my humble thanks for those very Civill expressions of my endeavours to serve the

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[1] If I am right in my conjecture as to the niece referred to, this would refer to her brother, the eldest son of the Lundin family, who had died in his twenty-first year, some fourteen months previous to this.

[2] This letter is written by a secretary, only the address, date, and subscription being in Lauderdale's hand.

[3] The letter of the Bishops to which this is a reply is printed by O. Airy (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. ii. p. 59). It is dated Edinburgh, 16 Sept. 667, and signed by 'S^t^ Andrews, Alex. Glascuen, Geo. Edinburgen, Henr. Dunkeld, Pat. Bp. of Aberdeen, Da. Brechinen, Will. Lismoren, Ja. Gallovidien, Alexan. Morauiens, R. Sodoren, R. Dunblane.'

King in his Commands relating to the Church and any of your Lo^{ps} when I had the honor to see you. Those were but my Dutie, and deserves non of the thanks you were pleased to express. It hath constantly been my Study since the King honoured me with this Imployment, and since he and his Parliament restored the Church to the Government in which now it is established, to serve his Ma^{tie} faithfullie in every thing, especially in what related to the Church as now it is setled by Law. This hath been and is both my dutie, my Interest, and my Inclination. And whatever Jealousies[1] have been or shall be intertained of me to the Contrarie of this profession, did, and will still injure Truth, and the Intertainers of those very ill grounded Jealousies, as much as me. In the next place as I did with much satisfaction read your firme Resolutions to direct all your Actions and administrations for the glory of God, the honour and greatnes of the King, the peace of the Church and Kingdome, with the mantainance of Episcopall Government in its Authoritie allowed by the Lawes, So it shall be constantly my endeavour by all my Actions to Confirme you more and more in that Confidence you express of my hearty Concurrence in pursuance of those ends. And accordinglie I rest confident of that freindship you are pleased to assure to me. As to the Commands I received to endeavour that his Ma^{tie} might recommend the Peace of the Church, as well as that of the Kingdome, I referre you to his Ma^{ties} Letter from Bagshott, wherein he was pleased to recall my Lord Commissioners Commission (which was dispatched before I received your Letter).[2] As also to his Ma^{ties} Letter dated this day in answere to the proposalls of the Privie Councill for the Peace of the Kingdome.[3] In the last place pardone me to make use of that freedome which you are pleased to allow me and to tender my Private opinion with submission to your better Judgments. The King commands like a King the due observing of the Laws, and the punishment of wilfull Contemners and diss-obeyers of the same. It is the duty of his Officers to doe Justice in obedience to those Commands. But in my humble opinion it will not be unfit for your L^{ops} of the Clergie to endeavor to moderate Severities as much as may Consist with the Peace and order of the Church, That as wilfull opposers and Contemners must be severlie punished, So peaceable dissenters may be endeavoured to be reclamed and that they may have just Cause to thank the Bps. for any Indulgence they meet with, To the end the People may more and more be gained to a Love to your Order and Persons.[1] Pardon this boldnes, and beleeve me to be all my Lords the Bishops, and particularlie to your Grace, My Lord, Yo^{r} most faithfull and humble servant,

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[1] *Jealousies*, that is 'suspicions.'

[2] For the recalling of Rothes's commission, see Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 82).

[3] The King's letter of October 1st is given by Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 91), in it occurs —'We do again repeat what we seriously recommended by our last letter from Whitehall, concerning countenancing our Archbishops and Bishops, and all the orthodox clergy. And as we have here signified our pleasure about your proposals for the quiet of the Kingdom, so we are no less solicitous for the peace and quiet of the Church, recommending to you, that all prudent and effectual course may be pursued for the peace and quiet of the Church, for obedience to the good laws made thereanent, and for punishing the contemners and disobeyers of the same.'

LAUDERDAILL.

[Addressed] *For his Grace My Lord Archbishop of S^{t} Andrews Primat and Metrapolitan of all Scotland.*

XI

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

HIGHGATE, 18 *July* 1668.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^{R} GR.,—No freind you have is more concerned in God's mercie in preserving yo^{r} Gr. from that murdering villaine who shot at you, nor more troubled for so infamous ane action to have been attempted in Ed^{r}, and for the wounds of my Lo. B. of Orkney.[2] But it seems there is a murthering influence abroad, for that same week a villaine wounded my Lo. Generall's porter, and being taken he said he intended to have murtherd the King and D. of Albermarle. I have written to my Lo. Provost[1] how well satisfyed the King is with his diligence upon this occasion: and I have desired my Lo. Tweeddale to set a price also on the villaine's head.[2] I hope all who love the King will shew their zeal on this occasion.—I am, my Lord, Yo^r^ Gr^s^ most humble servant,

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[1] These wise counsels may have been written in part to prepare Sharp for the 'Proclamation of Pardon and Indemnity' for the Pentland rising, which was signed by the king on Oct. 1, the day before this letter was penned.

[2] James Mitchell's attempt on the life of Sharp, here referred to, was made on Saturday, 10th July. The pistol was loaded with five balls (*Privy Council Records*), and the Bishop of Orkney, Dr. Andrew Honeyman, received the charge in his left arm, which was broken above the wrist. His health was subsequently much impaired, and Burnet mentions that they were forced to open his arm every year 'for exfoliation' (*History of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 155, edit. 1724).

LAUDERDAILL.

[Addressed] *For my Lord Archbp of St. Andrews his Grace.*

XII

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP.

WHITEHALL, 26 *March* 1670.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R^ GR.,—The croud of busines forces me to write little, for w^ch^ I must beg yo^rs^ and all my freinds' pardon.

Yo^r^ kinde letter of the 8th was most welcome, but I am sorie to finde that to yo^r^ observation our disaffected partie resolve to creat trouble and state themselfs in a way of separation.[3] The excellent posture of the King's affaires heir, the happy unison betwixt the King and both Houses, and the vanity of the hopes of a new Parl^t^ (w^ch^ now none are so foolish as to dream of) should have made them more wise if not more dewtifull.

Heir we are farr from incouraging Conventicles. A good bill against them is past the Cōmons, and the King hath dayly assisted and countenanced it in the House of Peers, w^ch^ will surely pass.[4] And on sunday last his Maj^tie^ sent and tooke Manton[5] at a Conventicle in his house and he is cōmitted to the Gatehouse. More will be in a few dayes. If our disaffected will continue mad we must put a stout hart to a stay brea, wherein all shall be done in the power of, my Lord, Yo^r^ Gr^s^ most humble and affectionat servant, LAUDERDAILL.

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[1] Sir Andrew Ramsay.

[2] The Privy Council had already (July 13) offered 5000 merks.

[3] The state of things in Scotland at this date is illustrated by the Letters of Thomas Hay of March 1 and Tweeddale of March 3 (O. Airy, vol. ii. pp. 177 and 179).

[4] This was the *second* Conventicle Act. This Act mitigated the penalties on hearers present at conventicles, but was more severe in other of its provisions.

[5] Dr. Thomas Manton (1620-1677). He had been one of the leading divines appointed to take part in the Savoy Conference. He was imprisoned for refusing to take the 'Oxford oath,' that 'it is not lawful, on any pretence whatever,

[Addressed] *For my Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews his Grace.*

XIII

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL, 26 *Jan^ry^* 1671.

MAY IT PLEAS YO^R^ GR,—I have receavd the presentation, and doe heir returne it dispatched. That damnable traitorous book [1] I also receavd, and have read all that was marked and more.

Yow have great reason to say no good is to be expected to Bishops or orthodox ministers from a partie w^ch^ ownes such principles. I adde if that partie prevaile, the King, Monarchie, and all loyall men are utterly destroyed. By letters from Ed^r^ I finde that the unsatisfyed preachers are unsatisfyed still, and it is no news. I expected no peace nor unity from them. They are peevish and unsatisfyable ; [2] and I have written to my Lord Chancellor, E. Tweeddale and E. Kincardin, that I meane to trouble my head no more with them. And if we all doe our dueties, they shall be the first that shall repent it. By god's grace nothing shalbe wanting on my part for the good of the Church as it is by law established, and to witnes that I am, My Lord, Yo^r^ Gr.^s^ most humble servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

[Addressed] *For my Lord Archbp of St. Andrews his Grace.*

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to take up arms against the King.' His imprisonment was scarcely more than nominal; he was handsomely treated by Lady Broughton, keeper of the Gatehouse, and allowed to receive his friends, and to visit friends outside the prison. See Harris's *Memoir* prefixed to Manton's *Complete Works* (vol. i. p. xix, edit. 1870).

[1] Perhaps the anonymous *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, printed, or professing to be printed, in Holland, which was condemned as seditious by the Privy Council upon January 12 (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 6). The book was the work of James Stewart (afterwards Sir James) of Goodtrees.

[2] Probably has reference to the failure of the 'indulgence' to bring about peace.

XIV

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL, 29 *August* 1671.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R^ GRACE,—I hope you will not mistake my slow answering yo^r^ Letter, when you consider that I have been drinking waters, purging, and sufficiently taken up when I am heir. Much less I am sure will you doubt my concern for the service of the Church and of yo^r^ order, of w^ch^ my actions have, and by God's grace shall, as long as I live, give reall testimonies. As to the vacancies I am most cleirly of yo^r^ minde. They oght on many accounts be filled; and you may be assured nothing wilbe done w^th^out yo^r^ advice. Yo^r^ Gr. knowes how and why Glasgow[1] and Dunblane[2] are not formally filled. As for the Iles,[1] when I was in Scotland you desired it might vake; and when I was desired St. Leonards[2] might have the past vacancie, I wold doe nothing till I heard from you.

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[1] Keith (as was pointed out by Grub in his *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 234) seems to be mistaken in the following account of the immediate cause of Archbishop Burnet's surrender of the See of Glasgow. 'After the defeat of the rebels at Pentland, anno 1666, Archbishop Burnet shewed great inclination to have those people used with lenity; and when their affair came before the Privy Council, he laboured to get their lives spared, and went so far as to transmit an account of the proceedings of the Council against the captive rebels to the English Secretary, Sir Henry Bennet (afterwards Earl of Arlington) to be communicated to the King. This the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Lauderdale took to be such a piece of indignity done to his character, who was then Secretary for Scotland, that he threatened the Archbishop with a pursuit of high reason for revealing the King's secrets, unless he would make a cession of his office, to which this Prelate yielded out of fear, and surrendered the office in the month of December [24th] the year 1669' (*Catalogue*, p. 266). The real cause of the attack on Burnet was his joining with the Synod of Glasgow in remonstrating against the assumed power of the King to sanction the ministrations of ministers still under *ecclesiastical* censure. O. Airy (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. ii. appendix pp. lxiv-lxix) has printed from Burnet's correspondence with Archbishop Sheldon several documents illustrative of the situation. See also Mackenzie and Wodrow. Burnet's was the first protest on the part of the Episcopal clergy against the abuse of the Royal supremacy. This abuse roused even Archbishop Sharp's opposition. He 'had in the first sermon preached to this Parliament, and upon the very next Sabbath after that [the Archbishop of] Glasgow was confined, stated three pretenders to supremacy,—the Pope, the King, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterians, and had, in a long discourse, disproved all their several pretences. For which it was thought he had been turned off if the Archbishop of Glasgow had not suffered so lately' (Mackenzie, *Memoirs*, p. 159). The See of Glasgow was not immediately filled, but Leighton administered it as commendator.

[2] Strictly speaking Dunblane was not vacant, but Leighton was only too

Now Edr is voyd,[3] and it is the most important Bishoprick in Scotland. By yor brother I desired that yr Gr. wold have yor thoghts on it. Now I hope to heare from you. I can say nothing as to the man, but in generall I thinke it not fitt at all that any presbitir should be at first dash prefer'd to Edr. It wold looke like ane injurie to the rest of the Bishops. Be pleasd therfor to let me know what Bp you thinke fittest for Edr and whom you wold have for that vacancie. Let me also have a copie of a patent for Edr and that other, and you shall see it shall not lye long at my Doore. If there be a formall Chapter I think it should be by *congé d'élire*.[4] In this also let me have yor speedy direction. It hath pleased his Majtie to declare his pleasure that I goe to Scotland nixt Spring. Till then I know nothing to be done but that the Councell doe indeavor by all meanes to keep the countrey orderly and peaceable, and if it please God that I come thither in the spring, nothing in my power shalbe wanting for the good of the Bps and the Church.

Now give me leave to recõmend one particular to you in wch the Countes of Cassillis hath written earnestly to me. And that is the removall of Jaffrey,[5] the minister of May-

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anxious to resign the see. His election to Glasgow was on 27 Oct. 1671 (Keith, *Catalogue*, p. 267). On Nov. 23, 1671, Sharp writing to Lauderdale says, I 'shall obey the command for *translation*, though I differ from the new Archbishop as to his proposals for accommodation' (O. Airy *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. ii. p. 215).

[1] R. Wallace (consecrated 1661) died 16 May, 1669. The see does not appear to have been filled till 1677.

[2] St. Leonards. I do not know who is meant. Perhaps the minister of St. Leonards Parish, St. Andrews.

[3] Through the death of George Wishart. Notwithstanding the views expressed by Lauderdale in favour of one already a bishop being translated to Edinburgh, Alexander Young, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, was advanced to that see at the end of this year. The best account of Bishop Wishart will be found in the Introduction to Murdoch and Simpson's *Deeds of Montrose*, 1893.

[4] See note [5], p. 277, with the form of the *congé d'élire*.

[5] The violence with which the clergy of the Established Church were treated in the western shires caused the issue by the Privy Council (7 April 1670) of a

bole. I have neir these twelv moneths heard ill caracters of him, and I finde my Lady most earnest to be rid of him. She is a worthie Lady. The man I heare is troublesome, and is to be before the Councell at this time. I beseech you, therfor, let him be removed from Maybole, w^ch^ shall much oblige, My Lord, yo^r^ most humble servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

[Addressed] *For my Lord Archbp of St. Andrews his Grace.*

XV

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

HAM, 3 *Octob.* 1671.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R^ GR.,—I did so thinke of the affaire of w^ch^ I wrote to you on Saterday that I forgott one of too much consequence to have been forgott. The busines is this. When the last capitulation was made for my Lo. Geo. Douglas regiment,[1] I tooke speciall care that provision should be for a minister. Now a great recrute is sent, and it is pittie they should want one. Yesterday I receavd a letter from

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Commission. The Earls of Dumfries and Dundonald acting as a committee of the Commission investigated the Maybole business. Jaffray the clergyman of Maybole declared that he had been shot at, and that his life had been saved by the pistol bullet lodging in a book, which he was carrying under his coat. Subsequently the hostile parishioners accused him of profane swearing, fighting, and drunkenness before a committee of clergy appointed by Leighton. The committee by a majority would acquit him, but Leighton forbade his exercising his ministry in that parish. So Lady Cassilis had her will. See Wodrow (Book II. ch. x.).

[1] This regiment, now the *Royal Scots*, 'the only corps in the British service which can boast of an unbroken regimental pedigree from a period anterior to the Restoration, is the true representative of that Scots Regiment which, under the command of Sir John Hepburn, entered the service of France in 1634' (*Old Scottish Regimental Colours*, p. 14). The Lord George Douglas was the second son of the first Marquis, and uncle to the second Marquis (who is referred to in Letter XXIX.). His brothers, Lord James and Lord Angus, had previously commanded the regiment in succession (see Fraser's *The Douglas Book*, vol. ii. p. 431 *sq.*). The regiment, mustering 800 men, landed at Rye in Sussex, June 12, 1666, and, in a communication from the King to the Privy Council, dated Sept. 12th of the same year, we read, 'Whereas the Scottish Regiment under the command of George Lord Douglas did in obedience to our orders come over readily and cheerfully to our service, we are resolved to entertain and recruit the same.' The regiment returned to France in 1668.

Lieut.-Col. Monro[1] (who is ane honest man and a good Protestant); he tells me my Lord George will make him very welcome—that he shall be assured of a croune per diem well payed, and I doubt not but the protestant Officers will consider him better both as to his dyet and otherwise. Now I doe beseech yo^{r} Gr. finde out some prettie yong man of a good Life and well versed in the controversies, and ordaine him for that service. It wilbe a good beginning for a yong man, it may fitt him for better, and it is a great charity to provide for so many poore Scots Protestants. Assoone as you can, write me hopes of this that I may informe the Lieutenant-Colonell. —I am, My Lord, Yo^{r} Gr^{s} most humble servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

[Addressed] *For my Lord Archbp of St. Andrews his Grace.*

XVI

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WINDSOR,[2] 13*th* *June* 1674.

MY LORD,—I have not been able to write to yo^{r} Grace since I received your letter, but I hope the Dispatches w^{ch} the King sent downe by my Brother[3] will please you better then any thing that I could have written; seing you will see that notwithstanding of all the lies with w^{ch} the Faction[4] was intertained in Scotland, His Maj^{tie} has made it appear to all the Kingdome that he will not countenance such who did so openly attempt against his authority, and against the Articles, which is one of the best flowries in his Crowne of Scotland.[1]

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[1] In 1671 (the year of this letter) the Douglas Regiment was ordered to be made up of twenty-four companies, and Alexander Monro, Lieutenant-Colonel, was given instructions about recruiting in Scotland. The regiment being now in France, where the soldiers might be exposed to the dangers of proselytism, will explain why Lauderdale desired that the new chaplain should be 'well versed in the controversies.' Dr. Magill, of the Coldstream Guards, who has investigated the point for me has not found the name of the 'prettie yong man,' if indeed Sharp was able to comply with Lauderdale's request, but a predecessor, David Whitford, appears as chaplain, July 16, 1666 (see the *English Army Lists and Commission Registers*, 1661-1714, 1892). In 1675 Lord George was created Earl of Dumbarton, and in 1678 the regiment, now known as 'Dumbarton's Regiment,' was ordered to quit the service of France. The subsequent history of this distinguished regiment is beyond our scope.

[2] Written by a secretary, subscribed by Lauderdale.

[3] Hatton.

[4] A name applied to the Duke of Hamilton and others opposed to Lauderdale.

You will also have seen how that after the setling of the new Comission of Council,[2] his first cōmands [3] were to suppresse those scandalous and seditious Conventicles, which were (I am sure) too much countenanced by some whose duty should have obleidged them to suppresse them. And I hope the Privy Council as now it is constitute will vigorously obey the Kings cōmands and not make Remonstrances against them, nor neglect the Kings Orders, whch are so much in persuance of the Law, and so necessary for the Peace and honor of the Kingdome. Great indeavors have been used of late to allarume all England with the feares of a present Rebellion in Scotland, but I hope when those in authority shall doe their Duty, those Seditious practises will quickly evanish, and whoever wil be slack in that Duty, the King will let him know how much he resents it.

I did informe the King soon after the last Council-day what indeavors were used to have ingadged Synods [4] to petition for a

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[1] On the adjournment of the Scottish Parliament in January of this year, Hamilton and his friends went to London. 'At their arrival,' says Sir George Mackenzie (*Memoirs*, p. 263), 'the King charged them with having endeavoured to undermine the very foundation of his authority, by offering to bring in things [*i.e.* their complaints] in plain Parliament without bringing them first to the [Lords of the] Articles, which Articles he lookt upon as the securest fence of his government.'

[2] On June 4 the new Commission was opened, and it was found that the names of Tweeddale, Queensberry, Yester, Dumfries, Roxburgh, and others of the party opposed to Lauderdale, were omitted. Hamilton's name was kept in, but finding his adherents gone, Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 288) says 'he came little to the Council.'

[3] Part of the king's letter, May 19, may be seen in Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 234).

[4] The endeavours here referred to are well illustrated in the letters of Paterson and of William Sharp to Lauderdale, and of Lauderdale to the Archbishop of Glasgow, printed by Airy (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 42-60). This was an effort on the part of some of the bishops and Episcopal clergy to regain their proper ecclesiastical freedom. Sharp set himself vigorously in opposition to it. Such an Assembly, composed only of the bishops and ministers of the Established Church, would certainly not have satisfied the 'non-conform ministers.' From a statesman's point of view, Lauderdale puts his objections admirably :—'Our Synod wilbe composed, according to our Act of Parliament, of the Bishops, the Deans, the constant Moderators of each Presbytery, Commissioners from the Universityes, and one from each Presbitery. Will the Dissenters look upon that as a Generall Assembly of Scotland? Will they give any obedience to the decrees of it?' (Airy's *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 52.)

Nationall Assembly, and now it is apparent the Designe was more against Episcopacie then against Conventicles, as you will see clearly by a Motion was made to the King, with w^ch^ I desired my Brother to acquaint your Gr. in my last letter to him, and I am sory to see by my last letters of the 4th Instant that that Designe is still caried on, and that some whom I tooke to be more Orthodox, have had too great a Hand in carying on that plot; I had a gen^ll^ account of the Addresse of the Presbitery of Glasgow to that of Edenburgh for a Meeting forsooth, which would have looked too like the late Cōmission of the Kirk; and of an Addresse made by some Ministers about Edenburgh for that effect.[1] This looks too like the Petitions of Ministers before the late Rebellion in the yeers 1637 and 1638, and I am sory that some whom I thowght to have been more Orthodox should have had so great a hand in it; Alwayes[2] I did show that letter w^ch^ I received from an honest freind of yours and mine, and did read it, every word, to the King, whom I found very sensible of the Danger of such practises if they should goe unpunished; and I am comãnded by his Maj^tie^ to desire your Gr. to confer with some of the Clergie, of whom you are confident, and to send me your free advice what you think fit for the King to comãnd upon this occasion.[3] By w^ch^ you will see that the King wil be very carefull that the honor and authority of the Bishopes may be preserved, and all contrivances against them suppressed and punished.

I hope you wilbe able to informe who have been most guilty, to the end they may know it is not safe to medle with such edged-tooles, and then such who have been iñocently drawne in may be past over.[4] The King goes towards Portsmouth on Moonday morneing, and is to returne hither this day seaven night, against w^{ch} time I hope to see a returne from the Comitty of Council concerneing their indeavo^{rs} against the Conventicles, and I desire to have as speedy an answer to this letter as may be. And thogh I am no more Cōmissioner, yet in all stations I shal be found zealous and active for the Governement of the Church as it is now by law setled, and for its peace and hapines; And that I am in a true sense of yo^{r} kindnes and freindship, My Lord, Yo^{r} Gr^{s} most humble servant,

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[1] The address is printed by Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 300).

[2] *Always* in the obsolete sense of 'however,' 'nevertheless.'

[3] The meeting for conference was accordingly held at St. Andrews on July 8.

[4] The 'edged tools' proved keen. Turner, Robertson, and Cant, of the Edinburgh clergy, were temporarily removed from the city, and Hamilton from his parish in Leith; while Ramsay, Bishop of Dunblane, who had promoted the movement for a General Assembly, was ordered to be translated to the Isles. But all of these made sufficient submission and were restored. Ramsay's translation did not take place at this time. In 1684 he was translated to Ross.

LAUDERDALE.[1]

[Without address.]

XVII

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL,[2] 21st *March* $167\frac{5}{6}$.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^{R} GR.,—I have lately received two letters from your Grace, the one relating to my Lord President[3] (of whose merits I have not the least doubte, nor yet of your justice), and the other was in return to a letter that I wrote to you formerly with my own hand. But to this last I forbear to give a more full answer untill my Brother shall arive, who is retarded on his Journey some few days longer than he expected by the misfortune of a fall that he had with his horse, rideing post into Twafoord.

I can now assure your Gr. that not only the Bishoprick of Orkney[4] but also any other that is or shall be vacant are nailed fast. For I am authorised by his Maj^{tie} to tell you so, and that he will not signe (as I am sure I shall not offer) any presentation in favours of any person but such as shall have the approbation of the two Arch Bishops within their respective Provinces. So that if those vacant Bishopricks shall not be supplyed with Persons fitly qualified for them, you may blame your selves and not, my Lord, your Grace's most humble and most faithfull servant, LAUDERDALE.

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[1] This is the first example in these letters of the change of spelling from 'Lauderdaill' to 'Lauderdale.' The latter form is always observed by the Duchess. I have not noticed any example of 'Lauderdale' before the marriage with Lady Dysart. Perhaps this all-powerful lady preferred it.

[2] This letter is written partly by a secretary, partly by Lauderdale.

[3] See note on Letter XVIII.

[4] See notes on Letter XIX.

P.S.—The Bishoprick of Dunkell I hope is not yet voide,[1] but when it shalbe I intreat you may not offer the succession to any untill you hear from me.

[Without address.]

XVIII

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL, 1 *June* 1676.[2]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—I must first tell you how excellently well The President of the Session[3] caried himself heir in all things relating to the Kings Service, and particularly in those things that doe relate to the Governement of the Church and the Orthodox Clergy, whereby he did fully answer the expectation you had and the caractere you gave of him in y^r^ letter. This cheefly (beseids his reall expressions of freandship to me) with great reason induceth me seriously to recomend him and his concerns to your favour and freandship. And at this tyme there apears ane oportunity where by you may oblige him. For the King having advanced S^r^ David Falconer, one of the four Commissarys[4] of Ed^r^, to be ane Ordinary Lord of Session,[5] there is one Commissarys place voyd, and his younger sone, James Dalrimple,[1] Advocat, being sufficiently qualifyed for that employment, I must upon his fathers account and his own seriously recomend him to your Grace, that he may be preferred to that vacancy. I am very sure you have the choyce, if not the only Suffrage, in filling those vacancys. And you may be confident the preferring this yong Gentleman at this tyme will lay a further obligation upon his father, as also upon, My Lord, Your Gr. most humble and faithfull servant, LAUDERDALE.

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[1] This shows that the death of Henry Guthrie (author of the *Memoirs, containing an impartial relation of the affairs of Scotland civil and ecclesiastical, from* 1637 *to the death of Charles I.*), was then expected. A brief *Life of Guthrie*, by George Crawford, is prefixed to the second edition (1748) of the *Memoirs.* He was succeeded at Dunkeld, in May 1677, by William Lindsay, minister of Perth.—Keith's *Catalogue*, p. 99.

[2] This letter is written by the hand of a secretary, and dated and signed by Lauderdale.

[3] Sir James Dalrymple was appointed President of the Court of Session 7th January 1671. See Æ. J. G. Mackay's *Memoir of Sir J. Dalrymple*, p. 91.

[4] The Commissary Court of Edinburgh, erected by Queen Mary, consisted of four judges. Its jurisdiction extended to the counties of Edinburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, Peebles, and part of Stirling. It was concerned with matters consistorial, as testaments, marriage and divorce, and also slander and defamation. As an ecclesiastical judicatory, the patronage of its offices was in ecclesiastical hands. Some account of the history of the Court will be found in the first chapter of W. Alexander's *Practice of the Commissary Courts in Scotland* (1859).

[5] Sir David Falconer's appointment as an Ordinary Lord of Session was dated 24th May 1676. He was made President of the Court in 1682

[Without address.]

XIX

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

HAM, 18 *July* 1676.

MAY IT PLEASE YOR GRACE,—Yor justice and kindenes secure me from blame for my seldome wryting, especially seing I am sure my brother cōmunicates to you what I doe so constantlie write to him weekly. And I hope the King's renuing his Cōmission to his Privie Councell, and the effectuall purge he hath therby given, will satisfie yor Gr. and all who love the King's authority.[2] For now there is no more danger of clamorous debates at that board, wch onely servd to incourage the disaffected,[3] and I thinke they were onely kept up for that end (God forgive me if I guess wrong).

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[1] He was second son, and known afterwards as Sir James Dalrymple of Borthwick, one of the principal clerks of the Court of Session, and is known as author of *Collections concerning Scottish History preceding the Death of King David I.* (1705), the ecclesiastical portion of which was replied to by Bishop Gillan, in his *Life of the reverend and learned Mr. John Sage* (1714). Dalrymple rejoined in the same year with a *Vindication of the ecclesiastical part of Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections.*

[2] On July 13 the King added to the commission of Council (to deal with conventicles) 'the Archbishop of St Andrews and Charles Maitland, of Haltoun, treasurer-depute' (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 11), and on July 20 a new commission is sent down, from which the names of the Duke of Hamilton and others who had spoken much against the fining of Baillie of Jerviswood (for deforcing Captain Carstairs in his attempt to fulfil his orders to arrest Kirkton) were omitted. This is 'the effectual purge' referred to.

[3] O. Airy prints (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 83) a letter from the Committee of the Privy Council for Conventicles to the Duke of Lauderdale, dated

Receiv heir inclosed a 2^{d} Letter w^{ch} I have receavd from my Lord Bp of Winchester. The trouth is I thinke the great importunity of M^{r} Atkins puts the good Bp to all this trouble. He brings cōstantlie to me his oune recōmendations. I have often said that I neither can nor will meddle, seing the King hath put the power of recōmēding into better hands. And last day I told him that I was informed that it was resolved amongst you to recōmend the Bp of Moray to the Bprick of Orkney.[1] But nothing can put him off. Therfor I beseech yo^{r} Gr. to write to me whom you will pitch on to yo^{r} vacant Bpricks and thin we shall be quiet.—I am constantly, my Lord, yo^{r} Gr^{s} most humble servant, LAUDERDALE.

[No address.]

XX

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP[2]

WHITEHALL, 2^{d} *June* 1677.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^{R} GRACE,—My Cousin, Sir Richard Maitland,[3] having received the inclosed Presentation from some freinds of his in the shire of Aberdeen, who did not know that it ought to be attested by your Grace, I would not passe it

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July 6, which complains of 'a long and tedious debate of at least three hours maintained by the Duke of Hamilton, the Earle of Kincardin, and the Lord Cochrane and the Earle of Dumfries . . . To give accompt of the particular expressions of so tedious a debate is impossible; bot the sum of all that was sayed wes justifieing the defender.'

[1] Honyman, Bishop of Orkney, who had been shot by Mitchell, died in the February of this year. James Atkins was a native of Kirkwall, and son of the Sheriff and Commissary of Orkney. He was excommunicated by the General Assembly 'for having conversed with the Marquis of Montrose' on his landing in 1650. He was in Holland for safety from 1650 to 1653. At the Restoration he was presented by the Bishop of Winchester to the rectory of Winfrith in Dorset. And now that Orkney was vacant he sought the appointment. He did not obtain his desire, for, as intimated in the letter, Murdoch Mackenzie, Bishop of Moray, was translated to Orkney. But his *volo episcopari* was gratified by being appointed to succeed Mackenzie at Moray. See Keith's *Catalogue*, p. 153. The excellent George Morley was the Bishop of Winchester who interested himself in pressing the claims of Atkins.

[2] Written partly by a secretary.

[3] Sir Richard Maitland, of Pittrichie, admitted an Ordinary Lord of Session Dec. 1671. His appointment was discreditable, as he was ignorant of law.

without that qualification, untill I was told that the Tutor of Watertown pretends to a right of Presentation to that Kirk. Notwithstanding Sir Richard's freinds doe beleive it belongs to the King, and are resolved (at their own cost) to dispute the matter at law with that Tutor.[1] It was the consideration of preserving his Maj$^{\text{tie's}}$ Title (seing noe time is to be lost on such an occasion) that obleidged me to get it past without your attestation. But withall I would not suffer it to goe any other way than im̃ediatly to your own hand, to the end that if you shall find reason to be satisfied with the Person now presented to that Kirk, you may adde your attestation to the inclosed; but if not, the matter is at an end, for I doe not further urge it than to save the King's Right as much as is possible. Althogh withall I shall wish that if the person recom̃ended by my Cousin be sufficiently qualified he may be prefered to any other especially seing he has freinds that will support him in mantaining his Maj$^{\text{tie's}}$ Right.

My Lord of Glasgow wrote lately for a Royall Dispensation to the now Bishop of the Isles to continue in the enjoyment of his former liveing at Dunbar.[2] Things of that nature here doe usually passe the great Seale, but I thought that would be troublesome and chargeable to him and would not be needfull amongst us in Scotland, and therefor I have sent a Royall Dispensation under his Maj$^{\text{tie's}}$ hand and signet, which I hope will serve his turne. In the mean time I have ordered Foster to send it to yo$^{\text{r}}$ Brother, to the end your Grace may see it ere it be delivered. I am constantly to the Church and its interests and to yo$^{\text{r}}$ Grace, My Lord, a most humble and faithfull servant, LAUDERDALE.

[Not addressed.]

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[1] In Fountainhall's *Historical Notices* (vol. i. p. 167) we read at 19 July 1677, 'There was also [at Secret Councell] a petition given in by the Tutor of Waterton, complaining on the Bischop of Aberdean that tho his pupill was uncontroverted patron (this is not true) of the church of Ellon and had presented one Mr. George Milne theirto, yet the Bischop refused to collate him, theirfor craved the Bischop might be cited over.'

[2] Andrew Wood, translated to Caithness 1680. The income of some of the bishoprics was miserably small. Wodrow (vol. i. p. 2) says the revenue of Argyll was 'about £130 a year. That of Dunblane about £120 . . . I suppose I will not be much out when I say the bishopric of Winchester is better than all our Scots bishoprics put together.'

XXI

LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL,[1] 25 *Jan*^{ry} 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^{R} GRACE,—Upon the news of the death of the late Lord Bishop of Rosse,[2] the King com̄anded a congé d'élire to be sent to the Dean and Chapter therof in order to a new election, and was pleased therwith to send his letter to name and recom̄end unto them the present Lord Bishop of Edenburgh[3] to be by them elected as their Bishop. And upon occasion of this vacancy of the Bishoprick of Edenburgh his Maj^{tie} is pleased to name the present Lord Bishop of Galloway[4] to that See, in order to whose election he has also sent a congé d'élire and recom̄endation to the Dean^{r} and Chapter of Edenburgh,[5] all being under his Maj$^{tie's}$ Royall hand and Signet and upon returne of the certificates of the elections the mandates from his Maj^{tie} for the translations shal be sent to your Gr. from, my Lord, Your Grace's most humble servant,

LAUDERDALE.

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[1] This letter is in the hand of a secretary, and is signed by Lauderdale.

[2] John Paterson appointed Bishop of Ross, 18 Jan. 1662 (Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 203, Russell's edition).

[3] Alexander Young, Bishop of Edinburgh 1671-1679, translated to Ross (1679) 'by the powerful interest of the Duchess of Lauderdale,' 'to make room for him that succeeded him' (Keith, *ut sup.*, p. 64).

[4] John Paterson, who through the influence of Lauderdale was advanced from the Deanery of Edinburgh to the Bishopric of Galloway (1674), and translated to Edinburgh (1679). He was advanced to the Archbishopric of Glasgow (1687), and died in 1708 (Keith, *ut sup.*, pp. 64, 270, 282).

[5] The instrument erecting the See of Edinburgh and determining the constitution of the Chapter (29th Sept. 1633) was published by Keith (*Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, pp. 44-60), but I cannot remember that any specimen of a *Congé d'élire* of the reign of Charles II. addressed to a Scottish Chapter is in print; and I accordingly transcribe the following.—

CHARLES R.

Carolus Secundus Dei Gratia Scotiæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, fidei Defensor etc.: Dilectis nostris in Christo Decano et Capitulo Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Edinburgensis Salutem. Nobis humiliter est supplicatum, ut cum Ecclesia prædicta per mortem naturalem ultimi Episcopi jam vacet et Pastoris Solatio sit destituta, alium vobis Episcopum et pastorem Eligendi Licentiam nostram vobis concedere dignaremur. Nos animum ad Supplicationem istam favorabiliter inclinantes alium vobis duximus concedendum, Rogantes ac in fide

XXII

THE DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITHALL, *May y^{e} 19th*, [1672?][1]

MAY ITT PLEAS Y^{R} GRACE,—Your letter dated Ap. ye 30th cam heather att a time when I was under such Remeds for my helth as did debar me wrighting, w^{ch} I was more concerned for upon y^{e} account of paying my duty to y^{r} Grace; then for any other reason.

My Lord, I doe esteem my selfe much obliged to y^{r} Grace and wth just reason I value my selfe upon itt, seeing itt is founded upon y^{r} owne Generosity, w^{ch} does secure to me its continuence. I hope sudenly to be so happe as to see y^{r} Grace at Edenburgh, when itt shall be my endeavour to express, in the best mañer I can, the sense I have of y^{r} Grace's favours

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et dilectione (quibus nobis tenemini) præcipientes quod talem vobis Eligatis in Episcopum et Pastorem qui Deo devotus Nobisque et Regno utilis existat. In cujus rei testimonium has nostras Literas fieri præcipimus Patentes. Dat. apud Whitehall tertio die Maij, Anno Dom 1672^{o} et Regni nostri 24^{o}.

L. S.

Ex Mandato Regiæ Ma^{tatis}
LAUDERDALE.

The following Recommendation accompanied the *Congé d'élire*:—

CHARLES R

Trusty & welbeloved Wee greet you Well, Whereas the Bishoprick of Edenburgh is now vacant by the Death of the late Bishop of the same, Wee have thought fitt to signify unto you That for certaine considerations us at this present moving, of our Princely Disposition & Zeale being desirous to present unto that See a personage meet thereunto, and considering the Vertue, Learning, Wisdome, Gravity & other the Good Gifts wherewith the Reverend M^{r} Young now Arch Dean of S^{t} Andrews is endued, Wee have beene pleased by these our Letters to Name & Recommend him unto you to be Elected and Chosen to the said Bishoprick of Edenburgh. Wherefore Wee Require you upon the Receipt hereof to proceed to your Election according to ye Laws of that our ancient Kingdome, and our Conge D'Elire herewith sent unto you, And the same Election soe made to Certify unto us. Given at our Court at Whitehall the third day of May 1672 and of Our Reigne the 24 year.

By his Maj^{ties} Command,
LAUDERDALE.

[1] The Duchess, like too many other ladies, often omits the year in dating her letters. I have placed 1672 conjecturally. The Duchess accompanied Lauderdale to Scotland, and was present at the opening of Parliament on June 12th, 1672. Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 7) is incorrect in saying Lauderdale came down in April.

to me.—May itt please y^r^ Grace, y^r^ most humble and most obedient servant, E. LAUDERDALE.

[Addressed] *For my Lord Arch Bisp of St. Andrews his Grace.*

XXIII

THE DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

HAM, *Sept.* 7, [1674?]

MAY ITT PLEAS Y^R^ GRACE,—The great trouble wee have been in upon y^e^ account of y^r^ late danger[1] did in a great measur abaite of our joy att y^r^ deliverence. Such being the power of thos passions wch doe make the first impressions in us. I assure y^r^ Grace wee have wth faithfull hairts given God thanks for his marcy to us in y^r^ Graces safty. Wee are sensible of our great interest therin, and shall ever consider all y^r^ concernes as our owne. Here is no news. Wee have been att Farham[2] most kindly and nobly entertayned. Wee did remember y^r^ Grace wth that respect and affection wch you deserve, and wch you may challeng from us. Wee did wish you with us, and I'me sure wee very much miss you, but itt is not in this world where our happeness is to be compleated. I hope my Lord Arch. Bpp of Glascow[3] is resolved to com up. I beseech y^r^ Grace to hasten him, for seeing wee cant have y^r^ Grace here, wee must not want him. Y^r^ Grace knows better then I can tell itt how necessary his coming is. I hope itt will be the last occassion the Church and my Lord will have to ingage freinds in that nature: and as y^r Grace did begin the worke, so is none so fitt to end itt as my Lord of Glascow. Here is a hous full of company, so I am able att this time to write no more, but to assure y^r Grace I am y^r Graces most faithfull obliged servant, E. LAUDERDALE.

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[1] This, of course, cannot refer to Mitchell's attempt on Sharp's life, the date of Lady Dysart's marriage with Lauderdale being 17th February 167½. Perhaps it refers to the assault upon Sharp on the 14th June 1674, in Parliament Close. Sir George Mackenzie (*Memoirs*, p. 273) speaks of it as a deliberately planned and 'bloody design.'

[2] Query, Farnham in Surrey, the residence of the Bishop of Winchester, then George Morley. Burnet, under the year 1674, says: 'He [the Duke of Lauderdale] had been all along on ill terms with Sheldon and Morley; but now he reconciled himself to them' (*History*, vol. i. p. 210). The stress laid in the letter on the fact that the writer and the Duke had been 'most kindly and nobly entertained' falls in with our conjecture.

[3] This may refer to either Alexander Burnet, who by a letter under the king's hand, dated September 7 (the date of the above letter), was restored, or to Leighton.

I beseech you excuse me to my Brother Halton, and all frinds for this post.

XXIV

THE DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

HAM, *Sepr. ye* 30, 1674.

MAY ITT PLEAS Y^R GRACE,—I am sory wee were the other day interupted in our discours, and to show you itt is trew I take this liberty to cleere my selfe, w^ch I had done by way of discours had not company prevented me. By w^t y^r Grace said to me I find the Chancelour[1] must have misrepresented me to y^r Grace as iff I were, att the best, coole in his concernes. I doe acknowlege, affter I had had a long tryal of Patience upon y^e account of his cariage the last Sessions of Parle^t, I could not but once before I left Scotland deale freely w^th him. I thoat itt both honest and generous, seeing I have ever taken my selfe to have been, iff not his best freind, yett one of thos whom hee did in comon justice owe fidellity to,[2] and then itt had been unworthy in me to have left Scotland without useing the freedom I did w^th him. And tho hee might be ill satisfyed w^th the way I did itt in, yett I canot beleive him so insensible of my freindshipp to him as to object att formes when hee is so disserning in the reallity of things. And indeed no less concerne was itt possible for me to express, alowing the provocation to have proportion w^th the freindshipp I ever have professed to the Chanclour; yett must hee doe me the justice to acknowlege that affter all I said to him att that time by way of reproach, I did att parting (in my closett att y^e Abbie) tell him That yett hee should find me willing to serve him when ever hee should ingage me to doe itt. Now, my Lord, when I say this, and sett itt under my hand, I hope y^r Grace will not entertaine so ill an opinion of me as to think I foment ill humours amonngst frinds. Of the contrary I doe abhor itt; and the Chancelour neither has [?] nor can injure me more then by sogesting so ill a temper to be in my nature. I am really sory hee has so dishonoured him selfe as to dissert his best frinds to adheare to his greatest enimyes. I have long known how my Lord's heart has stood to him, and the deepe impressions I found in my Lord's mynd att the time of the Chancelours desertion did not a little agravate the greefe of mynd w^ch lay upon my spiritt all that Sessions of Parle^t.[1] But, my Lord, I have but given y^r Grace too much trouble upon this subject. I humble crave y^r Grace's Blessing, being y^r Grace's most humble servant, E. LAUDERDALE.

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[1] Rothes.

[2] It was believed that Rothes, as well as Lauderdale, owed his life to the intervention of Lady Dysart with Oliver Cromwell.

[Not addressed.]

XXV

THE DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITEHALL, *March* 16, [1676 ?].

MAY ITT PLEAS Y^R GRACE,—I have received y^rs dated ye 9^th; and tho I am now in hast, and that I am invited to the Lord Maiores to diner with my Lord, yett I must say this one word to y^r Grace, that I hope you will not so much give y^r self trouble as to solicitt a matter wherin I canot possibly be y^e least concerned more then in com̄on justice and in due respect to y^r Grace. I beseech y^r Grace lett any affayre of that kind goe its owne way and in its owne place. I am now fully inlitned as to all the designs now on foot, and I am not unsensible how much both y^r Graces endeavours and my good wishes have been not only nedglected, but even traduced, so y^t I againe intreat y^r^ Grace to move no more, nor to seeme to be further concerned, but lett matters alone, and then youle fynd things will be pressed upon you. For my part I ever shall be the same, but I will never either offer frindshipp or impower any other to offer itt in my behalfe. Indeed there are some who doe take their interest to be stronger then they will fynd itt; and as for my part, as I never gott any advantage, ney hardly thanks, for all my services and indeavours, so I have no reason to move more in any matters of that nature or indeed of any other as y^r^ Grace will fynd by my Brouther Halton[1] when he has been heare, and is fully informed of my mynd.

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[1] A graphic account of the attack made in Parliament on Lauderdale by the Duke of Hamilton, with whom Rothes, Argyll, and Tweeddale allied themselves for the time, will be found in Burnet. See too a letter (No. XIX in O. Airy's *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 26) of Lauderdale to the king. Lauderdale had to find his protection by having the Parliament prorogued.

Many thanks for y^r^ goodness and care of my sonn.—I am,
Y^r^ Graces most humble servant, E. LAUDERDALE.

I canot read overe this letter.

[Indorsed] *For his Grace my Lord A. St Andrewes att Eden^r^.*

XXVI

FROM THE DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

HAM, *Mar. ye* 30, 1676.

MAY ITT PLEAS Y^R^ GRACE,—I have received y^r^ letter dated y^e^ 22 of this March. I esteeme my selfe most obliged to y^r^ Grace's Lady[2] for hir care of my deare child,[3] who's danger I hope may be over, yett shall I not be out of feares so long as hee has not purged. I earnestly desire y^r^ Grace to returne my most humble and affectionate thanks to y^r^ Lady to whom I should doe itt emediatly but that I chuse this way as y^e^ most effectuall, and really such is my affection for y^e^ dear child I shall esteeme my selfe indebted to y^r^ Lady, and to all thos who have showed care of him att this time, all the dayes of my life.

I beseech y^r^ Grace advertis y^e^ doc^r^ that I desire my sonn may be once purged; after w^ch^ about 14 dayes hee must draw 7 or 8 ounces of blood from him; 8 dayes affter that repeat y^e^

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[1] Charles Maitland, best known as Lord Hatton or Halton. See p. 243.

[2] Helen, daughter of William Moncrief of Randerston.

[3] William Talmash, who was about twelve or thirteen at this time. See Introduction.

purge; affter that purge a third purge 8 dayes distant from the former; and so an end.

This is Sir Alex. Fraser's[1] method and this my other children have observed w^ch^ makes me desire the same may be done by him. I desire Sir Will. Sharp[2] may gratifye his servant, who has so well attended him, w^th^ 100 pounds Scots; and that hee will place itt and all other expences laid out upon my sonn William's account upon the pin monyes due upon my Pension.

Thes particulars I crave y^r^ Grace's pardon for inserting in this place; but I canot write much; and Sir Will. Sharpe may have his information from this, w^ch^ iff I have presumed too far in, I beseech y^r^ Grace to pardon itt.—May itt pleas y^r^ Grace, I am y^r^ Grace's most faithfull humble servant,

E. Lauderdale.

[Addressed] *For His Grace My Lord of St. Andrewes att Ed^r^.*

XXVII

THE DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

Whithall, *May y^e^ 31,* 1676.

May itt pleas y^r^ Grace,—I am so sensible of y^r^ great and tender care of my deare child I am not able to express itt. All I shall say is the asurense of my most faithfull frindshipp all my life, nor indeed have I words to express my selfe. Much more am I in confusion how to aquitt my part to y^r^ Lady, from whos hands I never can deserve the least of w^t^ I owe hir.

I hope Sir Alex^r^ Fraser[3] will see my deare child, and as hee shall advise so I desire all things may exactly be done. I much feare the Aire of St. Andrewes may be too sherp for him, w^ch^ maks me desire hee may when hee is able remove to Stonyhill,[4] and there remain till the season is fitt, and his strenth will inable him to com to England, where I have taken some resolutions relating to his settlement, and I hope his native countrey may best agree w^th^ him. All I am concerned for is his learning, w^ch^ my Lord is resolved shall be att hom w^th^ him selfe so y^t^ I doe humbly intreat y^r^ Grace to give him such a Tutor as may keep him in his studyes, and folow the same methodes as to his learning as iff hee were att the University.

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[1] Sir Alexander Fraser, Bart., Physician to Charles II. His daughter (married to the Earl of Peterborough) was one of the Court beauties. Her portrait is at Hampton Court.

[2] Of Stonyhill, brother of the Archbishop, and confidential agent of Lauderdale in Scotland.

[3] See above.

[4] The seat of Sir W. Sharp, brother of the Primate. It is situated near Musselburgh, about half a mile west of the present railway station. The estate was purchased by Sharp in the summer of 1665 (*Lamont's Diary*). It was at Stonyhill the infamous scoundrel Colonel Charters died in 1731. His coffin was pelted, as it came down the avenue, with garbage by the mob of Musselburgh.

We shall w^th^ trew affection remember the Bride and the Brid Groume and all that does belong to both y^r^ familyes tomorow.[1] I hartily wish y^r^ Grace and y^r^ Lady all happeness and thos trew comforts from that day as is posible for you to have in this life.

To-morow our good companye does leave us, by whom you will have full accounts of all things, I hope to y^r^ Grace's satisfaction. My second sone[2] goes w^th^ them who will not faile to pay his duty to y^r^ Grace; and I have desired him to present my thanks to my Lord Chancelour[3] for his favour in sending to my deare child w^ch^ indeed I doe take most kindly. I humbly thanke y^r^ Grace for y^r^ obligeing letter. I desire y^r^ Grace to rest assured of my lasting frindshipp and to continue me in y^r^ favorable opinion, w^ch^ I shall study in the like maner to deserve.—May itt pleas y^r^ Grace, I am, y^r^ Grace's, most faithfull humble servant, E. LAUDERDALE.

[Not addressed.]

XXVIII

THE DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

WHITHALL, *Oc^r^. y^e^ 18^th^*, 76.

MAY ITT PLEAS Y^R^ GRACE,—The obligations you have been pleased to lay on me maks itt fitt on all occasions for me to repeatt my sensibleness, w^ch^ att this time I doe having little else for a letter. Sir Will. Sharpe[4] will informe y^o^ of all things hee has found here and give y^r^ Grace a good account of my Lords perfitt helth even to y^r owne wishes. Blessed be God, hee is evry way very well, and his interest as much on all hands as ever, so that his enimyes may doe well to steer another cours, and unless they resolve bare faced to renounce all duty to the king and his Royal Highness itt is their best cours to leave off all combinations and to fall into the duty of loyal and good subjects. The E. of Kincardin's[1] jorney is not to be braged of. I assure y^r Grace hee has mett wth all discoragements both from his Ma^{tie} and the Duke ; and iff hee does pretend otherwayes hee does them wrong whom he feeds under such hops ; and the former pretences of the Party will no longer hold good, his Ma^{tie} having declared to him his great displeasure against all the late proceedings. W^t is further to be said upon his subject I leave to Sir Will. Sharp to informe y^r Grace.

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[1] See note on Letter XXVIII.

[2] Thomas Talmash. See Introduction.

[3] Rothes.

[4] *i.e.* of Stonyhill.

My most faithfull servis and thanks to the Lady Scotscrage ;[2] as also to all y^r Grace's fyer syde, especially the young cupple.[3]—May itt pleas y^r Grace I am y^r Grace's most humble servant,

E. LAUDERDALE.

[Addressed] *For His Grace My Lord of St. Andrewes.*

XXIX

THE DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE TO SHARP

March 2^d [1677 ?].

MY LORD,—I am glad our frinds are now wth you. I hope their company, and the account they will give you of all matters here, will be a good allay to the false impressions wch have been made by such who have no other foundation to make up the standing of their faction upon, except that of libals, and misrepresentations.

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[1] Kincardine had been removed from the Privy Council in July of this year. His journey to London was undertaken to attempt to justify himself with the King, 'but all was to no purpose' (Wodrow, Book II. ch. xi.). Accounts of the quarrel between Lauderdale and Kincardine will be found related by Sir G. Mackenzie (*Memoirs*, p. 314 *sq.*), and by Burnet (*History of his own Time*, p. 211, edit. 1724).

[2] Sharp purchased in 1664 the estate of Scotscrage in Fife (*Lamont's Diary*). Perhaps 'Lady Scotscrage' refers to the Archbishop's wife.

[3] Query—the Archbishop's son, Sir William Sharp, and Margaret daughter of Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo. Cambo is close to Crail, Sharp's former parish.

I am yett of the same mynd, ready to doe any good office wherin I shall be esteemed so worthy as to be trusted; and upon that hed doe I again make this profession to y^r Grace.

Itt is a great trouble to me to fynd the difference run so high as itt is now between ye Marquis of Douglas and his Lady.[1] I beseech you take the matter so far into yr care as to keep itt from publick seperation, and iff his Lo^sp will not live with his Lady, yett perswade him to lett hir keep hir sonn, and to give hir an alliment fitt for hir quality, w^ch is his concerne as well as hirs. I ernestly desire y^r Grace and my lord of Glascow to signifye to my Lord Marquiss how much I doe concerne my selfe in itt, haveing the honour to be related to his Lady[2] and being trewly a lover of hir. I have writtin to ye Mar. of Atholl to the same effect, and to the E. of Mar. Once more I beseech y^r Grace to make use of both my Lord's naime and myne as far as may be conducive towards perswading my Lord to doe like a person of honour to his Lady, and withal be pleasd to represent to him (in case hee be implacable as to the seperation) w^t other Ladys, of less rank then she is, has had: besids that his Lady is the Mother of his only Sonn[3] who is his only Successor to his Noble family.

I am not able to write to my Lord of Glascow this Post; this therefore must serve for both.—My Lord, I am Y^r Grace's most humble and faithfull servant, E. LAUDERDALE.

[Not addressed.]

XXX

CHARLES MAITLAND, LORD HATTON, TO SHARP

NEUMARKET, 5 *April* [1674?].

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R GRACE,—I have had litl to say since I cam to London or hier, els I had given you the trouble off a letter. I most in the first plac returne yue my humble thanks for the

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[1] See Introduction.

[2] See Introduction.

[3] See Introduction.

Caracter ye gave me to the Bishops hier. All off them his treted me with mor respekt and keindnes then I deserve, altho ye nor they shall never doe it to any mor thankfull and mor fathfull to the Church.

All maters as to publik goe hier vere wele. The King is most stedie in his resolutions, and keind to his frends and favorits, and, which is best, in fact to the Church. No particulars yet concluded, and so I can say nothing of them for y^{o} know som days after I cam the King cam hither, and this place is for recreation and for no busines. We have ben alaromed hier with a lisence given to E. dundonald and his 2 sons for 4 nonconforme Chaplans by A B. Glasgow.[1] This I found troubls my Lord duk mutch, and it his ben vere ile tymd just after so soleme a proclamation and wherby it was resolved non of what so ever qualete should be exsepted. I wish the good man[2] had not done it for it will mutch discuradg uss. Ye ar the best can help it. I am vere glad to heir from many hands that the phanatiks ar so qu[i]et in Scotland. I confesse I deid not expect it, nor I think deid y^{r} G.: god contineu it. Let me have the continuance off y^{r} prayers for, may it please y^{r} Grace, Y^{r} most fathfull humble servant,

C. M.

[Addressed] *For My Lord Artch Bishop of St. Andrews His Grace.*

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[1] The two sons were William, Lord Cochrane, who died in 1680, and Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree. I do not know what was the law or practice with respect to noblemen's chaplains in the Scottish ante-Revolution Church. In England, at that time, an Earl might have five chaplains, but these could officiate only after receiving the licence of the bishop of the diocese. Disaffected chaplains are complained of by Bishop Paterson in 1675 (MS. letter in the 'Episcopal Chest').

[2] Probably Leighton; if this is so, this letter must fall between the beginning of 1672, when Lauderdale was created Duke, and the end of 1674, when Leighton demitted his office. We have a letter of Kincardine to Lauderdale (of 11 April 1674) which would tend to support my conjectural date. 'I have not written since the 30 March, for ever since then I have been at Newmarket, and there was nothing there but horse-races and hunting to be spoken of' (Airy's *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 40).

XXXI

CHARLES MAITLAND, LORD HATTON, TO SHARP

EDG^{R}., 6 *May* [1675?]

MAY IT PLEASE Y^{R} GRACE,[1]—I can not bot tak this oportunetie to render you hartie and humble thanks for all y^{r} labours, which ar so many that I can not mention them, and will choys rather once for all to shut up my short aknoledgment in a treu assurence off my constant indevors to serve the Church and y^{r}self personalie.

I have by this given my lord a larg acompt off what past in Counsell,[2] which I know ye will see. The subdivisions, parts, and pendikils off phanatisism doe strangly incresse hier. At first non pretched bot ordened ministers, and nixt only sutch keept conventikils; for ye know it was the presbeterian prinsipall that ther could be no *ministerium vagum* and *nullus pastor sine grege.* Then they lipt over this, and we had persons latly ordened in this way both in Irland and hier who keept Conventikils; yet mor latlie ther wer expectants that kept Conventikils; and now I can tel you ther is pakmen that pretcheth at conventikils, and on last wick in feif, near the place wher Babudie lives.[3] This was reported by the Chanslour yesterday in Counsell. I shall farder tel you that the comon Hangman of Irven keeps conventikils and pretends to pretch.[4]

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[1] A letter of Paterson, Bishop of Galloway, 6 May 1675, to Sharp, preserved in the 'Episcopal Chest,' and printed (not completely) by Stephen (*Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp*, p. 480), shows that the Archbishop was then in London.

[2] The Privy Council had met this day.

[3] Query—'George Fleming in Balbuthie.' See Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 287 note.

[4] Wodrow describes this hangman, William Sutherland, as being 'pious,' and 'a man very much master of the Scriptures.' His first professional job appears to have been the execution of a witch at Paisley, being 'engaged,' he himself tells us, 'by the counsel of some honest men from that Scripture, "Suffer not a witch to live."' This occupation was varied by that of 'cleaning chimney heads.' Finding, however, the people of Paisley 'to scar at my company,' he came to Irvine, where he learned to read the English Bible. 'I did so affect,' he writes, 'my book, the people, and the place, that, without engagement, I did act the part of an executioner, when they had any malefactors to put to death.' As his study of the Scriptures progressed he began to scruple to execute any unless he was himself satisfied that they deserved to die. The Bishops' 'side tails' gave him particular offence (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 54-58).

CHARLES MAITLAND, LORD HATTON

from the portrait by D. Paton at Ham House

This was openly told in Counsell yesterday by lord Ross, and I certainly know it by others. This fellow is yong, and hes been in that inploymont 7 years till after the last Rebellion. He wold not execut the rebels y^t^ wer hanged at Air,[1] and ever since hes foloud this way, and now is cumd the lenth to pretch. Now, good god! wher shall we land when it is cumd to this, and this is to ther important glorie. I wish some serious way may be thought on to prevent the over runing of this ivil, and that a cours wer taken to prevent pleding for them constantly in Counsell, for this doeth highly incuridg them when things ar caried against them not without debet and difficultie.[2] I am capable to doe litell, bot my good wishes and week indevors shall allways be vere redie for the Church, and non can be mor sinser to yrself then, May it please y^r^ Grace, Y^r^ most fathfull obledged servant.

[Addressed] *For The Artch bishop off St Andrews, His Grace.*

XXXII

CHARLES MAITLAND, LORD HATTON, TO SHARP

HOLIEROODHOUS, 3 *Junii* '75.[3]

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R^ GRACE,—This morning I resaved y^r^ vere keind letter. My lord duke and ye ar mutch in the right that somewhat particular should be said by the Counsell bord off the condition and present disorders of this cuntrie. This which you mention off oxonam and A.[4] will be a good caise for it. Ther is leikways a new bussines falin out at the Gaits of Cardros wors then the former. M^r^ Jo. King[5] being taken by a partie, the cuntrie rose, and he is resceud from the soldiers. 4 off them ar hurt, and on cuntrieman kiled.[1] Y^r^ brother[2] gives you a particular acompt off that afair, and I have wreten fully off it to my lo. duke. If from thes emergents we tak not ocasion to aquent the King, it will never be done. I have wreten to E. Atholl and to A-B. Glasgow, beseetching them both to cum hier against nixt wick. Few ar hier yet, and disorders ar not upon the losing hand: god send uss good news. I most tel you mightie stories ar talked hier off E. Kincardens[3] courtship, aspetialie mongst the outed advocats[4] hier, and mightie maters they promise to themselves he will doe for them. I shall intret for y^r^ prayers. In full assurance y^t^ I am unalterablie, May it please y^r^ Grace, y^r^ most fathfull humble servant.

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[1] After Pentland.

[2] Paterson's letter, referred to in note above, well illustrates this passage: 'Nothing off great importance hath been done at Council at this tyme. The Duke off hamilton appeard much for Mr. Greig, ye non-conform ministere, and was opposed with calmness and reason by my lord hatton, who never failis the King's nor the Church's service.'

[3] On this day the Council met again, the preceding meeting being on the date of the last letter (Paterson's letter, *ut supra*).

[4] I do not understand the allusions. Perhaps they are to some conventicles in the Teviotdale district.

[5] Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 280) deals with this incident.

[Addressed] *For The Artchbishop off St. Andrews His Grace.*

XXXIII

CHARLES MAITLAND, LORD HATTON, TO SHARP

HOLYROODHOUS, 12 *junii* [1675].

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R^ GRACE,—I doubt not my lord hes told you of what cam to him by the last post from the frends hier.[5] It is a serious mater. We will all step over his modestie in his owne conserne, bot it is evedent to be a common conserne off Man kind and off this Kingdom, and if we wer sur that which is propost might not (tho wel intended) yet doe hurt, it had ben ventured on long or now, and for that caus we first adveised with my lord. If his answer be quik it will be done in tyme, for we consider not whither ther be adjurnment in England or not.[1] For, however, that ought, we think, to be notified hier, and we can not imagen that dewtie (?) can doe hurt; however it is all we can say or doe, and off this in this way I can say no mor bot that the Counsell is the sorce of publik autorotie, and what that owns may chang the opinions off many. I told you of the mater off Cardros, and by this my lord hes acompt off the declaratory off the set [said] parties, by which ye will see what a soure man that lord is, and that he is the heid of that disturbance off the publik peace.[2] Y^r^ G. knows the King wrot a letter mentioning his pleasur as to the former rayout,[3] mentioning that Lord; and when the Comittee reports that shall not be forgot, and all the steps off it. God send uss good news, which is the earnest prayer off, May it please y^r^ Grace, Y^r^ most fathfull humble servant.

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[1] Chaplain to Lord Cardross. He was executed (for being with the rebels armed with two pistols), 14 August 1679, at the Market Cross, Edinburgh.

[2] Sir William Sharp, of Stonyhill.

[3] *Courtship*, *i.e.* his dealings with the king at Court. Kincardine was in London for several months of 1674, and also went up in 1675. A letter of Paterson's, Edinburgh, July 6, 1675 (in the 'Episcopal Chest'), speaks of 'the braggs' of some in Edinburgh, who claimed that Kincardine was influential with the Duke of York.

[4] A lucid account of the struggle between the bench and bar, ending in the 'debarring' of some fifty advocates, including several of the most eminent, such as Sir George Mackenzie, Sir George Lockhart, Sir Robert Sinclair, and Sir John Cunninghame, will be found in Mackay's *Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple, First Viscount Stair* (pp. 114-117). On June 25th most of the advocates submitted.

[5] Sharp was in London up to August in this year.

[Addressed] *For The Artch Bishop off St Andrews His Grace.*

XXXIV

CHARLES MAITLAND, LORD HATTON, TO SHARP

HALTOUN, 1 *May* [1677?]

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R^ GRACE,—This wick I gave you the trouble off a letter. Since that I have spok with sume that certainly informs me that feild conventikils begine to be frequent in feiff, sume in the Steuartrie, bot a great on[e] was sunday was eight days in Bromhall's[1] land, nier his hous. I have not lerned who pretched, bot many was ther. What is in the west my lord off Glasgow will give better conskript then I can. The outed ministers who lurked befor, now walk openly evry wher. Thes ar the effects off the maters wher ye ar, and off the hops off disorder that ille peopell hier have, with the product off the Magasene off lies and maid stories hier. I thought it my dewtie to let y^{r} G. know this, and what furder I hier off it, or any thing els worth y^{r} knoledg as besemeth,—May it please y^{r} Grace, y^{r} most fathfull humble servant.

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[1] The English House of Commons was prorogued (on account of the disputes between the two Houses), on June 9.

[2] The matter came for trial before the Council on August 5. See Lord Cardross's petition in Wodrow (vol. ii. pp. 289-290). He was sentenced to be imprisoned during his Majesty's pleasure, and fined £1000 sterling.

[3] The substance of the king's letter as regards the holding of conventicles at Cardross in 1674 will be found in Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 248).

[Addressed :] *For The Artch Bishop off St Andrews His Grace.*

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[1] Sir Alexander Bruce. In Fountainhall's *Historical Notices* (vol. i. p. 168), under '24 Julij 1677,' we find 'Bruce of Broomhall was this day fyned at Secret Councell at 100 lb. sterl., because a conventcle was keipt by his tennent upone his ground.' See also Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 360), who declares that Bruce was 'fully regular and conform himself.'

THE DIARY OF THE

REV. GEORGE TURNBULL

MINISTER OF ALLOA AND TYNINGHAME

1657-1704

Edited, from the Original Manuscript, with
Introduction and Notes, by the
Rev. ROBERT PAUL, F.S.A. Scot.
Dollar

INTRODUCTION

George Turnbull, the writer of the following *Diary*, was a member of a family of this name, which settled in the western portion of the shire of Fife, about the end of the sixteenth, or the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Turnbulls were originally a Border clan, said to be descended from a family of the name of *Roule* or Rule, who derived their surname from the town of this name, situated on the left bank of the water of Rule, in Teviotdale, Roxburghshire.[1] The first who bore the surname of Turnbull is said by the historian Boece to have been a man of gigantic stature who was killed in single combat by Sir Robert Benhale, a young knight from Norfolk, previous to the commencement of the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333; and who acquired it on account of a brave exploit he had performed, in saving King Robert the Bruce from being gored to death by a wild bull, which had overthrown him while hunting in the Caledonian forest.[2] In the fifteenth century the Turnbulls obtained the barony of Bedrule and numerous other places in the same district, and became remarkable, in a not over-scrupulous age, for deeds of cruelty and thievish daring, defying the authority and powers of the sheriff and lieutenant of the Borders.[3] In consequence of their constant and numerous depredations, heavy penalties were inflicted upon them, and towards the end of the sixteenth century they became, as a clan, much broken up and scattered. From the *Register of the Privy Council* it appears that about this time three of the name—Adam, George, and Andrew—were fugitives, and found caution for their good behaviour. It is not at all unlikely that the last named came north, as other borderers did, and settled in the west of Fife; for from the *Register of the Great Seal* we learn that in 1598 a man of this name was a tenant at Wester Gellet, on the estate of Broomhall, in the parish of Dunfermline, the property of the celebrated Sir George Bruce of Carnock, the ancestor of the Earls of Elgin and Kincardine. And in 1601 either he or his son of the same name, who is designated 'Andrew Turnbull in Broomhall,' found caution in the sum of 500 merks not to injure a neighbour in the adjacent parish of Torryburn (*Reg. Priv. Coun.*). A Patrick Turnbull was treasurer of the Burgh of Dunfermline in 1610,[1] and there were others of the same surname in the locality at this period, all of whom belonged probably to the same family.

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[1] Jeffrey's *History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire*, vol. ii. p. 326.

[2] This gallant deed is beautifully described by Leyden in his *Scenes of Infancy*, p. 25.

[3] Jeffrey's *Roxburghshire*, vol. ii. p. 329.

The first of our author's family, however, of whom we have any certain knowledge, is his grandfather, George, who was, in all probability, the son of this last-mentioned Andrew Turnbull 'in Broomhall,' and who is designated in the same way when he was witness to his grandson George's baptism in 1657 (*Edin. Bap. Reg.*). His wife's name was Helen Grinlay, and they appear to have had two sons, Andrew—whose birth is not entered in the Dunfermline Register, but who is styled the 'son of George Turnbull in Broomhall,' in the entry of *his* son George's baptism in that of Edinburgh,—and George, who was born in February 1636.[2]

This George Turnbull, the author's grandfather, appears to have followed the occupation of a baxter or baker in Edinburgh, and to have been a man of some substance, possessing a tenement or 'land' of houses there, as well as occupying a tenancy on the estate of Broomhall. Together with his family and friends, he warmly espoused the covenanting cause, and the circumstances under which his two sons were forced to flee to Holland in 1679, as referred to by his grandson in his *Diary*, are fully narrated by Wodrow the historian.

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[1] Henderson's *Annals of Dunfermline*, p. 268.

[2] The following is the entry of his baptism in the *Dunfermline Baptismal Register*:—'1636. Feb. 16. George, son of George Turnbull in Broomhall, and Helene Grinlay. Wit$^{n.}$ Mr. Jas. ——, Andrew Turnbull in Broomhall, David Mitchell in Pitliver, Adame Turnbull in Getinge, and Patrick Grinlay.'

About the beginning of March that year, he and his two sons, along with a John Kay, the son of Mr. Adam Kay, formerly minister of Borgue, in Kirkcudbrightshire, and a Michael Cameron, son of Allan Cameron, are said to have entrapped Major Johnston, one of the captains of the train bands in Edinburgh, into entering a house in his property, occupied by Isobel Crawford, for the purpose of surprising a conventicle, which, they alleged, was being held there; and on his appearance beat him soundly, and threatened to kill him, unless he would swear that he would abstain in future from disturbing conventicles. The story indeed, as related by the Privy Council in a letter which they sent to the Duke of Lauderdale, dated 11th March, is made to wear even a worse aspect than this. In it they say, 'that eighteen or twenty armed men, prompted by the bloody principles of their traiterous books, did send for the major to the house of one Mrs. Crawford, a known and most irregular fanatic, and at his entry discharged several shots at him and those he had with him, after which, with drawn swords, they beat, bruised, and threatened to kill him, if he would not swear never to dissipate conventicles; which he having refused according to his duty, they mortally wounded him and some that were with him.'[1] Wodrow, however, asserts that this was an exaggeration, and that the affair, which had no such fatal consequences, was 'merely a piece of private revenge for personal injuries.' But the Council issued a proclamation, dated the 12th of

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[1] Wodrow's *History*, vol. iii. p. 32.

March, in which, after recounting their version of the story, they denounced George Turnbull and his two sons, together with Kay and Cameron, as assassins, and offered a reward of 1000 merks for information that might lead to their apprehension. And along with them they included Isobel Crawford, 'sister to Captain James Crawford, who lodged these assassinates, and is fled with them.'[1] Soon after, moreover, on the 2d of April, 'the Council being informed that conventicles were held in Edinburgh pretty frequently, resolved to prosecute the heritors of the land where they were held, though conform enough themselves.' And, accordingly, they summoned George Turnbull before them to answer for three conventicles alleged to have been lately kept in Isobel Crawford's house in his property, required him to declare on oath what was the rent of his tenement, which he stated to be one hundred pounds annually, and fined him in the sum of three hundred pounds Scots.[2]

From this latter statement it appears, that notwithstanding the Privy Council's proclamation of the 12th of March, George Turnbull himself still remained in Scotland, though his sons Andrew and George escaped abroad. Of the latter I have not been able to gather any further trace. Andrew, the eldest, however, had already been settled for years at Broomhall, and had married a Jeane Crawford, by whom, in addition to several daughters, he had two sons—George, born 7th December 1657,[3] and James, who died on the 16th of October 1684 (*Diary*, p. 314). When, as stated by his son, he had 'been forced to abscond' to Holland (*Diary*, p. 312), in 1679, under the circumstances just mentioned, his son George, who had been for two years in Ireland with an uncle, Mr. Taylor, the

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[1] Wodrow's *History*, vol. iii. p. 31.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 9, 10.

[3] The following is the entry of his baptism in the *Edinburgh Baptismal Register*:—'1657. 13 Decembrie. Andrew Turneble, sonne to George Turneble in Broomhall and Jeane Crawford, a sn. George, witn. Williame Leitch, mertch., George Turneble forsaid, George Turneble, baxter.'

Presbyterian minister of Enniskillen, had to return to Broomhall 'to oversie and manadge his affairs' there during his exile (*Diary*, p. 312). When he returned to Scotland is uncertain, but apparently he was in Holland with a number of his friends and relations in November 1686, 'because of trouble at home' (p. 319).

Meanwhile his family continued to reside for a time at Broomhall undisturbed, till the month of June 1683, when, in consequence of increased severities against the Covenanters, they were ejected from their tenancy by Sir Alexander Bruce the proprietor, who, though himself a conformist, had hitherto treated his tenants with great leniency, and been heavily fined in consequence (see note, p. 312). They seem to have crossed over to the south side of the Forth, and to have located themselves in the parish of Carriden, Linlithgowshire, at the village of Blackness, near the celebrated castle of that name—at that very time the dreary prison of other covenanting sufferers. It is probable that they had relatives and friends in this neighbourhood, at Borrowstounness and Grangepans, etc., many of the inhabitants of which were all along devoted adherents of the cause of the covenants. Here Andrew's second son James died and was buried in October 1684; and here Andrew Turnbull himself seems to have ultimately settled on his return to his native land after the Revolution, when happier days had begun to dawn, with his wife and some of his family, till his death on the 8th of May 1697 (*Diary*, p. 372). His son records a journey which he made to Montrose in March 1696, to bring him home after a serious illness which he had while paying a visit there.

Regarding Jeane Crawford, Andrew Turnbull's wife, and the mother of the writer of this *Diary*, I have been unable to gain much information apart from what may be gathered from the *Diary* itself. Sibbald in his *History of Fife* says that her brother, James Crawford, the Laird of Mountquhany, in the parish of Kilmany, belonged to a west country family; but he leaves their exact designation blank, which I have not been able to fill up. Her sister Isobel, who was implicated in the disturbance in Edinburgh in 1679, referred to above, and who was specially denounced by the Privy Council as 'a known and most irregular fanatic,' fled with her nephews and the other alleged offenders on that occasion, as we learn from the Council's proclamation. Most probably, with other of her relatives, she sought refuge in Holland. Long afterwards, in 1701, her sister Jeane, when seventy-two years of age, made a voyage to Holland, presumably to visit relations who were still residing there.[1] Several persons of the name of Crawford are mentioned as office-bearers and benefactors of the Scots' Church at Rotterdam, in the records of that congregation.[2]

George Turnbull, the writer of the following pages, supplies us himself with the principal events in his own life, and regarding these he may best be left to speak for himself. When he returned from Holland[3] after his sojourn there, and after his licence and ordination in London in May 1688, he seems to have taken up his abode at South Queensferry,[4] where he had two married sisters,[5]—one of them married to an Andrew Bisset, who died there in March 1692,[6]—and in the immediate neighbourhood of his father and mother at Blackness. And here he continued for some months to exercise a sort of irregular ministry, preaching constantly, administering baptism, and performing marriages in various places, the churches of which were either vacant, or occupied by Episcopal incumbents, whose services were unacceptable to many of the people.

About this time a Presbyterian meeting-house had been erected in the neighbouring parish of Dalmeny, at Dundas, the residence of the ancient family of that ilk, the laird of which at this time, like his immediate predecessors, was a staunch Presbyterian and Covenanter. The church of Dalmeny was then in the possession of a conformist minister, and the meeting-house at Dundas seems to have been the religious centre of the parish. It was occupied by a Mr. Alexander Strang, who had formerly been settled at Durrisdeer in Dumfriesshire, from which charge he had been ejected for nonconformity to Episcopacy in 1662. He, however, soon retired and returned to his former charge, and, at the request of the people, Mr. Turnbull was appointed by the Presbytery of the bounds to officiate at Dundas for a time. They had applied to the Presbytery in the month of September for advice in regard to their former minister, Mr. Alexander Hamilton, who had also been deprived in 1662, and whose return amongst them they desired. Mr. Hamilton had been indulged by the Privy Council in 1669, and permitted to continue his ministry at Dalmeny, but so many people went out from Edinburgh to hear him, that, at the instigation of the bishop and his adherents, he was removed to Dalserf, in Lanarkshire, in 1677. There he continued for ten years, but on the publication of King James II.'s indulgence, in 1687, he was called to a meeting-house in Edinburgh, from which, partly on account of indifferent health, he was unwilling to remove. In a letter which he addressed to the moderator of Presbytery on this occasion, he says that that court 'having allowed the parish to chose another minister by my advice, did liberat me from that charge; the truth is, my bodily infirmities are so many and great that I cannot undertake any charge as to a particular congregation, and therefore it would prove a great satisfaction to me to have that people well provided. They tell me they have a desire for one Mr. Turnbull, of whom I have no particular knowledge, but he has a testimonial from many persons of knowledge and pietie, as being a young man for grace and pairts very promising, and I lean much to their testimonie. Besides, I know ye and the rest of the brethren of these bounds are men of such prudence and conscience as will walk tenderlie in the planting of that congregation, and I am very ready to give my consent to that person coming there.'[1] From the *Diary* we find that Turnbull preached in Mr. Hamilton's meeting-house in Edinburgh on the Sabbath before he was appointed by the Presbytery to minister temporarily at Dalmeny, doubtless with a view to Mr. Hamilton's judgment as to his qualifications; and this having apparently been favourable, and his advice given as above, Turnbull was formally appointed on the 28th of November. In the following May (1689), the Committee of Estates, on the petition of the parishioners, issued a warrant authorising him, on the death of Alexander Banks, the Episcopal incumbent, which occurred about that time, to exercise his ministry in the church at Dalmeny, and apparently also from his own statement (p. 337), in the neighbouring church of Muiravonside. But in this temporary charge he did not continue long, for what reason does not appear. It may have been connected with difficulties regarding the stipend, for long afterwards, in 1702, we find him engaged in a law-suit in the Court of Session with the heritors of Dalmeny (*Diary*, p. 410), the exact nature and final issue of which, however, he does not indicate. The Presbytery released him from his engagement on the 5th of June, though he seems to have still continued ministering in the parish and in the neighbourhood for some time, leaving finally in September, and preaching only once thereafter at Dundas meeting-house on a special occasion, the death of Lady Christian Dundas, in December that same year (p. 340). After a year of itinerating preaching, etc., he was called and admitted to the pastoral charge of the parish of Alloa on the 26th of September 1690, where he remained for nine years, till his translation to Tyninghame in September 1699. Towards the end of his ministry at Alloa he became the friend and principal adviser of the celebrated Thomas Boston, then resident, as tutor, at Kennet House, in the next parish of Clackmannan, who frequently refers to him in his *Memoirs*, and describes him as 'a grave learned man,' and 'a steady friend.' Boston repeatedly occupied Mr. Turnbull's pulpit at Alloa when he returned to Clackmannanshire as a licentiate in 1698.

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[1] *Diary*, p. 408.

[2] Steven's *History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, pp. 128, 348, 370.

[3] This course was made open to him, and to many other fugitives, through the publication of the indulgences issued by James II. during this and the preceding year.

[4] *Diary*, p. 334.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 443.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 352.

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[1] *Linlithgow Presb. Reg.*

Of Turnbull's ministry at Tyninghame it is unnecessary to say anything here—his *Diary*, as far as it goes, supplying us with full details. It is sufficient to remark, that he appears to have been a faithful and diligent pastor, and to have taken a full share in the work of the Presbytery and Synod of the bounds, earning the respect and esteem of his parishioners, and living on the best of terms with all the leading families in the district, and especially with the members of the noble house of Haddington, the head of which, Thomas, the sixth Earl, was the chief heritor of his parish, and a regular attendant on his ministry. The portion of his *Diary* here printed ends with the close of the year 1704. There can be little doubt that he continued to keep it subsequent to this date, but the remainder, so far as I can ascertain, has not been preserved. He continued to minister at Tyninghame for many years after, till, owing probably to advancing age and infirmity, he resigned his charge in September 1731, and died on the 17th of June 1744, in his eighty-eighth year, and the fifty-seventh of his ministry.[1]

Turnbull was married on the 12th of April 1695, at Sauchie, near Stirling, as he himself records (*Diary*, p. 363), to Elizabeth Glass, a member of the old family of Glass of that ilk. Her father, Alexander Glas or Glass, was almost certainly a younger son of Glass of Pittintian in Strathearn, the representative of an old Perthshire family.[2] From the *Stirlingshire Sasine Register*, he appears to have purchased the property of Sauchie from Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, and is there designated as 'of Coltinghoofe and Touchgorm,'—properties contiguous to that of Sauchie, which probably through his marriage with Marian Rae (born 1632), the daughter of their former proprietor, became ultimately incorporated with that of Sauchie. These were all Crown lands, and were resigned by Colquhoun and Glass for new infeftment to the latter, 'to be then erected into one whole free barony of Sauchie.' In 1672 he registered arms in the Lyon office, taking those of the family of Glass of Pittintian, with the addition of a bordure gules to indicate a younger branch. He had a large family, as may be seen from the pedigree at the end of this Introduction, and to most of whom references are made in the following *Diary*. He died in August 1683, when his eldest son John succeeded him as proprietor of Sauchie,[1] and *his* son John again, who succeeded in 1745, eventually sold the estate in 1750 to a Captain Cheape. It is now the property of Sir James Ramsay Gibson Maitland, Bart.

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[1] *Dunbar Presb. Reg.*

[2] In the *Life of Mr. John Glass*, the founder of the Glassites, and a member of

Alexander Glass's second son, Alexander, became a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, and died without issue in 1733. Adam, his third son, was ordained minister of Aberlady, in East Lothian, in 1697, and marrying Helen, the daughter of Captain Hamilton of Redhouse, a scion of the noble house of Haddington, had, with other children, a son Thomas, whose son John, a surgeon in the H.E.I.C.S., matriculated arms in the Lyon office in 1812, quartering the coat of Sauchie with the arms of Stirling, his mother's family, and was granted supporters as chief of his name, heir-male representative of the family of Glass of Sauchie, and also of the ancient family of Glass of that ilk. The main branch of the family is believed to be now extinct, but collateral descendants of it are still living in Stirling and elsewhere.

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the same family, it is stated that William Glass, who became minister of Little Dunkeld in 1576, was a *younger son* of Glass of Sauchie, but this is manifestly a mistake, since it is perfectly certain that the family at that date had no connection at all with Sauchie. The author probably confused Sauchie with Pittintian. Alexander Glass was the first of the name who possessed Sauchie.

[1] *Retours*, July 17, 1684.

Turnbull's own family consisted of the following seven sons and two daughters:—

1. William, born at Alloa, 16th April 1696; died at Tyninghame, 24th February 1703.
2. John, born at Alloa, 4th August 1697, and lived only two days.
3. George, born at Alloa, 11th July 1698; became Professor of Philosophy in the University and Marischal College, Aberdeen.
4. Marion, born at Tyninghame, 13th February 1700.
5. Thomas, born at Tyninghame, 27th September 1701; became minister successively of Greenlaw and Borthwick in 1725 and 1734, and moderator of the General Assembly in 1758. His daughter Elizabeth married Robert Dundas, the minister of Humbie, a scion of the Arniston family, and became the mother of Sir Robert Dundas, Bart., of Dunira, and one of the Principal Clerks of the Court of Session.
6. William, born at Tyninghame, 6th August 1703; became minister of Abbotrule, Roxburghshire, in 1730.
7. Helen, born at Tyninghame in August 1706; married to Dr. Robert Wallace, minister first of New Greyfriars, and afterwards of the New North Church, Edinburgh.
8. Andrew, born at Tyninghame, in February 1711; became minister of Kippen in 1742.
9. Robert, born at Tyninghame, in May 1714, became minister of Sprouston in 1742.

The *Diary* covers an interesting and momentous period of both the civil and ecclesiastical history of Scotland,—the closing years of the covenanting struggle, the Revolution, and the reign of William III. Unlike similar productions of the same period which have already been published, such as Nimmo's *Narrative*, issued by the Scottish History Society in 1889, and the various autobiographical *Memoirs* of Boston, Veitch, Hog, Brysson, etc., it is scarcely at all of an introspective character.

Indeed, except one very small portion relating to the death of the writer's first-born son William, in February 1703, there is nothing of the kind to be found in it. It contains many interesting allusions to various events then occurring both in the State and the Church, which were fraught with great and far-reaching effects in the subsequent history and condition of our country. Perhaps the most interesting of these are the references to the meetings of the Scottish Parliament and of the General Assembly of the Kirk after the Revolution and during the reign of William III., and to the state of parties, and the controversies between them. The writer presents us also with a striking and significant picture of ministerial life and work at this time, and of the incessant labours of the Presbyterian clergy during the period of chaos and confusion which prevailed before the re-establishment of Presbytery. The amount of preaching, baptizing, etc., on his part, which Turnbull records in the earlier portion of his *Diary*, is extraordinary. And indirectly it shows us how devotedly many of the people were attached to Presbyterian and Covenanting principles, and how persistently they abstained from availing themselves of the services of the Episcopal incumbents still occupying in many places the parochial churches.

The manuscript is contained in a closely-written 12mo volume of 158 pages, gilt-edged, and bound in vellum, with a flap and brass clasp, evidently intended to be carried about in the pocket. It is written in small but very clear and distinct handwriting, and is printed just as it is in the original. It will be noticed that while not wanting in specimens of the orthography characteristic of the period, it is superior in this respect to many similar and contemporaneous productions.

On the first leaf of the *Diary* the following is written—

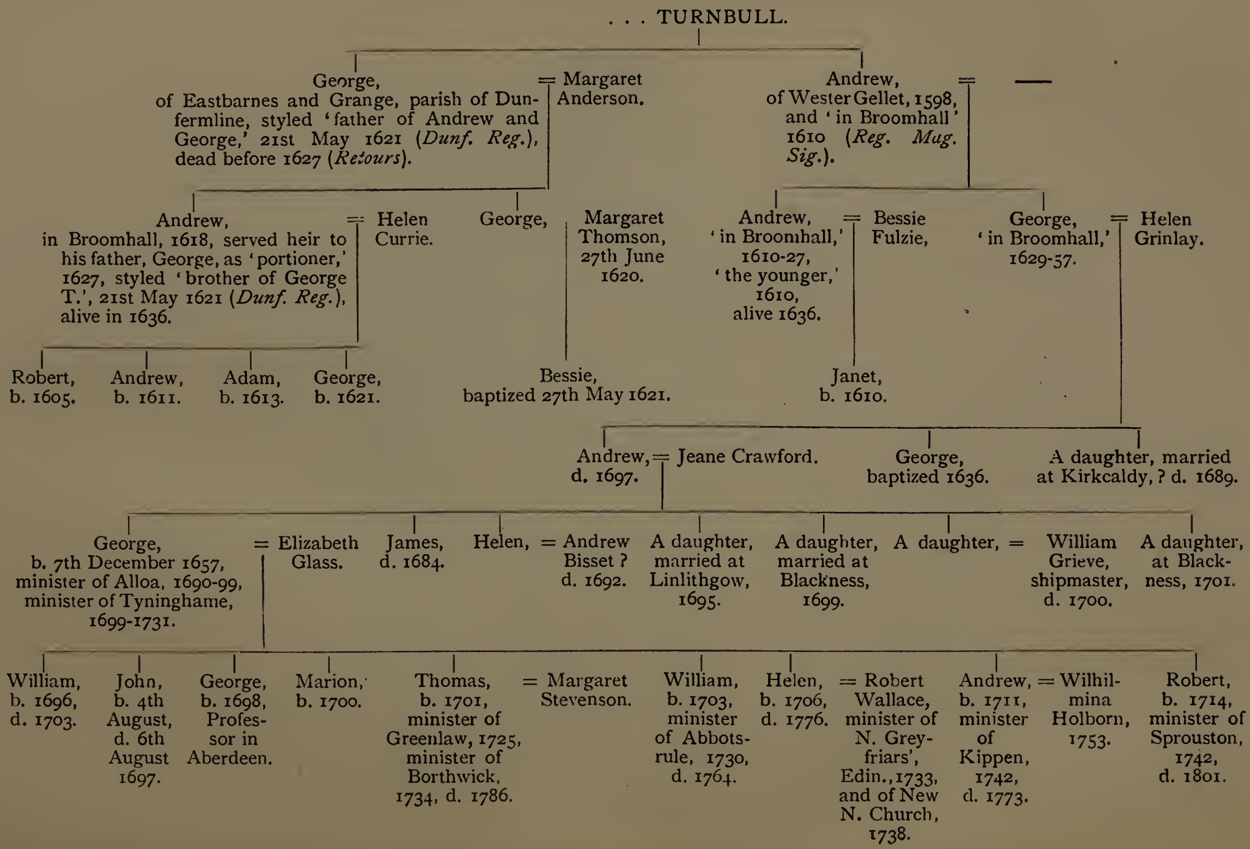
'A Diary or daybooke
London Aug: 10th
1687.
℔ : s. d.
price —— 00 : 01 : 00 .'

From this it would appear that it was begun at this date, the preceding entries having been written from memory or notes, and thereafter continued regularly daily, or at least weekly.

The little volume was formerly in the possession of the Rev. John Ballantyne, minister of the United Presbyterian Church at Lilliesleaf in Roxburghshire. Mr. Ballantyne left Scotland for Australia in 1854, and was settled as Presbyterian minister at Emerald Hill, near Melbourne. He subsequently returned again to Scotland, and died at Edinburgh on 4th October 1860. Turnbull's *Diary* was sent back from Australia, with his other books, the year after his death. It is now the property of a lady in Edinburgh, to whom it was given by his widow. The latter is not aware of how it came at first into Mr. Ballantyne's hands.

I am much indebted to several gentlemen for supplying me with information for the notes, and beg to return them my best thanks. I have also gratefully to acknowledge the kind assistance of the Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen of Alloa, and John C. Gibson, Esq., Woodpark, Polmont, in tracing the pedigrees of Turnbull and his wife.

The following pedigrees of the families of Turnbull and Glass have been drawn up from the Register of the Great Seal, the various parochial registers, and the Retours.



. . . TURNBULL.

George, of Eastbarnes and Grange, parish of Dunfermline, styled 'father of Andrew and George,' 21st May 1621 (*Dunf. Reg.*), dead before 1627 (*Retours*). = Margaret Anderson.

Andrew, of Wester Gellet, 1598, and 'in Broomhall' 1610 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*). = —

Andrew, in Broomhall, 1618, served heir to his father, George, as 'portioner,' 1627, styled 'brother of George T.', 21st May 1621 (*Dunf. Reg.*), alive in 1636. = Helen Currie.

George, | Margaret Thomson, 27th June 1620.

Andrew, 'in Broomhall,' 1610-27, 'the younger,' 1610, alive 1636. = Bessie Fulzie,

George, 'in Broomhall,' 1629-57. = Helen Grinlay.

Robert, b. 1605.

Andrew, b. 1611.

Adam, b. 1613.

George, b. 1621.

Bessie, baptized 27th May 1621.

Janet, b. 1610.

Andrew, d. 1697. = Jeane Crawford.

George, baptized 1636.

A daughter, married at Kirkcaldy, ? d. 1689.

George, b. 7th December 1657, minister of Alloa, 1690-99, minister of Tyninghame, 1699-1731. = Elizabeth Glass.

James, d. 1684.

Helen, = Andrew Bisset ? d. 1692.

A daughter, married at Linlithgow, 1695.

A daughter, married at Blackness, 1699.

A daughter, = William Grieve, shipmaster, d. 1700.

A daughter, at Blackness, 1701.

William, b. 1696, d. 1703.

John, b. 4th August, d. 6th August 1697.

George, b. 1698, Professor in Aberdeen.

Marion, b. 1700.

Thomas, b. 1701, minister of Greenlaw, 1725, minister of Borthwick, 1734, d. 1786. = Margaret Stevenson.

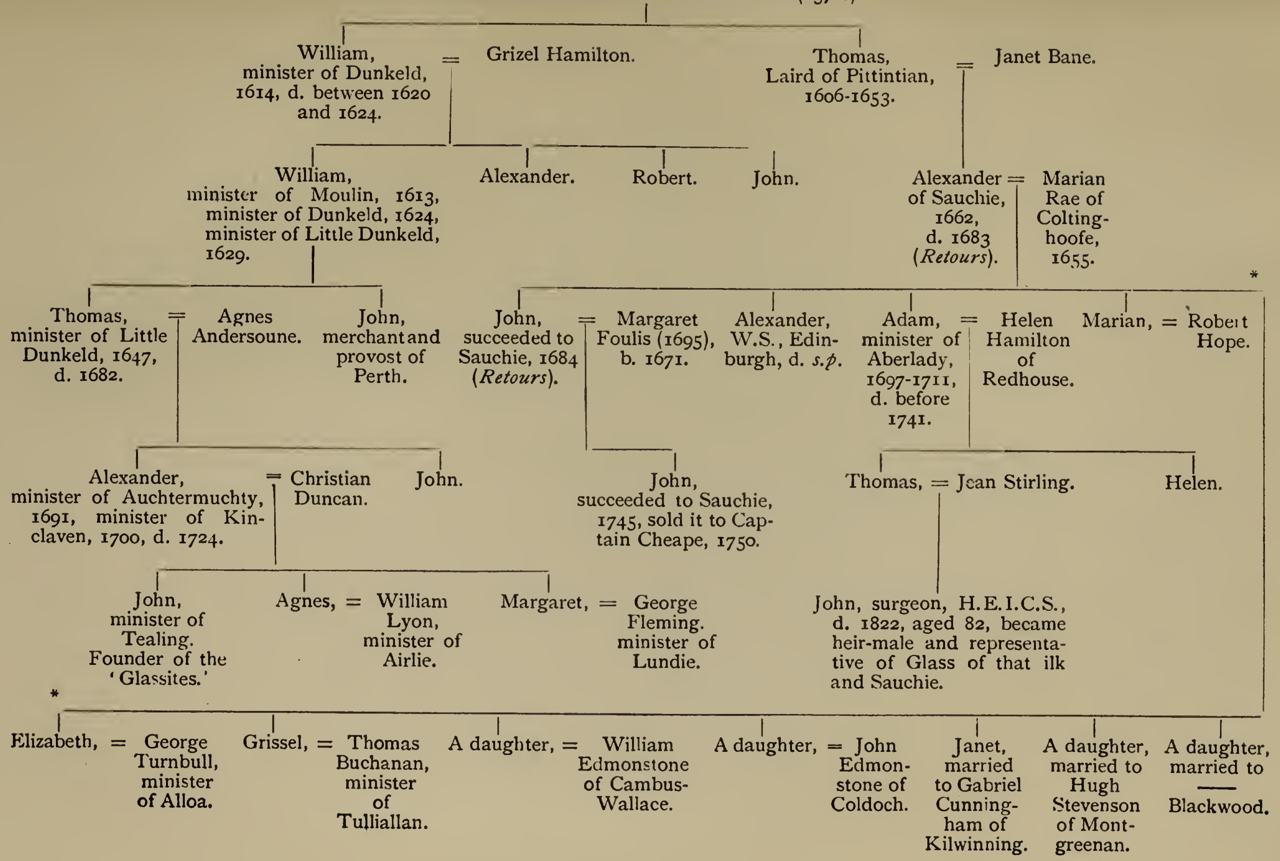
William, b. 1703, minister of Abbotsrule, 1730, d. 1764.

Helen, b. 1706, d. 1776. = Robert Wallace, minister of N. Greyfriars', Edin., 1733, and of New N. Church, 1738.

Andrew, b. 1711, minister of Kippen, 1742, d. 1773. = Wilhilmina Holborn, 1753.

Robert, b. 1714, minister of Sprouston, 1742, d. 1801.

THOMAS GLAS OF PITTINTIAN (1576.)


William, minister of Dunkeld, 1614, d. between 1620 and 1624. = Grizel Hamilton.
Thomas, Laird of Pittintian, 1606-1653. = Janet Bane.
William, minister of Moulin, 1613, minister of Dunkeld, 1624, minister of Little Dunkeld, 1629.
Alexander.
Robert.
John.
Alexander of Sauchie, 1662, d. 1683 (*Retours*). = Marian Rae of Coltinghoofe, 1655.
Thomas, minister of Little Dunkeld, 1647, d. 1682. = Agnes Andersoune.
John, merchant and provost of Perth.
John, succeeded to Sauchie, 1684 (*Retours*). = Margaret Foulis (1695), b. 1671.
Alexander, W.S., Edinburgh, d. *s.p.*
Adam, minister of Aberlady, 1697-1711, d. before 1741. = Helen Hamilton of Redhouse.
Marian, = Robert Hope.
*
Alexander, minister of Auchtermuchty, 1691, minister of Kinclaven, 1700, d. 1724. = Christian Duncan.
John.
John, succeeded to Sauchie, 1745, sold it to Captain Cheape, 1750.
Thomas, = Jean Stirling.
Helen.
John, minister of Tealing. Founder of the 'Glassites.'
Agnes, = William Lyon, minister of Airlie.
Margaret, = George Fleming. minister of Lundie.
John, surgeon, H.E.I.C.S., d. 1822, aged 82, became heir-male and representative of Glass of that ilk and Sauchie.
*
Elizabeth, = George Turnbull, minister of Alloa.
Grissel, = Thomas Buchanan, minister of Tulliallan.
A daughter, = William Edmonstone of Cambus-Wallace.
A daughter, = John Edmonstone of Coldoch.
Janet, married to Gabriel Cunningham of Kilwinning.
A daughter, married to Hugh Stevenson of Montgreenan.
A daughter, married to —— Blackwood.

A DIARY OR DAY BOOKE, containeing such remarkable providences, and passages of my life, as for spirituall and civil reasons I thought fitt to observe, and sett doun there date.—PSA. 90th, 12th.

I was born at Eden^{r}, Dec^{r} 7th, 1657, and was baptised there 1657 Scotland.
by M^{r} John Sterline ;[1] was educatt att the latine school under Mr. Da. Skuigh,[2] and att the colledge of Eden^{r} under Mr. William Paterson ;[3] received my degrees aug. 19, 1675.[4] 1675

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[1] John Stirling, M.A., studied and took his degree at the University of St. Andrews in 1641 ; ordained minister of Barra, in the Presbytery of Haddington (a parish united to that of Garvald in 1702), 10th March 1647 ; translated thence, and admitted to the collegiate, or second charge, of the Tron Church, Edinburgh, 12th April 1650 ; translated to the newly-formed parish of Lady Yester, 3d September 1655 ; ejected for nonconformity to Episcopacy, 1662, and charged to leave the city with his family.—Scott's *Fasti*, Part I., pp. 58, 61, 334.

[2] I can find no mention of this teacher in any available source of information. But about the time when Turnbull must have been at school, several Presbyterian teachers, some of them ejected ministers, kept classes for the young in different parts of the town, though at the risk of imprisonment and fining. As early as 1662, it was ordained by Parliament that none should teach in any college or school, unless they owned the government of the church by archbishops and bishops, and have the licence of the bishop of the diocese.—Wodrow's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 267. In 1668 the Town Council prohibited the teaching of Latin and other branches by private teachers, 'to the discouragement and overthrow of the High School,' offenders to 'be fined at the discretion of the then present magistrates,' and the parents of children so taught to 'pay quarterly to the master of the High School as much as other scholars of the like quality usually are accustomed quarterly to pay.'—*Council Record* (Aug. 5, 1668), vol. xxv. f. 104-5. See also Fountainhall's *Hist. Notices*, p. 294.

[3] William Paterson, son of John Paterson, minister at Aberdeen, who became Bishop of Ross in 1662 ; entered the 'prima classis' in Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1659, and graduated in 1663. He is first mentioned as a Regent there in March 1665, and on 20th September 1667 was admitted Regent of Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, being intrusted by the Town Council with the new 'Bejan' class which assembled in October that year. He resigned his office in 1679, upon being chosen clerk to the Privy Council, and along with his brother John, the Bishop successively of Galloway and Edinburgh, and last Archbishop of Glasgow, became a ruthless persecutor of the Covenanters. He was created a baronet 28th July 1687 ; purchased the estate of Granton from Sir William Hope of Balcomie in 1688 ; and died about 1705, being succeeded by his son, Sir John Paterson of Eccles.—Dalzel's *Hist. of the University of Edinburgh*, pp. 196, 209 ; Bower's *Ditto*, vol. i. p. 427 ; Wood's *Cramond*, p. 20.

[4] This date should probably be *July* 19th—a mistake which Turnbull, writing

1677 Irland. 1679 Scotland. About two years aftar septembr 1677 I went over to Irland, and stayed there in Mr. Taylzors family,[1] minister in ye county of Fermanagh, and my uncle, till about August 1679 I returned to Scotland: tooke shipping at belfast, and landed not farr from grinocke. from that time till July 1683 was in my fathers family to oversie and manadge his affairs, he being at that time forced to abscond, and was in holland.

1683 Holland. *June* 1683.—Being cast out of our dwelling place by Sr Alexr Bruce of Bromhall[2] for nonconformity to Episcopacy, I went for Holland, and arrived att Roterdam, July 2, 1683, haveing been five days at sea betwixt it and Borostounness. Edward Hodge was mastar of the ship I came in.[3]

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after twelve or more years, might easily make,—for on this date the eighty-seventh class at Edinburgh University, under Paterson, graduated to the number of forty-eight, 'after solemn disputation in Lady Yester's church, the Theses being dedicated to the Right Honourable James Currie, Lord Provost, and the other members of the Town Council, patrons of the university.—Dalzel's *Hist. of the Univ. of Edinburgh*, p. 205.

[1] James Tailzeur or Taylor, went to Ireland from the north of Scotland, recommended by Thomas Hog, the famous minister of Kiltearn, and in September 1675 was ordained to the pastoral charge of Monea, Enniskillen, and Derryvallen, in the county of Fermanagh. In 1677 he was living within two miles of the town of Enniskillen. He appears to have left soon after 1681, being succeeded by Mr. Robert Kelso, celebrated for the part which he took in connection with the defence of Enniskillen after the Revolution.

[2] Sir Alexander Bruce, served heir to his father (Robert Bruce of Broomhall, third son of Sir George Bruce of Carnock, and one of the Lords of Session in 1649, who died 25th June 1652) in 1655; joint-receiver of the Supply and Excise from 1693 to 1695; M.P. for Culross, 1661-3, 1669-74, 1678; conv. 1685-6, and for Sanquhar, 1692, until 12th June 1702, when he was expelled from Parliament for objecting to the Act for securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian government: contested the claim to the Kincardine peerage with his kinswoman, Lady Mary Cochrane, in 1705, and succeeding, took his seat in Parliament as fourth Earl of Kincardine, 10th October 1706. He married Christian, daughter of Robert Bruce of Blairhall. In July 1677, Sir Alexander Bruce was fined twelve hundred pounds, because, though he had himself conformed to Episcopacy, yet he had not violently pressed his tenants to subscribe the bond. Some of these had been at conventicles, and their fines accumulating, he was required to pay them.—Douglas's *Peerage*; Wodrow's *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 360; Foster's *Members of Parlt.* (Scotland).

[3] About a month before this, this same ship-master conveyed Lady Coltness to Rotterdam to rejoin her husband, Thomas Steuart of Coltness, who was then a refugee at Utrecht. She was accompanied by her step-son David, and her husband's niece Anna, a child of three years of age, the daughter of James Steuart, who became Lord Advocate after the Revolution. The weather was so stormy, that they were from eight to ten days on the voyage between Borrowstoun-

July 19, *Ditto.*—I went up to the university of Utrecht, and there I studyed divinity under ye oversight of the professors Hermannus Witsius[1] and Melchior Leideker.[2] 1683

I went doun to Roterdam, and received the sacrament there in the Scots church,[3] Jan. 13, 1684. Mr. Fleming[4] and Mr. Hogg,[5] ministers. 1684

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ness and Rotterdam. Her son, Archibald, who was born at Utrecht shortly after (20th July 1683), was sent to Scotland in the same vessel in 1687, when his parents left Holland for London.—*Coltness Collections*, published by the Maitland Club, pp. 77, 90.

[1] Hermannus Witsius, the famous Dutch theologian, born 12th February 1636, at Enckhuysen, in West Friesland; became Professor of Divinity in the university of Franeker in 1675; removed to the same office in the university of Utrecht in 1680, and to Leyden in 1698; retired on account of advancing years in February 1707; died 22d October 1708. 'There was no branch of learning necessary to adorn a divine in which he did not greatly excel.'—*Life of Witsius*, prefixed to Crookshank's edition of his great work, *Oeconomia Foêderum*, Lond. 1822.

[2] Melchior Leydecker, born at Middleburg in 1642; settled as pastor in the province of Zealand in 1662; appointed Professor of Divinity in the university of Utrecht in 1678; died 6th January 1722. He was the author of numerous theological works.

[3] Originally established by the States of Holland and the municipal authorities of Rotterdam, in 1642, for the numerous Scottish residents in that commercial centre. The first minister was Mr. Alexander Petrie, minister of the parish of Rhynd, in the Presbytery of Perth, who was translated to Rotterdam 29th March 1643, and died there 6th September 1662.—See Steven's *Hist. of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, Edinburgh, 1833.

[4] Robert Fleming, born in 1630, at Yester, in East Lothian, where his father, James Fleming, the son-in-law of John Knox, was minister. His mother, however, was his father's second wife, and not the daughter of the Reformer. After distinguishing himself at the university of Edinburgh, he studied under Samuel Rutherfurd at St. Andrews, and was ordained minister of Cambuslang, near Glasgow, in 1653. Ejected for nonconformity in 1662, he lived for some time in Edinburgh and London, and in 1677 accepted a call to succeed Mr. Robert Macward as second minister of the Scots' Church, Rotterdam, and colleague to Mr. John Hog or Hoog, the senior minister of that charge. Returning to Scotland for his family in 1678, he was arrested and imprisoned for several months in the Tolbooth, Edinburgh, but was released, and returned to Rotterdam in October 1679. He continued to labour there with great zeal for fifteen years, establishing for himself a high reputation, and repeatedly visiting England, remaining sometimes four or five months at a time. During a visit to London in the summer of 1694, he was seized with fever, and after a short illness of eight days, died there on the 25th of July. He is chiefly known as the author of *The Fulfilling of the Scripture*, a work originally published at Rotterdam in 1674, and which became very popular, being repeatedly republished.—Scott's *Fasti*; Steven's *Scottish Church, Rotterdam*; Johnston's *Treasury of Scottish Covenant.*

[5] John Hog or Hoog, M.A., studied and obtained his degree at the university

1684 *Febry.* 10, *Ditto.*—Did enter into the tutory of Mr. Vane's children, ane english gentleman, but then liveing at Utrecht.[1]

holland. *Aug.* 30.—I and all Mr. Vane's family went to Nimmeguen, where we stayed till Sept^{r} 19. We were lodged in a widows house next door to the hart tavern, in the great merkat place: had 3 furnisht chambers, kitchen, and all kitchen necessarys, bed and table linnen for 40 gilders per moneth.

October 16.—Dyed my dear and only brother James, and was buryed att grange panns,[2] 18 ditto.

1685 *Febry.* 6*th.*—Dyed king charls the second, and was succeded by his brother King James, now regnant, who was crowned Apr. 23, ditto.

Flanders.

*m^{d}soille van camen.

here beginneth new stile.

Apr. 13.—Did I, togither with Mr. Vane's wholle family, depart from Utrecht, with a designe to goe to France, and haveing hired att Roterdam a yacht at two ducatons per day, arrived at Machlane, or Malines, a city in brabant, or rather y^{e} chief city of y^{e} province of that name, Apr. 16. We lodged there at a young gentlewomans* behind the great church,¶ had 3 rooms, kitchen, and all necessarys except linnen, at 60 gild. pr moneth.

¶and called St. Rombauts, ane irish man, who is supposed to have first qverted y^{m} to Xanity.

May 20*th.*—Went from Machlane to Brussells, there

May 23.—On our designe toward France, haveing hired a coach with four horses for 12 gilders a day, men and horses upon there own expenses, from the tavern of the port rouge,

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of Edinburgh, 26th July 1534; licensed by the Presbytery of Dalkeith 13th October 1636; ordained to the charge of Linton, in the Presbytery of Peebles, 5th February 1740; translated to the Canongate, Edinburgh, 19th May 1646; translated to South Leith, 28th July 1653. Ejected thence in 1662, he was called to succeed Mr. Alexander Petrie, the first minister of the Scots' Church, Rotterdam, and was admitted there 31st December 1662. He retired from active service in July 1689, and, continuing to live at Rotterdam, died there in the spring of 1692. An original portrait of Mr. Hog is preserved in the session-house of the Scots' Church.—Steven's *Hist. of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, pp. 22, 104.

[1] Mr. Vane appears to have been one of those who were implicated in the Rye-House plot of 1683. I have been unable to ascertain any particulars about him, but he is referred to as one of 'the English conspirators who had fled to Holland,' in the list of questions put by the Scottish Privy Council to Carstares when examined under torture, September 1684.—See Wodrow's *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 101.

[2] A village on the Forth, in the parish of Carriden, Linlithgowshire, half a mile east of the seaport of Borrowstounness.

1685

we departed from Brussells, and Lodged y^{e} first night at Engyn, a little old town belongeing to the duke of Arscot. It hath a very pretty garden and parke belongeing to it: there ye eat a la damier at 12 st. a piece, and 20 st. the horse. from Brussells, because of the robeing w^{ch} was then frequent by the way of Tornee, we tooke two of the Marquis of Grana, governor of the spanish netherland, his own horse guard along with us. Next morning we departed from Engyn, and dineing at Dath, the last spanish town on that road, we arrived at night at Tornee, which is the first french town lyeing about some nine hours from Engyn. at tournay we lodged at the thrie kings, and next morning tooke our places in the Valencienne wagon at 6 skillings a piece, dined att S^{t} Aman, where there is a pretty abbey; and att night arrived at Valenciennes, which is some nine leagues from Tournay.

the country of the Waloons.

Next day, May 20, being saturday, and mercat day, we hired a countrey wagon to carry us to cambray, some seven Leagues of Valenciennes, where we got safe against the evening: at Valenciennes we lodged at y^{e} Swan not unreasonably: this is y^{e} greatest and best fortifyed town the french have in y^{e} conquered countreys: at Cambray we lodged at the angell, but were ill accomodatt and dear: here we made a new bargain with our paisants to carry us to Amiens for twelve patagons: amiens lyes some 22 leagues from cambray.

y^{e} Waloons country.

May 21.—We went onward in our journey to Amiens, and lodged the first night at Bapaumy, ane old sort of a fortifyed village, and the last of the Waloons countrey: next day against night we arrived at Amiens, the first french town, and lodged at St. Barbara, but not well.

its better at S^{t} Pierre.

We stayed at Amiens a few days, which is a pretty agrieable place situated on the rivar Senne, and has a pretty strong citadell, built by henry iv.: here we hired two wagons for 10 patagons, or french crowns (for they are of y^{e} same intrinsicke value) to carry us to Forge, a village in Normandy, famous, and much frequented, for its waters. it lyes some 30 leagues from Amiens.

France.

We lodged the first night at poix, the last village in picardy, or first in Normandy on that road; and the next eveneing arrived att Forge, where we stayed almost 3 moneth; were

June 1.

1685 lodged with one Mr. prieux, postmastar, a privat house, nigh to y^e capucins convent. We hade the use of the wholle house to ourselfs, linnen, all other necessarys, and all service, at 7 crouns p^r weeke. These watars of Forge are famous, because Lowis xiv. was conceived there, at what time the King and Queen, and cardinall Mazarin of france were all there togither; and the watars are denominat from them. Y^re be 3 different sorts of watars of different tast and vertue, that all spring within a small distance on from another. Y^e strongest is called the cardinall, because he drunke of it, and is purgeing, and good against the gravell. The second is called the royall, because y^e King drunke of it, is also purgeing, a great comforter France. and cooler of ye blood. the third is called la rennet from y^e queen, who drunke of it, and is good against barrenness. the season of drinkeing these watars is from midsumar till the end of August.

Aug.—From Forge we sent to Rouen for a coach and 4 horses, who brought us safe to Rouen, aug. 24. the coach had eight crouns a day, on day comeing and another carryeing us thither.

Att Rouen we lodged some few nights at y^e quadran de mer, or sea compas, a good protestant inn, then hired privat Lodgeings from on Mr. Menier, a Taylor dans la rue aux ours, of whom we had 3 furnisht chambers, kitchen, and all its necessarys, with table and bed linnen, at y^e rate of ten crouns a moneth: next moneth we removed to a shoemakers * dans la rue neuf derrier la palais, where we had y^e same conveniencys, but bettar accomodat, and paid 40 Livars per moneth.

*Mr. Cardyn.

Octobr.—From Rouen I made a start up to Paris with on Mr. Wotton, ane english gentleman. We arrived at Paris oct^r 2^d, and left it y^e 7^th. We made but two days journey of it goeing, and as manny comeing. We went in a colace drawn but by on horse.

From Rouen, oct^r 21, we went for caen, in the ordinary stage coach, which goes thrice a weeke, at eight Livars a person; and haveing been Lodged two weeks in the grande hostell, a pretty nov^r. reasonable lodgeing place, we hired a house for ourselfs of a protestant gentleman called mons^r Daniel of Grangue, furnisht with all necessarys but bed and table linnen, at the rate of 500 Livars a yeare, and entered to it nov^r 2^d, and stayed till the end of august ensueing.

The 12th of this moneth nov^r did a regiment of foot souldiers come to Caen to compell the ptestants to renounce, and befor the first of January all the toun who had not made y^re escape had signed, as they call it, that is, renounced y^re religion, save about fourteen att most, counting men, women, and maids; but aftarwards the greatest part of all these, so soon as they had putt there affairs to anny order, fled out of the kingdom, and y^re familys.[1] Caen is a very pretty place, abounding with all things, and formerly much frequented by strangers. 1685. France.

This year the very first day of Aprile I fell sicke of ane tertian ague, but it beganne with a hot malignant feavar; haveing lett blood two several times, and taken the Jesuits powder[2] præpared in ane infusion, the ague seemed to be driven away, and wholly left me 20th ditto; but of a sudden, may 4th, by occassion of a purge I tooke, I had relapse, and aftar that another till aftar much sore handleing it pleased god to direct on doctor powree physitian of Rouen to præscrive me such remedyes as in and did pfectly cure me; it was about the beginning of July y^t I was well. 1686. Ap^r. July.

The first of August we came from Caen, haveing hired the whole stage coach to ourselfs for 56 livars, and a 100^lb of bagadge into the bargain, and arrived safe at Rouan Aug. 3d, where this time we lodged in the house of mons^r Ernault, a Aug.

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[1] This was in consequence of the celebrated Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., which took place three weeks before, on the 22d of October. A copy of 'The form of the Abjuration of the Protestant religion, and confession of the Romish,' imposed upon the French Protestants by this Act, taken from the original in the hands of Bonaventure Le Brun, notary public, of the neighbouring city of Rouen, is given by Wodrow in his *History*, vol. iv. p. 352.

[2] The bark of the Chinchona tree, originally a native of South America, from which our familiar medicine *quinine* is now obtained. It was first imported into Europe in 1639 by the Countess of Chinchon, the wife of the viceroy of Peru, who had been cured through it of obstinate intermittent fever. The Jesuit missionaries afterwards carried it to Rome, and distributed it through their several stations, from which it acquired the name of *Jesuits' Bark* and *Pulvis patrum*. On this account probably it was at first repudiated by Protestant physicians. Falling into practical disuse in Europe, its virtues were again brought into prominence by Robert Talbot, an English apothecary, who, in 1678, was knighted and appointed physician in ordinary to Charles II. whom he cured the following year of a tertian fever by means of it.

1686. France.

protestant merchant who had quit his house, his wife being gone for holland. it was rue erbier.

Septr. 27.—From Rouan we hired a coach to Dieppe at y^{e} rate of 50 Livars, and arrived there at night, in order to our comeing to England.

octob^{r}. at sea.

Fryday, octobr. 2.—We embarked in one of the kings yatchs called the henrietta, comanded by capt^{n}. Fisby, haveing first procured a pass for each of us from the governour; and haveing a good wind arrived Lords day morning 4th ditto, befor greenwich.

here beginneth old stile

Next day I went thence by watar to London, where haveing delivared all up, and cleared all acc^{tts}. with Mr. Vane, I left that family.

England.

Haveing stayed at London some 3 or 4 weeks, I resolved for holland, and accordingly in company with Lady Coltness,[1] and m^{ris} margaret Dinlap,[2] I went by watar to Haradge in the packet boat (for there is a boat that goes betwixt London and haradge, and another thence backe again to London 3 times a weeke, at 3 shillings the person) moonday night, octob^{r}. 25: and the weathar being very calm, arrived not there till thursday night 28.

octob^{r}.

Next Saturday, 30th, about 9 of y^{e} cloake at night, we went aboard the hollands packet boat, Mr. Gray, comander, next morning haveing a small gale of wind north west we made alford, and alford ness lights. all this day sunday 31 ditto we had very calm weather, till about 7 at night, when of a

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[1] Susanna Denham or Denholm, of Westshields, widow of William Lockhart of Waygateshaw, was married to Thomas Steuart of Coltness, 14th March 1677. She was on this occasion returning to Holland, after a visit to London, whither she went to try and come to some amicable arragement with James Earl of Arran, afterwards fourth Duke of Hamilton, who had received a gift of her husband's forfeited estate. 'It was thought perhaps his generosity might allow him (Thomas Steuart) a moderate subsistence in the interim, or make him take a moderate composition for the whole of the estate.' In this, however, Lady Coltness was unsuccessful. 'She was joked and insulted, and at last the door thrown in her face . . . and when she returned (to Holland), she had only her toyle and expences and abuses from the Earle to reflect on.'—*Coltness Collections*, p. 87.

[2] Probably one of the family of James Dunlop, merchant in Rotterdam, whose brother William married Sarah Carstares, sister of Principal Carstares, and became Principal of Glasgow University in 1690.

1686. at sea.

sudden, with a little gust of rain gott up a high easterly wind just in our teeth, it blew pretty fierce all night, and next day, yet notwithstanding the boat sailling well this day moonday Nov^{r}. 1: we made the land of Zeland, and discovered west capple steeple, a place nigh to middleborough, just about noon: we presently made of, and stirred uncertain in tacking to, and again 24 hours, when we made land again, which we found to be skouen land, we continued still tacking about, at night the wind comes south east, and by east, blows so all night. at sea. nov^{r}.

Next morning, Wednesday Nov^{r}. 3, we made skouen land again, when plying all our saills against two in y^{e} aftarnoon we mad goree land, and then in to the maes, and over the dry befor 10 of the night.

Next day, Thursday, Nov^{r}. 4 in the morning we came to the Brill, and thene that same day to Ro^{tt}. where god graciously once more aftar 3 years travell and absence, restored me to my freinds, who were all in holland at this very time, because of trouble at home. The packet boat we came over in was cast away the very next voyadge. holland.

Novr. 13.—There blowing a dreadfull tempest the wind at west north west there was a great inondation in holland, in so much that the whole province of groningue was overflowed, severall hundreds of people, and thousands of cattle drowned. the watar filled most sellars in Ro^{tt}. some people were lost: but the next day it abated: yet in the moneth of march next ensueing there was another inondation, that caused also great loss.

Novr. 19.—I went to the Hague and sie the prince, princess and court, and returned to Ro^{tt}. 23 ditto. holland.

Novr. 30.—I went to Utrecht, and there being invited to teach some freinds the french languadge, I accepted the offer, and stayed with them till april 3: my scholars were Mr. Chisley, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Erskin, Mr. Lumsden, Mr. hamilton, Mr. Nisbet, Mr. Burnet, and Mr. Scrope, the 3 last english:[1] and Utrecht.

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[1] At this time 'there was a large British colony at Utrecht, with the usual appanages of an English coffee-house, serving the purposes of a club, and an English church, in which an exiled minister, English or Scottish, officiated. The town, with its varied society, its noble cathedral, its shady mall, and open

1687. also I taught my Lady southerland.[1] at utrecht I lodged with one Mr. Wallace, alias adrington, till dec^r. 20, and all the rest of the time with the widow Van habboken in S^t anna straet. a dutch young gentleman præwailled also with me to teach him and his sistar the english languadge which I also did: his name was mons^r Vapour. I had from my scholars two ducatons a moneth. utrecht.

Wearying of this employ I resolved for england; and in order thereto came doun to Roterdam apr. 3d, where takeing leave of all my freinds I shipt aboard of a small ship, mastar Tho: Wood, apr. 26, went down that evening to Skydam, and tooke in some horses: 27, went as far as the brill: 28, about noon loosed, and sett to sea, and haveing a fair easterly gale made suffolke land fryday 29 about 8 in the morning, and stirring our course west south west came in through the kings channel, and arrived at London safe saturday 30 about eleven at night. apr. at sea. England.

In London I lodged with Mr. Quiney, a turner in addle street near to aldermanbury: I had my chamber of him for 18 pence p^r weeke and stayed with him till Octobr 10th from may 3d. may.

June.—About the middle of this moneth I lett some blood. England.

Towards the lattar end of July I, togither with Mr. Ro^bt. Fleming,[2] were engadged by the ministers here to come on our

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walks beyond the gates, must have been, in those days, as it is now, a cheerful and pleasant residence.'—Story's *William Carstares*, p. 25.

[1] Jean, daughter of David second Earl of Wemyss, and relict of Archibald Earl of Angus, married at Edinburgh, 11th August 1659, to George fourteenth Earl of Sutherland. She died in January 1715.—Douglas's *Peerage*.

[2] Robert Fleming, the son of the minister of the Scots' Church, Rotterdam, formerly noticed (see note, p. 313), was born at Cambuslang, and educated at the Universities of Leyden and Utrecht. He was privately ordained on 9th February 1688 by several ministers of the Church of Scotland. Steven, in his *History of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam* (p. 120), says he was ordained *there*, but this is probably a mistake for *London*, where, on that very same day, George Turnbull records in the *Diary* (p. 326), his own ordination. They are here said to have been licensed at the same time, and there is a strong presumption that they were also ordained together. Fleming thereafter acted for some years as domestic chaplain to Bartholomew Soame, Esq., of Thurloe in Suffolk, and was admitted minister of the Scots' Church, Leyden, in 1692. On the death of his father in 1694, he was invited to succeed him in the pastorate of the Scots' Church at Rotterdam, and was admitted there as colleague to Mr. James Brown, 30th January 1695. In 1698 he accepted a call to the Scottish Congre-

tryals for the ministry, and were licensed and approven Aug. 5: the ministers on our tryal were Mr. Geo. hamilton,[1] Mrs. John Law,[2] 1687

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gation at Founder's Hall, Lothbury, London, the oldest Scotch church in the metropolis, where his popularity so increased that, in order to accommodate his hearers, the church was rebuilt and enlarged in 1700; and here he continued to labour till his death in May 1716. He was greatly esteemed by men of all ranks, from the king (William III.) downwards, and had many offers of preferment to lucrative and honourable posts, all of which, however, he declined. He was the author of numerous works, the largest and best known of which is his *Christology*, 3 vols. 8vo, published in 1705. The most remarkable of his smaller publications is *The Grand Apocalyptical Question concerning the Rise and Fall of Rome Papal*, first published in 1701. This book excited immense interest toward the close of last century, from the astonishing coincidence between the author's conjectural interpretation of the Fourth Vial in the Book of Revelation, which he supposed related to the humbling of the French monarchy, before the year 1794, and the calamitous events which, about this revolutionary period, occurred at Paris. A portrait of Fleming, presented to the kirk-session, by Mr. Alexander Carstares (brother of Principal Carstares) is in the session-house of the Scots' Church at Rotterdam.—Steven, p. 114 *et seq.*; Johnston's *Treasury of the Scottish Covenant*, p. 371.

[1] George Hamilton, M.A., son of the minister of the same name, who was minister successively of Newburn and Pittenweem; graduated at St. Andrews, 13th May 1653; became minister of Newburn in 1659; ejected from his charge in 1662, decreet was passed against him, with many others, for holding conventicles 16th July 1671, and he was 'put to the horn,' 8th July 1680. He returned to Newburn in 1692, was translated to St. Leonard's, St. Andrews, in 1696, and to the New or High Church, Edinburgh, in 1697. Hamilton was Moderator of the General Assembly in January 1699. He resigned in 1710, and died 26th May 1712, in his seventy-seventh year.—Scott's *Fasti*.

[2] John Law, M.A., son of Thomas Law, minister of Inchinnan; born about the close of 1632; graduated at Glasgow in 1653, and ordained minister at Campsie in 1656. Ejected for nonconformity in 1662, from then till 1679, he was constantly engaged in holding conventicles, and marrying and baptizing, when, being arrested, he was sent prisoner to the Bass, but released after three months' confinement, in July 1679, upon giving security to appear before the Council when called. On the publication of the third indulgence of James VII. in 1687, Law and three other ministers were called to take the pastoral charge of the Presbyterians of Edinburgh, an office to which they were formally appointed by the Town Council, after the Revolution, in July 1689. It was not, however, until April 1692 that he was settled in a particular congregation as minister of the New or High Church (second charge), where he continued to preach till 1707, when, from age and infirmity, he demitted his charge, and, dying on the 26th of December 1712, was buried in the Greyfriars' Churchyard. Law was Moderator of the General Assembly of 1694.—Scott's *Fasti*; *Bass Rock*, p. 276 *et seq.*

1687 John Dickson,[1] Nicol Blakey,[2] Ro. Traill,[3] Da. Blair,[4]

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[1] John Dickson, M.A., said to have been related to the well-known David Dickson, minister of Irvine; graduated at Glasgow in 1649, and ordained minister of Rutherglen in 1655. Deprived in 1662, he became a noted 'field preacher.' Along with John Blackader, he took a leading part at the celebrated meeting at the Hill of Beath, near Dunfermline, on the 18th of June 1670—the first of the armed field conventicles. In 1677 the sacrament of the Lord's Supper began to be celebrated by the Covenanters in the open fields, and Dickson assisted on two well-known and frequently described occasions on which this was done, viz., at East Nisbet in Berwickshire, in the spring, and at Irongray in Dumfriesshire, in the summer, of 1678. In 1680, he was apprehended and committed to the Bass, where he remained a prisoner for about six years. Released in October 1686 he seems to have gone to London, but was restored to Rutherglen after the Revolution, where he died in January 1700.—Scott's *Fasti*; *Bass Rock*, p. 314 *et seq.*

[2] Nicholas Blaikie, or Blakie, M.A., took his degree at the University of Edinburgh, 15th April 1652; was domesticated in the family of Mr. James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, through whom an attempt was made for his settlement at Baldernock in 1659; ordained subsequently to Roberton in the Presbytery of Lanark, whence he was ejected in 1662, and proceeding to London previous to 1671, became minister of the Scots' Church, Founder's Hall, Lothbury, in 1684, where he ministered to a large congregation till his death in December 1698, Mr. Robert Fleming from Rotterdam (see p. 320) having become his colleague about six months previously. A minute account of the painful disease of which he died, and of the results of the post-mortem examination of his body, is given in Steven's *History*, p. 133.—Steven's *Scottish Church, Rotterdam*; Wilson's *Dissenting Churches in London*, vol. ii.; Scott's *Fasti.*

[3] Robert Traill was descended from an ancient family which had at an early period possessed the estate of Blebo in Fife. He was born in May 1642 at Elie in Fife, where his father was ordained minister in 1639. In 1661, when only nineteen years of age, he attended Guthrie, the minister of Stirling, and a great friend of his father, to the scaffold. After his father's banishment in 1662, he and the rest of the family suffered much privation, and in 1666 were forced to leave their home and conceal themselves. Being expressly exempted from the indemnity of 1667, he joined his father in Holland, and prosecuted his theological studies there, crossing over to London early in 1669, and being licensed and ordained by the Presbyterian ministers in that city, in April that same year. After preaching for some time in London without any settled charge, he was permanently settled shortly after at Cranbrook, a small town in Kent. Returning to Edinburgh in 1677 for a temporary visit, he was apprehended and imprisoned in the Bass Rock for holding conventicles, but was released after three months, and returned to his little flock at Cranbrook, removing some time afterwards to London, where he continued to the close of his life in May 1716, as pastor of a Presbyterian congregation.—*Bass Rock*, pp. 217-234.

[4] David Blair, M.A., eldest son of Robert Blair, minister of St. Andrews; born there in 1637; graduated 1656; and emigrating to Holland, resided usually at Leyden; became joint-pastor of the English Church at the Hague 20th June 1688; called in June 1689 to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh, he was

Ja. Fraser,[1] Tho. Douglass,[2] abr. hume,[3] Ja. Allan, John Reid.[4] 1687 aug.

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appointed chaplain to the king 1st August 1690; was admitted minister of the parish of St. Giles 9th August 1691; Moderator of the General Assembly February 1700, and died 10th June 1710. One of his sons, Robert, was afterwards minister of Athelstaneford, and author of 'The Grave.'—Scott's *Fasti*, part i. p. 11.

[1] The famous James Fraser of Brae, son of Sir James Fraser of Brae, born in the parish of Kirkmichael, Ross-shire, 29th July 1639, and licensed and ordained by some Presbyterian ministers in the north of Scotland in 1670. In 1677 he was apprehended for preaching at conventicles, and was sent to the Bass, from which he was released in July 1679. Apprehended again in 1681, he was imprisoned in Blackness Castle for seven weeks, being kept in close confinement, and subjected to rigorous treatment through the caprice of the tyrannical governor. On being liberated through the exertions of a brother-in-law, he was taken bound to leave the country, and went to London in May or June 1682. In July 1681 he was confined in Newgate for six months for refusing to take the Oxford oath. Returning to Scotland he was settled in a meeting-house at Culross in Fife, in January 1689, and permitted by the Committee of Estates to take possession of the church there in the following May. He died at Edinburgh on the 13th September 1698. Amongst his other publications, all of which were published posthumously, the most popular was his *Memoirs* of himself, printed in 1738.—*Bass Rock*, p. 124 *et seq.*; Scott's *Fasti*.

[2] Thomas Douglas, M.A., took his degree at Edinburgh University, 23d May 1655; originally ordained to a charge in London; repeatedly denounced as a rebel, for holding conventicles between 1671 and 1680, when a reward of 3000 merks was offered by the Privy Council for his apprehension. He evaded all attempts at pursuit, however, and in 1690 was settled at Wamphray,—dying there in 1695.—Scott's *Fasti*; Wodrow's *Hist.*

[3] Abraham Hume, M.A., a native of the Merse, Berwickshire; born about 1616; graduated at St. Andrews; became chaplain to the widowed Countess of Home, and accompanied John Maitland, afterwards the Duke of Lauderdale, the countess's son-in-law, to Paris and Geneva, and to London in 1643. He was instituted to the vicarage of Long Benton, Northumberland, and ordained by Presbyterian ministers in London in 1647, but being banished for royalist views, lived obscurely in Scotland till 1653, when he was instituted to the vicarage of Whittingham, Northumberland. Ejected in 1662, he travelled for some time in France. Returning to London, Hume became private chaplain to Alderman Plampin, on whose death he took charge of a Presbyterian congregation in Bishopsgate Street Without. Some time after, however, it was broken up, and he retired to Theobalds, Hertfordshire, but returned to London in 1687, when he became the minister of a Presbyterian church in Drury Street, Westminster. Died 29th January 1707, aged about ninety-two, according to his tombstone in Bunhill Fields. His funeral sermon was preached by Robert Fleming.—*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. xxviii. p. 208.

[4] This was probably the John Reid who, after the Revolution, became minister of Lochrutton in the Presbytery of Dumfries, on 2d December 1690. He is said to have been formerly a minister. According to his tombstone,

1687. aug. England. London. *Aug.* 14.—I preached at Mr. Lambeth's[1] meeting house in Southwark in the evening on rom. 8, 1.

21 ditto, I received the sacrament of the Lords supper in Mr. Blakey's meeting house,[2] Mr Traill[3] serveing the table.

Next thursday aug. 25 : I preached at Mr. Blakey's meeting house in masons hall in colman street on Isay. 53, 1.

septr. *Sunday, Septr.* 11.—Att night I preached att Mris. Baxtars in bull wharfe, on rom. 8, 1, last part of ye verse.

octobr. *Monday, Octobr.* 10*th.*—I removed to Mris. Turners in Throgmorton street: there I lodged on Mr. John Ker of Moriston's[4] acctt.

* on Josh. 24, 19. *Sunday, Octobr.* 16.—I preached * at brentwood in essex two dyetts upon Mr. Cochran's accompt, who had broke his arm, and did lye there.

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which is still extant, he died 2d January 1727, in the seventy-first year of his age.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[1] James Lambeth, or Lambert, succeeded the celebrated Richard Baxter in 1677, as the minister of a congregation worshipping in a meeting-house situated in Globe Alley, a passage leading into Maid Lane, where in former days stood the 'Globe' Theatre, immortalised by having been the place where Shakespeare first trod the stage. Erected, probably in 1672, for Mr. Thomas Wadsworth, the ejected minister of St. Lawrence, Poultney, it was a capacious wooden building, occupying a space of 2000 square feet, and having three large galleries. The congregation was finally dissolved about 1752. Mr. Lambeth died 9th August 1689, aged forty-five, and was buried in Bunhill Fields, where a tombstone, with a long Latin inscription, was erected to his memory.—Wilson's *Dissent. Churches in London*, vol. iv. p. 140 *et seq.*

[2] This was at Founder's Hall, in Lothbury. The congregation which met here was the oldest Scottish church in London, of which a Mr. Alexander Carmichael, formerly minister of Pettinain, in the Presbytery of Lanark, was the first minister. The exact date of its origin is uncertain. A tradition exists that Founder's Hall was originally the place of worship where the Scottish ambassadors to the Court of England attended divine service; but from the records of the company it appears that it was first let formally as a preaching place to the Nonconformists in 1672, the year in which Mr. Carmichael left Scotland for London, and the year of the Indulgence of King Charles II. After Mr. Carmichael's death in 1676, the congregation occasionally met at Dyers' Hall, and also, from the next entry in this diary, at Masons' Hall in Coleman Street. But during Mr. Blaikie's ministry, a fresh lease of Founders' Hall was granted to them in 1687,—the year of King James's Liberty. The building was rebuilt in 1700, and in 1764 another new church was erected for them at London Wall.—Wilson's *Dissent. Churches*, vol. ii. p. 460 *et seq.*

[3] See note, p. 322.

[4] For notice of John Kerr of Morriston, see note, p. 329.

Fryday, *Octob.* 21.—Did I, togither with Mr. Marke Ker brother to ye laird of moriston take our journey for holland. I came along to place him att ye university of utrecht; comeing in harwitch stage coach ye first day we dined at Brentwood, and lodged at wittham. ye second day we dined at Colchestar, and arrived safe at night to harwitch, where that same evening about 10 of the cloake we shippt aboard ye packet boat, mastar on Davison, and next moonday, octobr. 24, arrived safe att the brill in holland, thence straight that same day to roterdam, where haveing stayed two nights, on wednesday 26 at night we arrived at utrecht. 1687. octobr. holland.

Novr. 10.—Being Thursday, and the anniversary for yre delivrance from ye french tyranny,[1] I preacht att utrecht in the english church[2] in ye afternoon on thes words Isay 53, 1, last part. novr.

Novr. 16, *Wedensday.*—I came from utrecht to Roterdam.

Sunday, 20*th.*—Preached and lectured in ye Scots church there[3] on Josh. 24, 19: lectured on psa. 15.

Thursday, 24.—I preached in ye scots church, and went in the afternoon to Leiden, and returned the next day. psa. 19, 7.

Sunday, *Decr.* 4.—Preached at night in Roterdam churche, psa. 19, 7. again on ye same text sunday decr. 11, 1687, in ye same place. holland.

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[1] The peace of Nimeguen concluded in 1678. By this, the great contest in which William of Orange and Condé and Turenne were the opposing leaders, was brought to an end. Holland, by her heroic defence, had presented a barrier against the ambitious designs and dangerous aggressions of the French, saving probably the liberties of Germany, as well as her own, and emerging uninjured as a nation from the long series of attacks to which she had been subjected.

[2] Originally instituted in May 1622, when, on the application of the British residents in Utrecht, the Provincial States and the Municipal Corporation gave them the Church of St. Catherine for their place of meeting, and allowed a sum of 300 guildens yearly towards the support of a minister. The first minister was Mr. Thomas Scot, who was ordained on the 20th May 1662. At this time, when Turnbull preached here, a Mr. John Best was the minister—ordained in 1655.—Steven's *Scottish Church*, *Rotterdam*, p. 337 *et seq.*

[3] See note, p. 313.

1687 *Saturday, Decr.* 17.—I went down to Delph, and sunday fornoon preached on Joh. 4, 24.[1] moonday returned to Ro^tt^. thursday evening at Rott. decr. 22 I preached on Exod. 19, 11.

Sunday, December 25th.—Two dyetts at Delph on psa. 93, 5.

Fryday, Decr. 30th.—I shipped aboard of a ship, John Anderson mastar, for London, where next Thursday, Janry. 5th, I arrived safe.

1688 London. *Janry. 19th*, 1688.—Preached at Mr. Blakys meeting house on Isay. 55, 6, thursday.

Moonday, Janry. 23.—Preached for tryall in order to ordination on that Scripture, act 10, 34.

Moonday, Janry. 30.—Delivered my common head *de judice contraversiarij* as y^e^ second tryall.

Fryday, Febry. 3d.—Came under a third examination in catecheticall quæstions, etc.

London. *Febry. 5th, Sunday afternoon.*—Preached at Mr. Aigus his meeting house on Isay. 55, 6, last part.

Febry. 9.—I was ordained a minister of y^e^ gospell by imposition of hands. ministers concerned, Mrs. Geo. Hamilton, abram Hume, Nicol Blaky, Ro^tt^. Traill, James Frasar, James Broun,[2] David Blair, Thomas Douglass, John Herbert.[3] witnesses Lord Kerdross,[1] Coltness,[2] Moriston,[3] Mr. Stevinson, and others.[4] 1688

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[1] The pastorate of the English Church of Delft, originally founded in 1622, was at this time vacant, through the death of the minister, Mr. John Sinclair, on the 24th of March 1687.—Steven's *Hist. of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, p. 295.

[2] James Brown, M.A., said to have been an ordained minister since 1660. Where he was first settled is unknown, but in 1677 he was the pastor of a congregation at North Ferriby, on the Humber, eight miles above Hull. In 1683 he became chaplain to the British residents at Königsberg, in East Prussia. Here, however, he did not remain long. In 1689 he had become resident in Rotterdam, where he preached in the Scots' Church during part of the vacancy occasioned by the retirement of Mr. John Hog in 1689, and in September 1691 he was admitted to be joint minister with Mr. Robert Fleming, senior, of that charge; retiring from active duty in 1713, he died on the 22d of November that year, at the advanced age of seventy-nine.—*Ibid.* p. 107 *et seq.*

[3] John Herbert, M.A., graduated at the University of Glasgow, 27th July 1676; became minister of North Berwick in 1690, and died at Edinburgh, 14th July 1691, aged about thirty-six.—Scott's *Fasti.*

Febry. 12*th*, *Sunday fornoon.*—I preached att Mr. Blakys on marke 7, 23.

24*th Ditto.*—Upon ane invitation from Mr. Soalms[5] to goe doun to his countrey house at Thurloe in suffolke, I came from London, passing thorow stratford. I dined at harlaw (dear), thence thorow starford and stanstead. I lodged att Waldin at yᵉ whit hart; not dear.

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[1] Henry Erskine, third Lord Cardross, born in 1650, succeeded his father David in 1671; was fined £5000 in 1674, for permitting his wife to have worship in his house of Cardross with her own chaplain, Mr. John King. Of this fine he paid £1000, and asking in vain for a remission of the remainder, he was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh for four years. When released in 1679, on giving a bond for the amount of his fine, he went to London to seek redress from the king, but meeting with no success, he emigrated to North America, where he established a colony in South Carolina, which was destroyed by the Spaniards. Broken, but not dispirited, he returned to Europe, and sought refuge in Holland. Came over to London in 1688, and in the Scotch Parliament of 1689, obtained an act restoring him to his estates, and to all his other rights and privileges. He was also made a Privy Councillor and General of the Mint, but died from the effects of his sufferings at Edinburgh, on the 21st of May 1693, in his forty-fourth year.—Wodrow's *Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 194.

[2] Thomas Steuart, eldest son of Sir James Steuart of Coltness and Kirkfield, whom he succeeded in March 1681. Born 1631. After the defeat of the Covenanters at Bothwell in 1679, orders were issued for his apprehension, on the suspicion that he had supplied some of those who were there with meat and drink. He fled to Holland in 1683, when his estates were forfeited. Returning to London in 1687, and to Scotland after the Revolution, he was knighted by the Earl of Melville, Lord High Commissioner, in 1689, created a baronet in January 1698, and died 7th May that same year.—Wodrow's *Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 113; Foster's *Members of Parliament* (*Scotland*).

[3] John Kerr of Morriston, in the parish of Legerwood, Berwickshire. See notice, note, p. 329.

[4] For notices of the other ministers mentioned here, see notes, pp. 321-323.

[5] Bartholomew Soame, a London woollen draper, who became proprietor of the estate of Little Thurlow, in the county of Suffolk, by gift of his nephew, Sir William Soame, Bart., the seventh son of Sir William Soame, Knight, who was Sheriff of Suffolk in 1655. It was in his house that Robert Fleming, junior, who had been licensed and also ordained (probably) along with Turnbull, became domestic chaplain about this time. He married Susanna, daughter of Richard Hutchinson, a London merchant, on whose death on the 14th of February 1691-2, Fleming preached and published a sermon, with a preface containing some account of her life and death. His *Poetical Paraphrase of the Song of Solomon* is dedicated to the same lady.—Burke's *Extinct Baronetcies of England*; Steven's *Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, p. 121.

1688 *25th.*—Passing thorow litston and wickam, I arrived at Thurloe about noon.

26th, Sunday.—Preached fornoon on psa. 15, and aftarnoon on Joh. 4, 24.

England. Thurlow. *Sunday, March 4th.*—Preached at Thurlow hall, in Suffolke, fornoon and aftarnoon, on Joh. 7, 37.

Again *March* 11, on ye same text in the same place two dyetts.

Again in ye same place two dyetts,

Sunday, March 18.—On Isay. 55, 7.

London. *Moonday, March* 19.—Came from Thurlow to cambridge, where haveing seen ye most considerable colledges, I lodged at barley all night, and next day arrived at London.

Fryday, 23.—I let blood.

Sunday, 25.—Fornoon I preached at captn clars in spittlefields, on Isay. 55, 7. that same day renewed covenant with god, and com̄unicat with Mr. Blacky.

Moonday, 26.—Fornoon being a thanksgiving day aftar ye sacrament, I preached att Mr. Blakys on coll. 2, 6.

Sunday, Apr. 1.—Preached att Captn Clare's, in spittle fields, on Esay. 55, 7.

Sunday, Apr. 8.—At ye same place on coll. 3, 1. that same day in ye evening at Mris. Baxtars in bull wharfe, on psa. 93, 5.

Sunday, Apr. 29.—In founders hall in Loathburry, Mr. Blaky's meeting place, on heb. 9, 14, once.

Saturday, May 5.—I came down from London to Ware in hartfordshire,[1] and preacht there sunday two dyets on heb. 9, 14. Came backe to London moonday, may 7th. England.

May 9th.—Came from London, with a design for Scotland, in Moriston and his Lady's[2] company, and Lodged that night at Barnet.

May 10*th.*—From Barnet to Pothouse bar, thence to Wel-

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[1] 'On July 22d, 1672, a licence was taken out for William Collet's house at Ware, to be a Presbyterian meeting-house.'—Urwick's *Nonconformity in Herts*, p. 716.

[2] This lady was Grizel Cochrane, the heroine who twice robbed the postman on Tweedmouth moor, near Belford, Northumberland, in 1685, of the warrant he was conveying to Edinburgh for her father's execution, and so saved his life. She was the only daughter of Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree (second son of the first Earl of Dundonald), by his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Sir William Strickland, Bart., of Boynton, Yorkshire, and was born in 1666. An associate

1688

England.

barr,* thence to wallin, where we dined; thence thorow stevenadge to Baldick, the furthest town that way in hartfordshire, where we lodged all night at the white horse.

* so to hatfield.

Next day, May 11th.—Thence to bigglesworth in bedfordshire, where we dined at the crown; thence to Bugdon in huntingtownshire where we lodged at the seahorse.

Saturday, May 12th.—Dined at stiltown and lodged all night at wansford in huntingtownshire, and rested there all the Lords day. I lectured in the morning on psa. 1; and in the aftarnoon on psa. 15. the next morning, may 14th, thence to stamford, part whereof is in northamptonshire, part in Lincolnshire, and so to colsworth, where we dined; thence to grantham, where we lodged all night at y^e angell.

Twesday, May 15th.—To newark upon trent river in Notinghameshire, there dined, and lodged all night in Tuxford at y^e red Lyon, in y^e same county.

Wedensday, 16th.—To Batry, y^e first town in Yorkeshire, famous for good ale and milnstons, where we dined at y^e crown, and lodged all that night at the thrie crans in duncastar, famous for stokins and all other knitt worke of wooll. Thursday 17th, we dined at the posthouse in ferriebriggs, it is y^e signe of the George, and lodged all night att abbyfirth. fryday 18th, passed through weatherby, and at noon only called

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in Argyll's ill-fated expedition in May 1685, Sir John Cochrane was taken prisoner, as he lay concealed in a friend's house in Renfrewshire, conveyed to Edinburgh, 'bound and bare-headed,' by the common hangman, and confined in the Tolbooth. He was sentenced to be hanged, and the messenger, with the king's warrant for his execution, was on his way from London, when, as he neared Berwick on the evening of the 7th of July, he was waylaid, and the postbag containing the warrant taken from him. The same thing again occurred fourteen days after, when a new warrant had been sent north. It was not till long after that it was ascertained that this had been done single-handed by Sir John's daughter Grizel, disguised in male attire. By this means his execution was delayed, and ultimately he was pardoned. Shortly afterwards Grizel Cochrane was married to John Kerr of Morriston in Berwickshire, who died 27th September 1691, in the thirtieth year of his age. She survived her husband many years, dying on the 21st of March 1748, in the eighty-third of her age. Her tombstone and that of her husband are still to be seen in the ancient burial aisle of the Kerr family in Legerwood churchyard. Lady Morriston during her widowhood lived often at Kerrsfield (now Milne Graden), in the parish of Lennel (Coldstream), where Thomas Boston, then minister at Simprim, about a mile distant, was a frequent visitor.

1688 England. at the posthouse in barrowbriggs, and lodged all night at topcliff at Mr. harpers. saturday 19th, dined at northallerton at yᵉ kings head, and lodged all night at Darlingtoun, yᵉ first toun that way in yᵉ bishopricke of Durham, which is divided from yorkeshire by yᵉ river tease. at Darlingtoun we lodged at yᵉ naked boy and post horn, and rested all the lords day, where in yᵉ fornoon I lectured on psa. 19, and in yᵉ aftarnoon preached on psa. 19, 7. from Darlington monday 21, we came and lodged all night at ferryhill. thence 22 dined att Chestar in the street, and lodged all night in newcastle, the first town in northumberland; its situat upon yᵉ river Tyne. betwixt Darlington and newcastle is the city of Durham, which we only passed thorow. from newcastle we came to morpath, and lodged there all night, and thene next night to Anicke, thence fryday, 25th, dined at belford, and came in to Berwicke at night.

Scotland. *Saturday*, 26*th.*—I came to Scotland, and stayed at Blackburns in the merce [1] till moonday.

Sunday, 27.—I lectured on psa. 19; thence I came to yᵉ queensferry moondays night. thus god again restored me to my freinds and native countrey.

Edenʳ. *Wedensday*, *May* 30*th.*—I came in to Edenʳ.

Sunday, *June* 3*d.*—I lectured on Isay. 65 to v. 11th, and preached on heb. 9, 14; two dyetts in Mr. Kirktons meeting house.[2]

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[1] This place is in the parish of Cockburnspath, and is about twenty miles from Berwick. At this time it was the property and residence of Robert Brown, one of the most steadfast adherents to covenanting principles, and a heavy sufferer for these. He was fined £600 by Middleton's Parliament in 1662, and £1200 in August 1680, for absence from the muster of the king's troops that marched against the Covenanters at Bothwell. On the 22d October 1684, along with a neighbouring laird, Home of Houndwood, he compeared at Duns, before the Earl of Balcarres, Lord Yester, and William Hay of Drummelzier, a circuit court specially appointed for Berwickshire, to crush the Covenanters. On this occasion, however, he escaped further penalties, 'the lo. understanding by ther oathes that they were now orderlie, and for ther former withdrawing that they have been fyned, and have given in bills to the comittee of publick affaires.'

[2] Situated on the Castle-hill. James Kirkton, M.A., was born about 1628, and graduated at Edinburgh University 22d July 1647. He became minister of the second charge Lanark in 1655, and was translated to Merton in 1657, from which charge he was ejected in 1662. Went to Holland in 1676, but returned in 1687, when he was called, with Messrs. Hugh Kennedy, John Law, and William Erskine, to take the pastoral charge of the Presbyterians of Edinburgh,

June 7th.—I preached at the Taylors hall[1] on coll. 3, 1; it was a thursday. 1688 Scotland.

June 8th.—I came to sterlin, and sunday, 10th, lectured on Ezeck. 2, and preached two dyetts on Isay. 55, 7.

Next thursday, 14*th.*—I returned to Edenʳ.

Sunday, 10 instant, was the prince of Wales born.

Fryday, 15.—I came out to the queensferry, and sunday following, 17th instant, preached at Dundass[2] on Joh. 13, 8; two dyetts, and lectured on Zecha. 13.

Tuesday, 19*th.*—I went to Barostoness to sie freinds, and returned to queensferry next day. Thursday, 21 instant, I preached at dundass on rom. 8, 11, and baptised thrie children, and married two couple of persons; yᵉ married persons names were Alexʳ King and Jennet Boog, James pride and Christian Gilcrist, all of Dalmeanny parish. yᵉ fathers of yᵉ children there names Robert duncan, James Mochry, and Roᵇᵗ Gurlaw, all of abercorn parish, upon sufficient testimony.

Thursday, June 28.—I preached at Taylors hall on rom. 5, 1, and baptised thrie children.

Saturday, June 30.—I came to Dundie, and preached Lords day, July first, in the town, on phil. 1, 27, and lectured on Isa. 65. july.

Twesday, July 3d.—I came over again to fife, and saturday, 7th, in to Edenʳ, where next Thursday, 12th of July, in the Taylors hall on rom. 5, 1.

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a call formally confirmed by the Town Council in July 1689. He was restored in 1690 to his charge at Merton, but only preached there on two Sabbaths, being admitted to the Tolbooth Church, 25th January 1691. Died 17th September 1699. His *Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to* 1678 was edited and published (with a biographical notice) by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe in 1817.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[1] In the Cowgate. Wilson, in his *Memorials,* says it was by far the most stately of all the corporation halls, if we except St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel, interestingly associated with important national and civic events.

[2] The representatives of the ancient family of Dundas of that ilk warmly espoused the covenanting cause. Towards the close of the seventeenth century George, the laird of Dundas, suffered severely from the rigorous laws against nonconformity. The proprietor of Dundas at this time (1688) was Ralph, the twentieth laird, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of William Shairp of Houstoun, and had two sons, Thomas and William, who both died *s.p.* There was a regular meeting-house at Dundas Castle. The present kennels and the keeper's bothy there are built on the site of what used to be called the 'Chapel,' while the field adjoining was known as the 'Chapel acre.'

1688 *Sunday*, 15.—I preached in mary's chappell, Mr. Erskins meeting place,[1] all day; I lectured on Zech. 13, and preached on philip. 1, 27, last part of ye verse, and baptised a child.

Twesday, 17.—On the same text in the canongat meeting house.

Sunday, *July* 29.—At lenny, in cramon parish, I lectured on Isay. 66, from v. 5 to 15, and preached two dyetts on Isay. 66, 2.

Aug. *Sunday*, *Aug.* 5.—Preached at Dundass on psa. 2, 11, and lectured on the wholl psalme, and baptised tuo children.

Sunday, *Aug.* 12.—Preached at Dundass on psa. 2, 11, and lectured on psa. 3, and baptised four children.

Moonday, 13.—I conveyd ye Laird of moriston and his Lady[2] as farr as bleckburn[3] on there way to Berwick, and returned next day to Edenr.

Sunday, 19.—Preached at Falkirke on Joh. 13, 8, and lectured on psa. 73. moonday, 20, mariyed two persons called William brash and Jennat marshall, and returned to Queensferry.

Sunday, 26.—Preached at Dundass on Joh. 8, 36, and lectured on Joh. 5.

Septr. *Sunday*, *Septr.* 2.—Preached in the Magdalen chappell[4] in Edenr for Mr. John Law on 1 cor. 2, 2, two dyetts; and lectured on Joh. 5, to v. 13.

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[1] William Erskine, M.A., a son of Erskine of Shielfield, and cousin-german of the famous brothers Ebenezer and Ralph, was born about 1631, and graduated at Edinburgh 1st August 1651; became minister of Girthon, in the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright, in 1658, from which he was ejected in 1662. From 1676 till 1684 he was imprisoned at Stirling, Dumbarton, and Blackness. In 1687 was one of the four ministers called to Edinburgh, and was appointed one of the ministers of the city by the Town Council in 1689, being ultimately admitted to the Tron Church. He died May 1692.—Scott's *Fasti*; Fraser's *Life of Ebenezer Erskine*, p. 48 *seq.*

[2] See note, p. 328.

[3] See note, p. 330.

[3] The chapel of St. Mary Magdalene in the Cowgate, still extant, and now the property of the Protestant Institute of Scotland; originally the chapel of an hospital erected in 1504, chiefly by the contributions of Michael Macqueen (or Macquhen), a wealthy citizen, and largely endowed by Janet Rhynd, his widow, about 1545. It was used by the Corporation of Hammermen, to whom it was left in trust by the founders, as a hall for their meetings. Within it in 1560 the first General Assembly is believed to have met, as well as that of 1578, which 'ratified and allowed' the Second Book of Discipline. After his execution on the 30th of June 1685, the headless body of the Earl of Argyll was laid on the table which still stands before the pulpit or desk, till it was conveyed to Kilmun—the burying-place of the family—in Argyllshire. It appears to have been used as a meeting-house by Mr. John Law, after he became one of the ministers of Edinburgh in 1687, till he was settled in the New or High Church in 1692.

Wedensday 5th and fryday 7th.—I tooke physicke at the Queensferry. 1688. Scotland.

Sunday, Septr. 9th.—Preached at ffalkirke on Joh. 7, 37, and lectured on the same chapter, and baptised a child out of Lerbor parish.

Wedensday, 12th.—There mett a generall meeting of ministers, Mr. John Law being moderator, they dismissed again fryday 14th.

Sunday, 16.—Preached att Dundass on Isay 55, 7; lectured on John 5, 17 to 25; and baptised two children.

Fryday, Septr. 21.—Preached at the Queensferry on psa. 19, 7; and baptised a child to Mr. John Dalgliesh.[1] septr.

Sunday, 23.—Preached at Dundass on Isay 55, 7; and lectured on James 1 to v. 3; and baptised two children.

Sunday, 30.—Preached at Dundass on Isay 55, 7; and lectured on Jam. 1, v. 2 to v. 8; and baptised thrie children.

Thursday, October 4th.—Lectured in ye meeting house at Leith[2] on Zech. 12, 9 v. to ye end. octr.

Sunday, 7th.—I tooke ye sacrament in Leith, Mr. Law serving the table.

Fryday, 12th.—I preached at Dundass on phil. 1, 27; and baptised two children, and married two persons.

Sunday, 14th.—Preached at Dundass on Isay 55, 7; and lectured on Jams. 1, 5 to 16; and baptised 3 children.

Thursday, 18th.—Preached at Lithgaw on marke 7, 23.

Sunday, 21.—Preached at falkirk on John 7, 37; and lectured on John 14; and baptised two children.

Thursday, 25.—Preached at Culross on Isay 55, 6.

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[1] John Dalgleish, M.A., son of William Dalgleish, minister of Cramond; graduated at St. Andrews in 1662; became chaplain to William Earl of Roxburgh, who presented him to the church of Roxburgh, where he was ordained by Archbishop Leighton in 1673. Owing to the smallness of the benefice, however, he was obliged to leave it, much regretted by the people. After renouncing his former Episcopalian tenets, he was allowed by the Presbytery of Linlithgow, on the petition of the parishioners, to exercise his ministry temporarily at Queensferry, in January 1688. In 1690 he returned to Roxburgh, and was subsequently translated to Old Machar in 1696, and to Dundee in 1700.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] Situated at the Meeting-House Green near the Sheriff Brae. The place was first used as a meeting-house by the Presbyterians in July 1687, and Mr. William Wishart was ordained minister of the congregation which gathered here, in January 1688.

1688. *Sunday*, 28.—Preached att Dundass on John 4, 24; lectured on Jam. 1; and baptised a child.

novr. *Sunday*, *Novr. 4th.*—Preached at Dundass on jude 20; and lectured on James 1; and baptised 3 children.

Sunday, 11*th.*—Preached at Dundass on jude 20; and lectured on James 2; and baptised two children.

Fryday, 16.—Preached at Dundass on phil. 1, 27; and baptised 3 children.

Sunday, 18.—Preached at Dundass on jude 20; and lectured on Jam. 2, 16.

Sunday, 25.—Aftarnoon, preached at Edenr for Mr. hamilton,[1] on jude 21.

Twesday, 27.—Preached at Dundass on phil. 1, 27; baptised two children, and married two persons.

Wedensday, 28.—Upon a supplicaion psented from the parish of Dalmeany to the presbitry of Linlithgaw, the presbitry interposed there desire, and I grented to exercise my ministry among them for some time till mattars were further settled.[2]

Fryday, 30.—Marryed two persons in my own chamber in ye Queensferry.

decr. *Sunday*, *decr. 2d.*—Preached at Dundass on jude 21; and lectured on James 2, lattar part.

Thursday, 6.—Preached at Dundass on phil. 1, 27; and baptised a child.

Sunday, 9.—Preached at Dundass on jude 21; and lectured on James 3, beginning; and baptised a child.

Thursday, 13.—Preached at Dundass on phil. 1, 27; and baptised two children.

Sunday, 16.—Preached at Dundass on jude 21; and lectured on James 3, end; and baptised a child.

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[1] Alexander Hamilton, M.A., son of the laird of Houshill (or of Claud Hamilton of Little Earnock, according to Anderson). graduated at Glasgow in 1649: ordained minister of Dalmeny by the Protesters in 1656. Deprived in 1662, but indulged by the Privy Council in 1669. So many persons went from Edinburgh to hear him, that he was removed by the Bishop to Dalserf in the Presbytery of Hamilton in 1677. Called to Edinburgh in 1687 after the toleration, he at first occupied a meeting-house there, and resigning the charge of Dalmeny (to which he had been restored in April), in August 1690, he was settled in the New or High Church in December that same year, and died in December 1696, aged about seventy.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] See Introduction, p. 302.

Thursday, 20*th*.—Preached att Dalmeany on luke 8, 22, etc.; and baptised a child. 1688.

Sunday, 23.—Preached at Cullross on psa. 2, 11; and lectured on psa. 2.

Moonday.—Marryed two persons there.

Sunday, 30*th*.—Preached at Dundass on psa. 16, 8; lectured on James 4th to v. 10; and baptised two children.

Sunday, *Janry*. 6*th*.—Preached at Dundass on psa. 16, 8; and lectured on James 4 to the end. baptised 3 children. 1689.

Thursday, 10.—Preached at Dalmenny on hos. 6, 1; baptised a child, and marryed a couple.

Sunday, 13*th*.—Att Dundass on psa. 16, 8; and lectured on James 5.

Sunday, 20.—Att Dundass, preached and lectured on the same scripturs, and baptised two children.

Thursday, 24.—Preached att Dalmenny on hos. 6, 1; and baptised two children to on man.

Sunday, 27.—Preached att Dundass on hos. 6, 1; and lectured on hos. 14. a fast-day.

Thursday, 31.—At Dalmeanny, preached on hos. 6, 1.

Sunday, *Febry*. 3.—Att Dundass on 2 cor. 5, 14; and lectured on James 5. Febry.

Twesday, 5*th*.—Preached att Corstorphin on jude 21; and baptised two children.

Fryday, 8*th*.—Lectured on psa. 4; and baptised two children to on man at Queensferry.

Sunday, 10.—Preached at Dundass on 2 cor. 5, 14; and lectured on James 5; and baptised a child.

Sunday, 17.—Att Dundass on 2 cor. 5, 15; lectured on James 5; and baptised two children.

Sunday, 24.—At Dundass on text ditto; lectured on 1 pet. 1; and baptised two children.

Thursday, 28.—At Dalmeanny on hos. 6, 3; and baptised a child.

Saturday, *March* 2.—Att Queensferry on 2 Cor. 11, 27; being pparation day befor ye comunion. March.

March 3.—Preached at Queensferry on rom. 5, 1; and served two tables.

1689. *Sunday, March* 10.—Att Dundass on 2 cor. 5, 15; and lectured on 1 pet. 1, to v. 13; and baptised a child.

Sunday, 17, *ditto.*—Att Dundass on 2 cor. 5, 15; lectured on 1 pet. 1, to v. 20; and baptised thrie children.

Sunday, 24, *ditto.*—At Dundass on ditto, and ditto lecture; and baptised 2 children.

Sunday, 31, *ditto.*—Preached at falkirke on psa. 16, 8; lectured on the same psalme; and baptised two children.

Apr. *Sunday, Apr.* 7.—Att Dundass on 2 cor. 5, 16; lectured on 1 pet. 1; and baptised thrie children.

Sunday, Apr. 14.—Att Dundass on 2 cor. 5, 17; lecture ditto; and bapt. 3 child.

Note. The eleventh of this moneth was William prince of orange and Mary princess of orange proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland by order of a convention of estats then mett.

Apr. 18, *Thursday.*—Preached at Dalmenny on hos. 6, 3; and baptised a child.

Sunday, Apr. 21.—Att Dundass on 2 Cor. 5, 17; lectured on 1 pet. 2; and baptised thrie children.

Apr. 25, *Thursday.*—Preached att Dalmenny on Josh. 24, 19.

Sunday, Apr. 28.—Att falkirke on psa. 16, 8; and lectured on Isay. 65.

May. *Thursday, May* 2.—Att Dalmenny, preached on nahum 1, 2.

Sunday, ditto 5*th.*—Att Dundass on 2 cor. 5, 17; lectured on 1 pet. 2; and bapt. a child.

Thursday, 9*th ditto.*—At Dundass on Ezek. 39, 25; it was a thanksgiving day by appointment of the stats for our delivery under King William from popery and arbitrary powr; and baptised 3 children.

Sunday, 12*th.*—Preached at Dundass on 2 cor. 5, 17; lectured on 1 pet. 2; and baptised a child.

Wedensday, 15.—The comittee of estats upon a petition from the parish of Dalmenny allowed me to preach in the church of the s^d parish.

Sunday, 19.—Att Dalmenny church on 2 cor. 5, 17; lectured on 1 pet. 2; and baptised seven children.

Thursday, 23.—Place fors^d on hos. 6, 3.

1689. *Sunday*, 26.—In Murryonside church[1] on hos. 6, 3; and lectured on y^{e} same chaptar.

I first took possession of both these churches aftar our late revolutions.

june. *Sunday*, *June 2d.*—Att Dalmenny church on 2 cor. 5, 15; lectured on 1 pet. 2.

Sunday, *9th.*—Att Murrinside Kirke, on hos. 6, 3; lectured on the same chaptar, and baptised a child.

Twesday, 11*th.*—Baptised two children in the Queensferry church, and marryed on couple of persons there, and another couple at Dundass that same day.

Thursday, 13*th.*—Was the castle of Eden^{r} surrendered by Duke Gordon to King William, having stood out from the beginning of the King's reign till then.

Sunday, 16*th.*—At falkirke on Isay. 66, 2; lectured on heb. 4.

Twesday, 18.—On ditto, and marryed thrie couple of persons.

Thursday, 20.—Marryed another couple at Dundass.

Sunday, 23.—Preached in y^{e} aftarnoon at Currie church on Isay 66, 2.

Thursday, 27.—At Dalmenny on heb. 4, 9; and baptised a child.

Sunday, 30.—Att falkirke on Isay 66, 2; and lectured on the same.

july. *Sunday*, *July* 7.—Att Dundass to my Lady[2] being sicke, preached on heb. 4, 9.

Monday, 8*th.*—Att murrinside on heb. 4, 9; baptised 2 child., and marryed two.

Thursday, 11*th.*—Att Dalmenny on mat. 3, 8; and baptised a child.

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[1] The church of Muiravonside had at this time quite recently become vacant through the desertion of Andrew Ure or Urie, the Episcopal incumbent, who had been settled there since 1667. He had made himself particularly obnoxious to the Presbyterians in the district, having been the means of the death of Peter Gillies, a 'waulker' or fuller in 1685.—Scott's *Fasti*; Wodrow's *Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 245.

[2] Lady Christian Leslie, the daughter of the renowned General Alexander Leslie, the first Earl of Leven. She was the widow of Walter Dundas, the nineteenth laird of Dundas.—Burke's *Landed Gentry*. Her death in December 1689 is referred to in this *Diary*, p. 340.

1689. *Sunday*, 14.—Att murrinside on mat. 3, 8; lectured on ditto; and baptised a child.

Thursday, 18.—Preached att Kirkliston on mat. 3, 8; baptised a child, and married a couple of persons.

Sunday, 21.—Att Dalmenny on mat. 3, 2; and lectured on luke 15, last part.

Sunday, 28.—Att inchmahin [1] on jona 3, 10. lectured on mal. 3; and baptised a child.

Aug. *Sunday*, *Aug*. 4.—On ditto at ditto, and lectured on Jer. 10, from v. 19.

Thursday, 8*th*.—Att Dalmenny on heb. 3, 11; and baptised two children.

Sunday, 11*th*.—Att abercorn church [2] on ditto, and lectured on Isay 53.

Sunday, 18.—Att Dalmenny on ditto, and lectured on heb. 3; and baptised a child.

Thursday, 22.—Att Dalmenny on ditto.

Sunday, 25.—Att inchmachon on heb. 3. 13; and lectured on psa. 19.

Twesday, 27.—I marryed Alex^{r} mastar of melvill,[3] and M^{ris} Babie Dundass [4] att Dundass.

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[1] This is the name still given by the country people to the parish of Ecclesmachen. A small stream runs through the parish, and at one point divides into two branches, which, after some distance, reunite, thus forming an 'inch' or island.

[2] Robert Gordon, the minister of Abercorn, was deprived by the Privy Council on the 23d of this month, for not reading the Proclamation of the Estates, and not praying for William and Mary, but for King James.—Scott's *Fasti*.

[3] Alexander (son of George fourth Lord, and first Earl of Melville, and Lady Catherine Leslie, only daughter of Alexander, Lord Balgonie, and granddaughter of the famous General, the first Earl of Leven), who bore the courtesy titles of Master of Melville and Lord Raith, born 23d December 1655. After the Revolution he was appointed a member of the Scottish Privy Council, and Treasurer-Depute, an office which he discharged with great zeal and ability, although amid much discouragement. He was as staunch a Presbyterian as his father, whose ecclesiastical policy he supported, and was subjected to the assaults of the same political adversaries. He died 28th May 1698.—Sir William Fraser's *The Melvilles, Earls of Melville, and the Leslies, Earls of Leven*, Edinburgh, 1890, vol. i. p. 241.

[4] Barbara, third daughter of the deceased Walter Dundas of Dundas, and Lady Christian Leslie. She survived her husband for upwards of twenty years, dying 23d February 1719. They had issue, two sons, born in 1693 and 1695, both of whom died in infancy.—*Ibid.*

Septr. 1.—Att Dalmenny on ditto, and lectured on chap. ditto, from v. 7. 1689. Septr.

Septr. 8th.—At east calder on psa. 19, 7; and lectured on ditto, and baptised a child.

Ditto 15.—Att Borthicke, being a fast day, on hos. 6, 1; lectured on hos. 5; and baptised a child.

Ditto 22.—At alloa on exod. 34, 7; and lectured on ditto to v. 10.

29th.—At ormiston on heb. 3, 12, and lectured on exod. 34.

Octr. 6th.—At kirkcaldie upon occasion of my aunts death on heb. 4, 9.

13th Ditto.—Att cramond on heb. 4, 3; and lectured on acts 17.

27.—Att currie on psa. 93, 5; lectured on eccle. 7 to v. 19; and baptised a child.

Sunday, Novr. 3.—Preached in the colledge church of Edenr.[1] on jude 21; and lectured on acts 10. Novr.

10th.—Att torriburn on Jonah 3, 10; and lectured on psa. 48.

14 *Thursday.*—Att ditto on mat. 3, 8; and baptised a child.

17 *Sunday.*—At tillyallan church on mat. 3, 2; and lectured on the same chaptar, and baptised two children.

21 *Thursday.*—Att kirkliston I lectured on psa. 17; baptised five children and married two couples.

24 *Sunday.*—Att Alloa on psa. 16, 8; and lectured on psa. 17.

Novr. 28, *Thursday.*—Lectured att Tillyallan on psa. 17; and baptised thrie children, two of them being twins, and married two couple of persons.

Decr. 1, *Sunday.*—Att Alloa on Isay. 66, 2; and lectured on heb. 3.

3 *Twesday.*—I marryed two persons att Tillyallan church.

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[1] Trinity College Church, originally founded by Queen Mary of Gueldres in 1462. In 1595 the Town Council constructed a gallery or 'loft' in it for the regents and students of the University. This venerable edifice was removed in 1845 to make way for the present Waverley Railway Station. After years of litigation, the present Trinity College Church in Jeffrey Street was built out of the materials of the old erection, in 1871-2.

1689. *8th Sunday.*—Att Airth on Jonah 3, 10; lectured on heb. 12; baptised a child.

Sunday, 15*th.*—Att Dundass upon occasion of the old ladys death[1] lectured on heb. 12; and preached on gen. 2, 7; and baptised a child.

22*th.*—Att Airth preached on John 5, 41; lectured on heb. 12.

29*th.*—Att ditto preached on ditto, and lectured on Jer. 4, 1, etc.

Twesday, 31.—Att ditto preached on gen. 2, 7, and married two couple.

1690. *Janry. 5th.*—Att ditto on ditto, lectured on Jer. 4; and baptised 3 children.

Moonday, 6*th.*—Att falkirke lectured on ps. 17, and baptised a child.

Fryday, 10*th.*—Att Edenʳ tron kirke aftar anothers sermon baptised thrie children.

12*th.*—Att falkirke preached on gal. 6, 15; and lectured on mat. 26, 36, etc.

Janry. 19.—Att Alloa preached on job 22, 21; lectured on Isay. 1.

26.—Att ditto preached on ditto, and lectured on ditto, baptised a child.

Twesday, 28.—Preached at Airth on Joh. 17, 3; and baptised a child.

Febry. 2.—Att Alloa preached on 2 cor. 7, 1; lectured on psa. 50, from v. 7.

Sunday, 9*th.*—Att Bortwicke on lectured, and I preached on John 5, 40; two dyetts, and baptised a child.

Fryday, 14*th.*—Att ditto I marryed two persons.

Sunday, 16*th.*—Att ditto preached on ditto and lectured on Isayah 6.

Fryday, 21.—In the tron church of Edenʳ preached on micah 6, 9; bapt. 2 children.

Twesday, 25.—In the canongate meeting house preached on Job 22, 21; and baptised two children.

march. *Sunday*, *March* 2.—Preached at airth on micah 6, 9; and lectured on ditto.

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[1] See note, p. 337.

Sunday, 9*th*.—Att alloa on 2 cor. 7, 1; and lectured on Isay. 1; and baptised two children. 1690.

Sunday, 16*th*.—Att ditto on ditto, and lectured on ditto.

Sunday, 23.—Att ditto preached on rev. 14, 13; and lectured on psa. 119, 1.

Sunday, 30*th*.—Att ditto on ditto, and lectured on y^e^ same chaptar.

Sunday, *Apr.* 6*th*.—At airth on psa. 119, 12; and lectured on psa. 48. Apr.

Sunday, *Apr.* 13.—At ditto on ditto, and lectured on ditto.

On Wedensday and fryday this weeke at airth I lectured, and baptised both days a child.

Sunday, *Apr.* 20.—Att ditto on John 8, 36; and lectured on psa. 49.

Sunday, *Apr.* 27.—Att alloa lectured on psa. 19; and preached on philip. 1, 27.

May.

Sunday, *May* 4*th*.—Att ditto lectured on Zech. 13; and preached on John 13, 8.

Thursday, 8*th*.—Att the mains of dollar preached on 1 cor. 1, 30; bapt. 2 children.

Sunday, 11*th*.—Att Alloa lectured on psa. 9; and preached on rev. 14, 13; and baptised a child.

Twesday, 13*th*.—Att Airth preached on 1 cor. 1, 30; and baptised a child.

Sunday, 18*th*.—Att Alloa lectured on Isay. 12; and preached on 1 cor. 1, 30.

Sunday, 25.—Att Queensferry lectured and preached on ditto, and baptised a child.

Thursday, 29*th*.—Att Dalmeany preached on John 5, 40; and baptised two children.

june.

Sunday, *June* 1.—Att Airth lectured on Isay. 12; and preached on 2 cor. 5, 17.

Twesday, 3*d*.—Att Sterlin preached on Josh. 24, 24; and marryed a couple.

Sunday, 8*th*.—Att Airth lectured on psa. 16; preached on 2 cor. 5, 17; and baptised two children.

Sunday, 15*th*.—At Ratha lectured on psa. 119, beginning; preached on psa. 119, 11; and baptised two children.

1690. *Sunday*, 22.—Att Ennereske lectured on psa. 119; and preached on 1 cor. 1, 30.

Twesday, *22d.*[1]—Being a fastday at ditto lectured on Isay. 58; and preached on Josh. 24, 24.

Sunday, 29.—Att ditto lectured on psa. 119; and preached on 1 cor. 1, 30; and baptised a child.

July, *Sunday*, 6*th*.—At Queensferry lectured on John 20; and preached on Josh. 24, 24.

Sunday, 20*th*.—At alloa lectured on John 20; preached on 1 cor. 1, 30; and baptised a child.

Sunday, 27*th*.—Att ditto lecture and sermon on ditto.

Aug. 1.—Being fryday, preached at Airth, baptised a child and marryed a couple.

Sunday, 3*d*.—Att Alloa lecture and sermon on ditto.

Twesday, 5*th*.—Marryed a couple at Sterlin, being a presbitry day.

Sunday, 10*th*.—Att Alloa lecture and sermon on ditto.

Sunday, 17*th*.—Att ditto lectured on psa. 119, 1; and preached on mat. 16, 26.

Sunday, *Aug*. 24.—Att ditto lectured and preached on ditto.

Fryday, 29.—In the tron church of Eden^r preached on rev. 2, 4; and baptised a child.

Sunday, 31.—Fornoon in the canongate meeting house lectured on psa. 16; and preached on 1 cor. 1, 30; and that same day aftarnoon in ye tron church on ditto.

Septr. 1, *Moonday*.—There was a call by the heritors and elders of Alloway parish for me drawn up and subscribed; Mr. Alex^r Dowglass, minister at Logie,[2] moderating in it. the next day it was presbyterially psented to me, captain John Areskin having a comission from the heritors, and John Kirke and George hegg from ye elders for yt end.

the next day I accepted of it.

Sunday, 7*th*.—At Logie meeting house lectured on rev. 2;

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[1] Evidently a mistake for 24th.

[2] Alexander Douglas, M.A., son of Mr. Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh; born in 1640, and graduated at Edinburgh University, 14th July 1659; ordained in a meeting-house at Logie, 15th August 1688, the church being occupied by William Elphinston, the Episcopal incumbent, till 1690. Died in 1720.—Scott's *Fasti*.

and preached on rev. 2, 4; that same day Mr Alexr. Dowglass by comission from ye presbitry served my edict att Alloa. 1690.

Sunday, 21.—Preached in the tron church of Edenr., being a thanksgiving day for the kings safe return from Irland,[1] on 1 sam. 7, 12; and baptised a child.

Fryday, 26*th*.—Mr. Alexr. Douglass, ministar at Logie, preaching, and all the presbitry of Sterlin with some assistents concurring, I was admitted minister of Alloway.

Septr. Sunday, 28.—Lectured on 2 cor. 5, and preached on Isay. 1, 18; a fast day for ye assembly.

Twesday, 30.—Att dillicutry on mat. 2, 3; and baptised a child.

Octor. Fryday 3*d*.—Att Alloa, on hos. 6, 3; and baptised a child.

Sunday, 5*th*.—Being the thanksgiving day for the kings safe return from Irland in the countrey, lectured on 2 cor. 5; and preached on gen. 35, 7; and baptised a child at alloa.

Sunday, 12*th*.—At ditto lectured on luke 1; preached on psa. 19, 7; and baptised a child.

Sunday, 19.—At ditto lectured and preached on ditto, and baptised two children.

Sunday, 26.—At ditto lectured on ditto, preached on jude 20, and baptised a child.

Moonday, 27.—I baptised a child at Alva.

Twesday.—Marryed two persons in alloa, and then at Logie church baptised two children, and marryed two persons.

Novr. 2, *Sunday*.—Att Alloa lectured on luke 1; preached on mat. 1, 21; and baptised a child.

Twesday, 4*th*.—At Airth preached on ditto, baptised two children and marryed a couple.

Wedensday, 5*th*.—At Alloa preached, and baptised a child from dillicoutry.

Sunday, 9*th*.—Att Alloa lectured and preached on ditto, and baptised thrie children.

Wensday, 12*th*.—At ditto, beginning our weekly sermon preached on Jonah 3, 10; and baptised two children.

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[1] On the 6th of September, William III. landed at Bristol, after defeating James VII. at the battle of the Boyne on the 1st of July.

1690. *Novr.* 16.—Att Alloa lectured on ditto, preached on Joh. 20, 27; and baptised a child.

23d.—Att ditto on mat. 1, 21; lectured on luke 2; and baptised a child.

27th.—In the new kirke of Edenʳ on ditto baptised a child, and marryd 3 couple.

30th.—Att Alloa on psa. 119, 11; lectured on luke 3; and baptised a child.

Decr. 7th.—At ditto lectured on ditto, preached on heb. 4, 9; and baptised a child.

14th.—Att ditto on gal. 3, 10; lectured on luke 4.

Wedensday, 17.—Preached on Isay. 55, 7; and baptised two children.

21.—Att ditto lectured on luke 4; preached on gal. 3, 10; and baptised two children.

28.—Att ditto on mat. 3, 8; and lectured on ditto.

1691. *Jany. 4th.*—Att ditto on hos. 14, 1.

8th.—Thursday being a fast day for the lands sins, on Josh. 24, 24.

Sunday, 11*th.*—Lectured on luke 4ᵗʰ, preached on hos. 14, 1; and baptised a child.

Sunday, 18*th.*—At ditto lectured on luke 5ᵗʰ, and preached on Joh. 4, 24.

Febry. first.—Att ditto lectured on ditto, preached on heb. 3, 13; and baptised 3 children.

Wedensday, 4*th.*—On Isay. 55, 7; and baptised thrie children.

Sunday, 8*th.*—Lectured on luke 6; and preached on act 17, 31.

Febry. 25.—Lectured on ditto, and preached on ditto.

March 1.—At Sterlin preached on James 5, 9; and baptised two children.

8th.—Lectured on luke 6ᵗʰ, preached on ditto, and baptised four children.

15th.—Lectured on luke 7ᵗʰ, preached on act 2, 36; and baptised a child.

22d.—Lectured on luke 7ᵗʰ, and preached on Isay. 55, 7.

24th.—At airth on James 5, 9; and baptised a child.

29th.—Lectured on Luke 7ᵗʰ, preached on act 2, 36; and baptised two children.

Apr. 5th.—Lectured on luke 8th, preached on ditto, and baptised a child. 1691.

12th.—Lectured and preached at ditto.

13th.—I marryed a couple from dumblan.

14th.—Another couple from Tillicutry.

15th.—Baptised a child at airth.

16th.—Baptised 3 children and marryed two couple at Logie.

26th.—At dumblan lectured on Is. 55; preached on mat. 16, 26; and bap. 3 child.

28.—At alloa baptised a child.

May 3d.—At alloa lectured on luke 9th. preached on act 2, 37; and bapt. a child.

Fryday, 8th.—Baptised 3 children.

10th.—Lectured on ditto, preached on act 2, 38.

May 17th.—At Airth lectured on psa. 16; and preached on rom. 8, 1; and baptised two children.

24th.—At home lectured on luke 10, and preached on act 2, 38.

27.—A fast day for success to K. Wms arms,[1] lectured on psa. 122; preached in the fornoon on ezek. 39, 25; and in the afternoon on psa. 122, 6.

31.—Lectured on luke 10; preached on act 2, 38; and baptised a child.

June 7th.—Lectured and preached on ditto.

14th.—Lectured on luke 11th, preached on James 1, 3.

18th.—I went to Fashua and moderat in a visitation upon Mr. Irlands late incumbent there his manse,[2] thence to Falk-

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[1] The campaign in Flanders against the French, whose king, Louis XIV. had espoused the cause of James VII. William went to the Continent this month, when, as Macaulay says (*History of England*, vol. iv. p. 65), 'for the first time since Henry the Eighth laid siege to Boulogne, an English army appeared on the Continent under the command of an English king.'

[2] Alexander Ireland, M.A., a son of the minister of the same name at Kinclaven in the Presbytery of Dunkeld, graduated at St. Andrews in 1652, and was admitted to the united parishes of Fossoway and Tullibole in 1659. He not only conformed to prelacy, when it was restored by Charles II. the following year, but became a peculiarly fiery prelatic zealot. He was deprived by the Privy Council after the Revolution, and finally deposed 'for gross immorality and oppression.' He must still, however, have remained for some time in the neighbourhood of his charge, for shortly after this (on 15th November 1691), the

1691. land that night, next day to S^{t}. andrews, next day to monqhuany,[1] and 21 preached in the kirke of Kilmenny on act 7, 31; and lectured on psa. 17.

22.—I went doun to Cowpar, and the next home to alloa.

27*th*.—Being the monethly fast day for success to King Williams arms, I preached in the kirke of Tillicutry on hos. 6th, 1.

June 28*th*.—At alloa lectured on luke 12; preached on Jer. 3, 12; and baptised a child.

July 5*th*.—M^{r}. Dalgleish preached for me. this weeke I ended the examination of my parish, having begun in January.

12*th*.—At home, lectured and preached on ditto and baptised two children.

13th.—At Airth, where I præsided by appointment of the presbitry in a call for a M^{r}. John adie[2] to that paroch.

19th.—At Fashua kirke lectured on psa. 17, and preached on mat. 1, 21; and made intimation by order of y^{e} pbitry, that all qcerned should meet on y^{e} 27 for the election of a min^{r}.

26*th*.—At home, lectured on luke 12, and preached on Jer. 3, 12; baptised 5 children.

Moonday, 27.—Att the kirke of Fashua, where by appointment of the pbitry I psided, in a call given to Mr. William Spense [3] to be min^{r} there.

Session records bear that there was 'no session, nor any collection gathered, because of the uproar made by Mr. Ireland and the malignants who were seeking to intrude on the kirk, but were driven back.' He ultimately went to Ireland, where he died prior to 5th July 1698.—Scott's *Fasti*; *Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane*, App. p. 258; *Bass Rock*, 327.

[1] In the parish of Kilmany. It was at this time the property of James Crawford, a maternal uncle of Turnbull. See Introduction, p. 299, and note, p. 441.

[2] Ordained to the parish of Dron in September 1692, and died in 1696.

[3] The minister of the neighbouring parish of Glendevon, where, after graduating at St. Andrews in 1654, and acting for some time as schoolmaster of Abernethy, he was ordained in 1664. After a lengthened course of discipline before the Presbytery of Auchterarder, and the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane, he was first deposed, in May 1679, and then excommunicated, in October 1680, 'for disowning the present Church government.' Having attached himself to the unfortunate Earl of Argyll, to whom he became amanuensis or secretary, he was apprehended in England and loaded with irons, in April 1684. Shortly after he was examined before the Privy Council in Edinburgh, and subjected to torture of the most barbarous description by means of 'the boot' and 'thumbikins,'

Wedensday the 29th.—Being ye monethly fast, at home, lectured on micah 6, 9. 1691

Aug. 2.—Lectured and preached on ditto.

9*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preached on Jer. 3, 13.

16*th.*—Lectured and preached on ditto.

23*d.*—Lectured and preached on ditto.

Aug. 26*th.*—Being Wedensday the monethly fast for success to the King's arms, lectured on psa. 111, and preached on hos. 6, 1.

30*th.*—Att dumblan lectured on psa. 95; preached on Jer. 3, 13; and bapt. 2 children.

Moonday, 31.—I rod to dumbarton to psent a call to Mr. Tho. Forrester[1] from the paroch of Kincairn.

Wedensday, *Septr.* 2.—I returned to Sterlin and on thursday home.

Septr. 6*th.*—Lectured on luke 15; preached on Jer. 3, 22; and baptised 2 children.

13*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preached on prov. 4, 23.

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and by being forcibly prevented from sleeping for eight or nine days and nights. Imprisoned thereafter in Dumbarton Castle along with William (afterwards Principal) Carstares, his deposition was declared null and void by the General Assembly of 1690, and after officiating for a short time at Kinross, he was restored to his old parish of Glendevon, and was removed to Fossoway this year (1691), (see the notice of his admission in this *Diary*, on 21st September), and died there 19th March 1715, in his eightieth year, after a very chequered and eventful life.—Wodrow's *History*, vol. iv.; *Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane*, App. p. 250.

[1] Thomas Forrester, the minister of Killearn, where he was settled in 1688. A native of Stirling, he was originally ordained at Alva in 1664, but renouncing Episcopacy in 1673, and preaching at conventicles, he was taken prisoner at Stirling and conveyed to Edinburgh in February 1674. Deposed by the Diocesan Synod and Bishop of Dunkeld in April that same year, he was proclaimed a fugitive in 1684. While at Killearn, besides this call to Kincardine, he received others from Glasgow, Dumbarton, Strathaven, and St. Andrews, to the last of which he was translated in 1692, and became Principal of the New College there in 1698. He died in November 1706. He is said by Dr. Burns, the editor of Wodrow's *History*, to have been 'well known as one of the ablest advocates of Presbyterianism and of the Church of Scotland at a period when the controversy with Episcopalians was conducted on both sides with uncommon ardour and no slender talent.' Forrester's chief publication is entitled, *The Hierarchial Bishops Claim to a Divine Right tried at the Scripture Bar*, published at Edinburgh in 1699.—Scott's *Fasti*; Wodrow's *History*, vol. ii. p. 252 *et seq.*

1691 20*th.*—Att Tillicutry to make intimation to heritors and elders to meet for ye election of a minister, lectured and preached on ditto.

Moonday, 21.—I assisted at ye admission of Mr. William Spense to be minister of Fashua att Fashua kirke.

27*th.*—Lectured on luke 16, and preached on marke 1, 14, 15.

Moonday, 28*th.*—I assisted at the ordination of Mr. Thomas James[1] to Cleish.

twesday.—I rod to St Andrews, where I assisted at the synod of fyfe as correspondent from the synod of perth, and on Thursday I went to monquhany, and on fryday I came home.

Octor. 4*th.*—Lectured on luke 17, and preached on marke 1, 14, 15.

11*th.*—Preached on rev. 3, 19, and lectured on ditto.

Twesday, 13*th.*—I assisted at our provinciall synod mett at perth, and fryday,

16*th.*—returned home again.

19*th.*—Preached on prov. 4, 23, and lectured on luke 17.

25*th.*—Att the church of Tillicutry lectured and preached on ditto.

Novr. 1.—Preached on psa. 11, 6, and lectured on luke 18.

Moonday, 2.—I went to Edenr to assist in the generall assembly indicted to meet the first of this instant, but it being adjourned by the king till the 15th of January 1692, the members did not meet,[2] so having having [*sic*] aggried with on Mr. Thomas Tod,[3] then chaplan to the Earl of Lothian,[4] to be governor to my Lord Marr,[1] I returned home on fryday 6th. 1691

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[1] He accompanied the first Darien expedition as one of its chaplains, but died of fever on the voyage thither, on the 23d October 1698.—Wodrow's *Anal. Scot.* vol. i.

[2] 'It is a curious fact that after the first Assembly of the Revolution Church in 1690, partly owing to the unsettled state of the Church and country, but mainly to the secret plottings of the Jacobites, or of those who were unfriendly to the Presbyterians, the meetings of the Supreme Court were either postponed or summarily dissolved by edicts from the King, so that for three years the annals of the Assembly present a total blank.'—M'Crie's *Story of the Scottish Church*, p. 429.

[3] Probably the Thomas Todd who graduated at Edinburgh in July 1687, and became minister of Durrisdeer, in the Presbytery of Penpont, Dumfriesshire, on 5th September 1700.

[4] Robert Kerr, fourth Earl of Lothian and third Earl of Ancrum; served with distinction as a volunteer in the Dutch army, 1673; made a Privy Councillor in

Sunday, 8*th*.—Preached on psa. 71, 21, and lectured on ditto.

15*th*.—Preached on Isay. 55, 3, and lectured on ditto.

Wedensday, 18*th*.—I began my weekly sermons again.

Novr. 22.—Lectured on luke 19, and preached on ditto.

Thursday, 26.—Being a thanksgiving day for the kings safe return[2] and success abroad, especially the entire reduction of Irland,[3] I preached on psa. 147, 12.

29*th*.—Lectured on luke 19, and preached on Josh. 24, 15. this weeke was a pbitry, and I was att the Queensferry sieing my dying brother in law, And. bissett.

Decr. 6*th*.—Lectured on ditto, and preached on psa. 130, 3. the young man Mr. Tod formerly mentioned not pleasing my Lord Marr, I aggried with another, on Mr. Archbald adair son Mr. patrick adair, minister at Belfast, in Irland,[4] and about the beginning of this moneth he came home to Alloa, and the other went away.

I was again chosen a member to assist at the generall

1686, and Justice-General and Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly 1692; created Marquis of Lothian 1701; married Jane, daughter of Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, and died 15th February 1703.

[1] John Erskine, eleventh Earl of Mar, born in 1675; succeeded to the earldom in 1689; succeeded Queensberry as Secretary of State for Scotland in the Jacobite interest in 1706; headed the rebellion of 1715, and was attainted and his estates forfeited; fled to the Continent, and died at Aix-la-Chapelle in May 1732.

[2] King William returned from the campaign in Flanders on the 18th of October.

[3] The capture of Athlone on the 30th of June, the victory at Aghrim on July 12th, and the surrender of Limerick on the 3d of October, after a siege of six weeks, were followed by a treaty concluded at the latter, which secured to the Irish Catholics the exercise of their religion, and permitted those who wished to retire to the Continent at the expense of the Government. About 12,000 availed themselves of this permission, and many of them entering the service of Louis XIV. as the 'Irish Brigade,' played a distinguished part in subsequent wars.

[4] Patrick Adair, son of William Adair, minister of Ayr, who administered the Covenant to the Presbyterians of Ulster in 1644; was ordained to the pastoral charge of the parish of Cairncastle, near Larne, county Antrim, 7th May 1646; and removed thence to Belfast in 1674, where he died in 1694. His *Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, 1623-1670—first published in 1866, with an Introduction by Dr. Killen, of Belfast—is the only record of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland prior to the Revolution.—Reid's *Hist. of the Presb. Church in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 206.

1691 assembly Jan^{ry} 15th; about this time the bass, which some of king James partisans surprised by stratagem, and which still holds out for him, was supplyed with all things necessary out of france.[1]

29*th*.—Did my Lady Marr and whole family goe for Eden^{r}. I went along to queensferry, and returned the last day of the year.

1692 *Janry*. 3.—Att dumblan I lectured on eph. 4, preached on 1 cor. 1, 30, and ordained elders there 24 in number. I was also there called to sie on margaret Robertson, who had brought forth a child and murdered it; she shewed few or no signs of serious repentance.

10*th*.—Att alloa lectured on luke 21, and preached on mat. 13, 30.

Friday, 15*th*.—This day the generall assembly sat doun about 3 in the afternoon, Mr. John Law,[2] on of the ministers of Eden^{r} having preached in the fornoon in place of Mr. hugh Kennedy,[3] moderator to the last assembly, now unwell. Of this assembly Mr. William Crichton, min^{r} att bathkett,[4] was

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[1] The fortress of the Bass, of which Charles Maitland was the Deputy-Governor, was surrendered to King William III. in 1690; but four young Jacobite officers who were imprisoned there, boldly surprised the garrison, and sending all the soldiers ashore, actually succeeded in holding the rock till 1694, every effort to dislodge them proving ineffectual. Supplies were secretly conveyed to them by friends, and on the occasion referred to in the text, a French vessel brought them 'all sorts of provisions and stores, and two boats, one that carried two pattararoes, twelve musquets, and rowed with twelve oars, and another small boat.' Eventually, two ships of war sent by the English Government, aided by some smaller vessels, cut off their supplies, and reduced them to the necessity of capitulating in April 1694.—*Bass Rock*, p. 35; *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. iii.; Crichton's *Memoirs of Rev. John Blackader*, App. p. 348.

[2] See note, p. 321.

[3] Hugh Kennedy, M.A., graduated at Glasgow in 1641; ordained at Mid-Calder 13th April 1643; deposed in 1660, but returned to his charge on the toleration being granted in 1687; translated to Edinburgh that same year, and after preaching for some time in a meeting-house, was admitted to Trinity College Church in 1689. He was elected Moderator of the first General Assembly after the Revolution, 16th October 1690. He died 25th April 1692, aged about seventy-one.—Scott's *Fasti*.

[4] William Crichton, M.A., obtained his degree at the University of Edinburgh 26th July 1649; ordained (by the 'Protestors') at Bathgate, 10th April 1654. Inhibited by the Synod in 1655, he was removed, for intruding, in 1660, but returned at the toleration in 1687, when he opened a meeting-house at Hilderstone, in the neighbourhood, where John Blackader held a large conventicle in

1692 chosen moderator, and the Earle of Lothian was sent com̄issionar from the king; this assembly did litle or nothing but in mattars of transporta^{o}ns, and were dissolved *sine die* by the com̄issionar saturday Febr^{y} 13, yet the moderator, the assembly unanimously adhæring, having asserted the intrinsicke rights of the Church, did also att the assemblys desir indict a new meeting agst the third wedensday of August 1693.[1]

Janry. Sunday, 17th.—Mr. Rott. Gourlay [2] did preach for me, I being at Eden^{r}.

Sunday, 24th.—I came from Eden^{r} the saturday befor, and lectured on luke 22, and preached on psa. 130, 7.

Monday, 25th.—I went to Queensferry, and next day in to Eden^{r} to y^{e} assembly.

Saturday, 30th.—I returned from Eden^{r}.

Sunday, 31.—Lectured on ditto, and preached on heb. 12, 2.

Moonday, Febry. 1.—I returned to Queensferry, and thence next day to Eden^{r}.

Febry. 7th.—Mr. Thomas Buchanan [3] did preach for me at alloa. This Sabbath by appointtment of the assembly I preached in the new church of Eden^{r} [4] in the aftarnoon befor the com̄issionar on Jer. 3, 13.

Saturday, 13th.—Was the assembly dissolved as is above said.

Sunday, 14th.—I was in Eden^{r} hearing.

Twesday, 16.—Preached in abbey kirke [5] on Jer. 3, 14.

1671. In 1693 he was removed to Falkirk, and in 1695 to the Tron Church, Edinburgh. He was again Moderator of the Assembly in 1697, and died 27th November 1708, in his seventy-eighth year. From an entry in this *Diary*, under date 25th December 1702 (p. 425), he seems to have been in some way related to Turnbull.—Scott's *Fasti*; Crichton's *Blackader*, p. 153.

[1] For a short account of this Assembly, which consisted of about one hundred and seventy members, see Story's *Carstares*, p. 244; and Hetherington's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 209.

[2] Probably the nephew of James Forrest, Oldyards, Cambusnethan, who, along with his uncle, was banished to Flanders in 1683, for harbouring fugitives. Ordained minister of Tillicoultry 31st March 1692, and died in 1713.—Wodrow's *Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 446; Scott's *Fasti*.

[3] Thomas Buchanan, M.A., graduated at Glasgow in 1684; ordained minister of Tulliallan, 29th March 1692; translated to Dunfermline in November 1710; died 10th April 1715, aged about fifty-one. He married Grissel Glass, a sister of Mrs. Turnbull.—*Ibid.*

[4] St. Giles.

[5] Afterwards known as the Canongate Church, built in 1688, to accommodate the congregation formerly meeting in the Chapel of Holyrood, which ceased to be a Parish Church in 1687, when James VII. turned it into the Chapel Royal.

1692 *Saturday*, 20*th.*—Returned from Eden^{r}, and

Sunday, 21.—Lectured on ditto, and preached on heb. 12, 2.

Sunday, 28*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preached on mat. 26, 40. This weeke I beganne to visitt the paroch.

March 6*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preached on rom. 6, 3. this weeke I beganne to examin, being the second weeke of march.

13*th.*—I served Mr. Rott Gowrlays edict in the church of Tillicutry, and lectured on psa. 99, and preached on psa. 119, 11.

20*th.*—Att home, lectured on luke 23, and preached on mat. 17, 5.

27*th.*—At Queensferry, where I was upon the occasion of my brother in law Andrew bissett his death, who dyed thursday, march 24, and was buryed saturday, 26th. I lectured on psa. 99, and preached on mat. 17, 5.

Aprile 3*d.*—Att airth lectured on Jer. 5, and preached on psa. 19, 7.

10*th.*—At home, lectured on luke 23, and preached on rom. 6, 4.

17*th.*—Lectured on luke 24, and preached on psa. 119, 81.

24*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preached on rom. 6, 4, 5.

May 1*st.*—Preached at Culross on psa. 19, 7, and lectured on hos. 14.

Next sabbath I was att Eden^{r}.

May 12*th.*—I preached at Kippan on 1 tim. 5, 16, which day Mr. John m^{c}claren[1] was ordained min^{r} there.

15*th.*—At home, lectured on amos 8, and preached on rom. 6, 5.

22*d.*—Lectured on psa. 18, and preached on ditto.

25*th.*—Being a fast day, and the first in course this year, I preached on psa. 28, 5.

29*th.*—Lectured on psa. 30, and preached on ditto.

June 5*th.*—Lectured on hos. 14, and preached on heb. 9, 14.

12*th.*—Lectured and preached on ditto.

Twesday, 14*th.*—Being a thanksgiving day for K. Williams victory at sea over the french fleet,[1] lectured on psa. 133, and preached on hos. 3, 5. 1692

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[1] Doctor in the Grammar School, Glasgow, 1690; translated to Carstairs in 1699, and to the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, in 1711. Died in 1734, in his sixty-seventh year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

19*th.*—Lectured on gen. 1, and preached on rom. 6, 6.

26*th.*—Lectured and preached on ditto.

Wedensday, 29*th.*—The monethly fast,[2] preached on hos. 4, 1, 2, 3.

July 3*d.*—Lectured on gen. 2, and preached on rom. 6, 6.

10*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preached on rom. 6, 7th.

17*th.*—Lectured on psa. 81, and preached on Isay. 53, 1.

July 24*th.*—Lectured on gen. 3, and preached on rom. 6, 8.

27*th.*—Being the monethly fast I preached on Jer. 8, 7.

31.—Lectured on gen. 3, and preacht on rom. 6, 8.

Aug. 7*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on rom. 6, 9, 10.

14*th.*—Lectured on gen. 4, and preached on rom. 6, 11.

21.—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on rom. 6, 12. This weeke I ended the examinaᵒn of yᵉ paroch.

28.—Lectured on ditto and preacht on rom. 6, 13.

31, *Wedensday.*—A fast day, preacht on hag. 2, 4.

Septr. 4*th.*—Lectured on gen. 5, and preacht on gal. 6, 14.

11*th.*—Lectured on gen. 6, and preacht on rom. 6, 14.

18*th.*—Fornoon, preacht in the tolbooth church att Edenʳ. on rom. 6, 12.

25*th.*—Lectured on gen. 6, and preacht on rom. 6, 15.

Fryday the 16 of this moneth I went to Edenʳ., and stayed till next Thursday, when I came out to linlithgaw, and togither wᵗ Lord Aberruchal[3] and Mr. Dawglass psented a call from the paroch of Dumblan to Mr. michaell pottar,[4] minister at baro-

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[1] The maritime *Battle of La Hogue*, fought on the 23d of May.

[2] A national fast was at this time appointed to be observed on the last Wednesday of every month, for five months, from May to September, for the success of their Majesties' forces by sea and land, and especially for the preservation of the Protestant religion.

[3] Sir Colin Campbell of Aberuchill, in Perthshire, whose father, Sir James, was killed at the battle of Worcester in 1651; admitted advocate in 1654; became an ordinary Lord of Session in 1682, and a Lord of Justiciary and Privy Councillor in 1690. M.P. for the county of Perth from 1693 to 1702. Died 16th February 1704. His father had been a devoted Royalist, but he himself was a decided Presbyterian and Whig, when most of his neighbours were Episcopalians or Popish Jacobites, and a warm friend of the Revolution.—Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 433.

[4] Michael Potter, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1663; became tutor in

1692 stounness, befor the pbitry of lithgaw, and fryday 23 returned home.

Wedensday, 28.—Being the monethly fast, and the last of this year, I preacht on Zech. 4, 10.

Octor. 2.—Lectured on Joh. 6, and preacht on coll. 1, 20.

This day I admitted four new elders, viz. rott. forman, James nucoll, John Thomson, James mitchell.

Octor. 9*th*.—Lectured on ditto and preacht on Joh. 6, 35.

This day I made intimation of the co͞munion to be on the fourth sabbath of this moneth, and the fast day to be on the Wedensday pceding the first sabbath.

16*th*.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

23.—The sacrament of the lords supper was celebratt; I preached on Joh. 6, 35; my assistants were M^rs^ James Frasar, min^r^ at Culross, michaell potter, min^r^ att Borostounness, William moncreiff, min^r^ att Largo,[1] Alex^r^. Dowglass, min^r^ att Logie, and Thomas Buchanan, min^r^ att Tillyallan; there were eight tables served.

30.—Preacht on acts 4, 13, in y^e^ aftarnoon.

Novr. 6*th*.—Lectured on gen. 7, and preacht on eccl. 12, 1.

13.—Lectured on gen. 8, and preacht on ditto.

20th.—Lectured on gen. 9^th^, and preacht on Joh. 3, 3.

27*th*.—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on ditto.

Decr. 4*th*.—Att the church of blackford I preached on Job 22, 21; and lectured on psa. 16.

11*th*.—Lectured on gen. 10, and preacht on heb. 2, 17, 18.

18*th*.—Lectured on gen. 11, and preacht on ditto.

25*th*.—Lectured on gen. 12, preacht on marke 7, 34.

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the family of George Dundas of Dundas; licensed and ordained in 1673 to minister to the Presbyterians in the parish of St. Ninians; endured much persecution, and fled to Holland, but returning in 1680, was apprehended in 1681, and imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh till 1683, when he was sent to the Bass, from which he was liberated in March 1685. He became minister of Borrowstounness, 7th December 1687, was translated to Dunblane this year (1692), and died there in 1718, aged about seventy-six.—Scott's *Fasti*; *Bass Rock*, p. 368.

[1] William Moncrieff, M.A., youngest son of Alexander Moncrieff, minister of Scoonie, graduated at St. Andrews in 1677; went to Holland, and returning in 1687, was ordained minister of Largo in 1691. Died 14th September 1723, aged about sixty-six. Ralph Erskine wrote an elegy upon him of one hundred and eighty lines.—Fraser's *Life of Ralph Erskine*, p. 146; Scott's *Fasti*.

Moonday, 26*th*.—Was mr. Michaell potter admitted minist^r to Dunblan, having been formerly min^r at Barostounness.

Janry. 1.—Att the church of Torriburn I lectured on luke 15, and preacht on rom. 6, 5. 1693

8*th*.—At home, lectured on gen. 12, and preacht on rom. 6, 16; and in y^e aftarnoon on 2 pet. 1, 2.

This weeke I begann to examin.

15*th*.—Lectured on gen. 13, and both fornoon and aftarnoon preached on ditto.

Aftar this I resolved in the aftarnoons to preach on the chiefe principles of our religion in the method of the assemblys shorter catechism, and I had chosen 2 pet. 1, 2, to introduce this great worke.

22.—Lectured on gen. 14, and preacht on rom. 6, 17; and in the aftarnoon on 2 pet. 1, 2.

29.—Lectured on gen. 15, and preacht on rom. 6, 17; and in the aftarnoon on rom. 11, 36.

Febry. 5. Lectured on gen. 16, and preacht on 2 cor. 13, 5.

12*th*.—Att sterlin, preacht on Isay. 41, 17; and lectured on that same chapter.

19*th*.—Lectured on gen. 17, and preacht on verse 1.

26.—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on acts 20, 32, in the aftarnoon, and in the fornoon on rom. 6, 17.

March 5*th*.—Lectured on gen. 18, and preacht both fornoon and aftarnoon on ditto texts.

9*th*.—I, togither with com̄issioners from the councell and session of sterlin, did psent a call to Mr. Ro^{tt} rule, pnt min^r at Kirkcaldy,[1] to be min^r att sterlin, att the presbitry of Kirkcaldy, met att Kirkcaldy that day.

March 12*th*.—Lectured on gen. 19, and preacht on 2 pet. 1, 4.

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[1] Robert Rule, M.A., formerly of Tannadice, Forfarshire, was admitted minister of the second charge, Stirling, in 1655, but his admission was declared null and void by the Synod; admitted to the second charge, Kirkcaldy, in 1662, but ejected for nonconformity that same year; decreet passed against him for holding conventicles in 1672, when he went to Ireland, and became minister of the Presbyterian congregation at 'Derry; returned to Scotland at the Revolution, and became minister of the first charge, Kirkcaldy, in 1688; translated to Stirling, 15th November 1693, and died in September 1703, aged over eighty. —Scott's *Fasti.*

1693 19*th.*—Lectured on gen. 20 ; fornoon preacht on rom. 10, 21 ; and aftarnoon on John 5, 39.

Wedensday, 22.—I went to Kirkcaldy again about Mr. Rule's transportation, which was now referred to the synod to meet att Dumfermlin the 4th of aprill. from Kirkcaldy I went to Edenr. and returned home aprill 29th.

Apr. 2.—Lectured on gen. 21 ; preacht on ditto.

4*th.*—I was att Dumfermlin and with my fellow comissioners, obtained Mr. Rules transportation from Kirkcaldy to Sterlin.

9*th.*—Lectured on gen. 21, and preached on mat. 6, 13.

16*th.*—Lectured on gen. 22, and preacht on Jer. 32, 40.

23*d.*—Lectured on gen. 23, and preacht on rom. 6, 18, 19, 20.

30.—Lectured on gen. 24, and preacht on heb. 7, 25.

May 1.—I went to Edenr, and returned the 13 ; in my absence Mr. Buchanan preacht for me.

14*th.*—Mr. Whytt[1] preacht for me.

18*th.*—Being Thursday and a fast day I lectured on Job 42, and preacht on Job 42, 10.

21.—Att Toriburn church lectured on mat. 7, and preacht on rom. 6, 10, 11.

28.—Att sterlin, on heb. 3, 14; this day Mr. Gowrlay preacht for me.

Thursday, *June* 1.—I went to monquhany, and the next Sabbath being ye 4th of June

June 4*th.*—I preacht at Kilmenny church on heb. 3, 14.

11*th.*—At home, lectured on gen. 24, and preacht on rom. 6, 18, 19, 20.

15th.—Thursday a fast day lectured on Isay. 27, and preacht on micah 6, 9.

18*th.*—Lectured on gen. 25, and preacht on rom. 6, 21.

This weeke all in publike office by act of parliātt were to take the oaths of alleadgance, and the assurance to King Will. and Mary, as also all the pbiterian ministers through the kingdom:[2] we in Sterlinshire did not, because a full quorum of the gentlemen appointted to adminster them did not meet, but we tooke instruments upon our appearance. 1693

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[1] Probably the minister of Larbert, Hugh Whyt, M.A., ordained there in 1690, of whom Boston says in his *Memoirs* that he was 'a man of considerable abilities, great piety and tenderness, also very friendly and affectionate.'

[2] The Parliament of 1693 devised in addition to the Oath of Allegiance an 'Oath of Assurance,' by which William III. was acknowledged to be king

25th.—Lectured on gen. 26, and preacht on rom. 6, 22, 23.

July 2d.—Lectured on gen. 27, and preacht on ditto.

3d.—This day the ministers, being called by the gentlemen comissionatt, tooke the oaths.

9th.—Lectured on gen. 28, and preacht on heb. 3, 14.

16th.—Lectured on gen. 29, and preacht on heb. 3, 15.

20th.—Being a fast day, I lectured on psa. 132, and preached on v. 8th.

23.—Lectured on gen. 30, and preacht on John 3, 18.

This day did Mr. James Areskin[1] qtract a most dangerous feavar, and yet wonderfully recovered.

30th.—Lectured on gen. 31, and preacht on John 14, 22.

Aug. 6th.—Lectured on gen. 32, and preacht on heb. 3, 15.

13th.—Lectured and preached on ditto.

Aug. 20.—Att sterlin lectured on psa. 14, and preacht on 1 cor. 7, 1.

27th.—Lectured on gen. 33, and preacht on heb. 3, 15.

Sept. 3d.—Lectured on gen. 34, and preacht on 1 cor. 5, 8.

10th.—Lectured on gen. 35, and preacht on ditto.

17th.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Thursday, 21.—A fast day, and the last for this year, I lectured and preacht on psa. 76, 10.

24th.—Lectured on gen. 36, and preacht on 1 cor. 5, 8.

25th.—I went to St. andrews, where the synod of Fyfe mett on the 26th, and obtained the transportation of Mr. Rott. Rule from Kirkcaldy to sterlin.

Octor. 1.—Lectured on gen. 37, and preacht on ditto.

8th.—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on prov. 28, 26.

15th.—Att sterlin; lectured on heb. 10; preached on gal. 8, 10; and served Mr. rules edict.

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de jure as well as *de facto*, which it imposed on all ministers as a condition of their holding office. For a brief account of this measure, and of the dissatisfaction which it occasioned, see Story's *Carstares*, p. 235 *et seq.*, and Hetherington's *History*, vol. ii. p. 211.

[1] This was probably the brother of the Earl of Mar, afterwards Lord Grange, and Lord Justice-Clerk, whose wife, Rachael Chiesly, was so mysteriously kidnapped in 1732, and confined in the island of St. Kilda for nine years. See Burton's *Life of Simon, Lord Lovat*, p. 191.

1693 22.—Lectured on gen. 38; precht on heb. 10, 36.

29*th.*—Lectured on gen. 39, and preacht on ditto.

Novr. 5*th.*—Lectured on gen. 40, and preacht on ditto.

12*th.*—Lectured on gen. 41, and preacht on heb. 10, 37.

Thursday, 16*th.*—A thanksgiving day for King Williams safe return from the warrs in Flanders,[1] on psa. 87, 2.

19*th.*—Lectured on gen. 42, and preacht on heb. 10, 24; and in the aftarnoon on 1 cor. 8, 6, having begunne my aftarnoon catecheticall sermons.

On the 15th of this moneth was Mr. Rott. Rule admitted minister of sterlin.

On the 22nd was Mr. John Logan[2] ordained minister of Kilmadocke.

Novr. 26.—Lectured on gen. 43; preacht on heb. 10, 24; aftarnoon on 2 cor. 13, 14.

Decr. 3.—Lectured on gen. 44, and preacht on heb. 10, 24; aftarnoon on acts 15, 18.

This weeke I beganne my weekly sermons.

10*th.*—Lectured on gen. 45, and preacht on ditto, and in the aftarnoon on rev. 4, 11.

17*th.*—Lectured on gen. 46; preacht on heb. 11, 6; and in the aftarnoon on gen. 5, 1.

24*th.*—Lectured on gen. 47; preacht on ditto; and in the aftarnoon on Isay. 28, 29.

31*st.*—Lectured on gen. 48; preacht on ditto; and in the aftarnoon on rom. 5, 19.

1694 *Janry.* 7*th.*—Lectured on gen. 49; preacht on ditto; and in yᵉ aftarnoon on gen. 3, 6.

14*th.*—Lectured on ditto; preacht on rom. 8, 13; and in the aftarnoon on Jam. 2, 10.

21.—Lectured on ditto; preacht on ditto; and in the aftarnoon on gen. 3, 6.

Moonday 22.—I begane to examine.

28*th.*—At sterlin lectured in yᵉ fornoon on hos. 14; and preacht on Isay 66, 2, aftarnoon.

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[1] King William set out for Holland on 24th March, and landed in England again 31st October. He had been defeated by the French, under the Duke of Luxemburg, at Landen, in July, with a loss of 14,000 men.—Macaulay's *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 404 *seq.*

[2] Succeeded Turnbull at Alloa in 1704.

Febry. 4*th.*—At home; lectured on gen. 50; and preacht fornoon on rom. 8, 13, and on eph. 2, 3. 1694

11*th.*—Lectured on Exod. 1; preacht on ditto; and in the afternoon on rom. 5, 12.

18*th.*—Lectured on exod. 2; preacht on ditto; and in the aftarnoon on rom. 8, 7, 8.

Febry. 25.—Lectured on gen.[1] 3; preacht on 1 cor. 2, 14; and in y^e^ aftarnoon on gen. 3, 24.

March 4*th.*—Lectured on gen. 4; preacht on ditto; and in the aftarnoon on 1 Thess. 5, 9.

11*th.*—Lectured on gen. 5; preacht on ditto; and in y^e^ aftarnoon on John 3, 16.

18*th.*—Lectured on gen. 6; preacht on ditto; and in the aftarnoon on John 1, 14.

Twesday, 20*th.*—Preacht att the opening up of the synod att sterlin, on deut. 33, 8.

25*th.*—Att sterlin; lectured on matt. 11 from v. 16; and preacht on prov. 4, 23.

This weeke, Thursday, the 29th of march, the generall assembly mett at Eden^r^, my Lord Carmichaell[2] being comissioner, whether I was sent as a member by our pbitry. by the assembly I was made one of the comittee of overturs, and putt on the revising the synod booke of Lothian; and there being a comission of the kirke both for the north and south, I was elected a member for both. I attended att Eden^r^ till the assembly ended, w^ch^, aftar they had been togither with great freedom and concord, was on twesday, apr. 17.[3] My kirke was supplyed in my absence.

Aprile 22.—At home I lectured on exod. 7, and preacht on coll. 1, 14.

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[1] In this and the three following entries 'gen.' is a mistake for 'exod.'

[2] John, second Lord Carmichael, son of Sir James Carmichael of Carmichael, Bart., afterwards first Lord Carmichael; born 20th February 1638; Secretary of State, 1696; created Earl of Hyndford in 1701; was a Commissioner for the Union, 1705. Died 20th September 1710.

[3] It was during this Assembly that the dramatic incident in the life of Carstares took place, when, to prevent the imposition of the 'Oath of Assurance' on the members, he intercepted the King's despatches in London, and entering the royal bed-room at Kensington Palace, awakened the sleeping monarch, and obtained from him a reversal of the orders which had been despatched to Scotland.—M'Cormick's *Life of Carstares*; Story's *Carstares*, p. 237.

1694 29*th.*—Lectured on exod. 8, and preacht on coll. 1, 1, 2.

May 6*th.*—Lectured on exod. 9, and preacht on coll. 1, 3, 4.

13*th.*—Lectured on exod. 10; preacht on coll. 1, 5.

14*th.*—I preacht at airth on eph. 1, 1, and mett with some opposition on mr. mairs acc^{tt}.

20*th.*—Lectured on exod. 11; preacht on coll. 1, 6.

27*th.*—Lect. on exod. 12, and preacht on coll. 1, 7, 8.

31.—Being a fast day I lectured on zech. 5, and preacht on Eze. 36, 31.

June 3*d.*—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on mat. 4, 8.

10*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on coll. 1, 9.

Being appointted a member of the comĩttee of the generall assembly for the north,[1] I beganne my journey, Twesday, June 12th, and was at monquhany that night, wher I stayed till Thursday 14th, when I went to dundee, and which day we had our first meeting of the comĩttee.

Sunday, June 17*th.*—I preacht at aylith on acts 17, 31, by appointtment of the comĩttee.

Thursday, June 21.—I, togither with the wholle comĩttee, removed from dundee on our way to aberdeen, and lodged that night att aberbrothicke, and the next day att Cowie.

Saturday, 23.—We came to aberdeen, where we stayed till saturday July 14. that day I and the wholle comĩttee removed from aberdeen towards Elgin. saturday and sabbath ensuing, 14th and 15th of July, I was att Knockhall,[2] a house of the laird of wdnees. moonday 16th we dined att Gicht,[3] and was all night at Turreff. Twesday 17th at Fochabuss.

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[1] The General Assembly of this year sent supplies of ministers to those districts of the country where either the churches were vacant, or occupied by Episcopal curates, many of whom had been allowed to remain in possession of their ecclesiastical position and temporal emoluments. These were chiefly in the northern districts. 'This they accomplished by appointing the southern synods to send such proportions of their members as should furnish sixteen among them, who were to remain in the north three months, to be replaced by a similar number for an equal time, throughout the course of the year. This process was continued from year to year for a considerable time, the number sent gradually diminishing as the churches became supplied with Presbyterian ministers permanently settled.'—Hetherington's *Hist. of Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 219.

[2] The castle of Knockhall, now in ruins, situated about half-a-mile north of the village of Newburgh, in the parish of Foveran. Built in 1565, it was burnt by accident in 1734.—*New Stat. Account*, vol. xii. p. 669.

[3] The estate of Gight, in the parish of Fyvie, belonged formerly to the ancient

wednesday 18th att Elgin of murray, where we stayed till Fryday July 27, which day we removed from Elgin towards Innerness, and lodging all night att brody, saturday 28 I arrived at Innerness, where we stayed till Thursday Aug. 9th: that day, in my way home again, I lodged all night att Brody. Fryday 10 I came to mr. will. chamber[1] his house, minister att Gartly, in strathboogy, where I stayed till Twesday, 14 aug., and was that night att Turreff. on wedensday, aug. 15, we arrived att abd., where we again stayed till Thursday Aug. 23: lodged that night att montross: next day, fryday 24, we came to dundee: saturday 25 I went out to the laird of hills[2] in the Karse of Gawry. returned to dundee moonday 27, where we stayed till wedensday aug. 29. that night I lodged att monquhany. Thursday 30 I was att monymale, my lord Melvills house[3] all night. 1694

Fryday, aug. 31.—I returned home to alloa.

Septr. 2, *sunday.*—Att home I lectured on exo. 13, and preacht on psa. 119, 54.

9*th.*—Lectured on exo. 14; preacht on coll. 1, 10.

16*th.*—Lectured on exo. 15; preacht on ditto.

23.—Lectured on ditto; preacht on coll. 1, 11.

30*th.*—Lectured on exod. 16; preacht on ditto.

Octor. 7*th.*—Lect. on exod. 17, and preacht on coll. 1, 12.

14*th.*—Att sterlin, on psa. 16 and rom. 6, 24.

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family of Gordon, the last heiress of which was the mother of Lord Byron, the poet, who sold it soon after her marriage. The ancient castle, now a picturesque ruin, stands on the north bank of the river Ythan, about four and a half miles east of the parish church of Fyvie.—*New Stat. Account*, vol. xii. p. 330.

[1] William Chalmer, admitted minister of Gartly in 1666, under Episcopal jurisdiction; conformed to Presbyterianism, and received into communion by this Committee of Assembly, of which Turnbull was a member, 2d July 1694; translated to Ruthven in 1700, and to King-Edward in 1704; died in 1718.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] Alexander Meikieson or Mackison. The lands of Hill, in the parish of Errol, are now included in the estate of Murie, the property of J. B. Brown-Morison, Esq. of Finderlie.

[3] Melville House, erected two years before this by George, the first Earl of Melville. Sibbald calls it 'a great, noble, and regular new house richly furnished, with office-houses without, large gardens and vast enclosures for pasture and barren planting.' The name is comparatively modern, however, the ground on which it stands being part of the lands of Monimail, a portion of the castle of which still remains to the north of Melville House.

1694 21.—I assisted att the com̄union in Tillyallan: on saturday, 20th, preacht on 1 pet. 2, 7; on the sabbath morning on song 2, 3; and on moonday fornoon on John 14, 23.

28th.—Lect. on exod. 18, and preacht on coll. 1, 12.

Novr. 4.—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on coll. 1, 13.

11*th.*—Lectured on gen.[1] 19, and preacht on ditto.

Twesday, 13*th.*—I went to Eden^{r} to the com̄ission of the assembly called to meet pro re nata; and they sent up to qgratulate the Kings safe return [2] and for some other affairs two ministers, viz. M^{rs} William Dunlap [3] and pat. Cumin.[4]

Saturday, 17*th.*—I returned, and Mr. m‘claren, minister att Kippen, preached for me on sunday.

Novr. 25.—Lect. on ditto; preacht on coll. 1, 14.

Decr. 2.—Lect. on ditto, and preacht on coll. 1, 15.

Thursday, decr. 6*th.*—Being a thanksgiving for our Kings safe return from this year campagne I preacht on psa. 45, 6, 7.

9*th.*—Lect. on ditto, preacht on coll. 1, 16.

16*th.*—Lectured on ditto, preacht on coll. 1, 17.

About the beginning of this moneth I entered upon hoseah in my weekly sermons on the Frydays, beginning from the beginning of that prophet, and designing to goe through it.

23.—Lectured on gen.[1] 20, preacht on coll. 1, 18.

30*th.*—Lectured on ditto and preacht on ditto.

1695 *Janry.* 1.—I went to Linlithgaw to visitt my sister there, next day to Blackness, third to lithgaw again, the 4th to Lerbart, where I stayed all night with Mr. Whytt, and on saturday he and I being com̄issionatt to the pbitry of Irwin to transport mr. Alex^{r} or[5] from beeth to Sterlin, tooke journey, and dining att Kilsyth, lodged att M^ris^ Brouns in Glasgaw, and on Monday 7th dining att Beeth, came to Irwin, where we stayed twesday all day, and the pbitry of Irwin having referred the affair to the synod of Glasgaw, we acquiesced in the sentence, came nixt day to Glasgaw, on Thursday I was all night att Sauchy Glass,[1] and on Fryday 11th returned safe home. 1695

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[1] A mistake for 'exod.'

[2] On the 9th of October.

[3] Principal of Glasgow University, to which office he had been appointed in November 1690, probably through the influence of Carstares, whose sister Sarah, he had married in 1681. He was the son of Alexander Dunlop, minister of Paisley, and was born about 1655. He died in March 1700.—Wodrow's *Hist.* vol. iv. App. p. 521.

[4] Patrick Cuming, M.A., sixth son of John Cuming of Relugas; graduated at Edinburgh in 1670; became minister to a Presbyterian congregation in Dublin; translated to Ormiston, East Lothian, in 1690. Died 10th March 1731, in his eighty-second year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[5] Alexander Orr, M.A., took his degree at Glasgow in 1671; ordained at Beith, 1st October 1689; translated to Alyth in 1699, but, instead of giving obedience, demitted his charge; was admitted minister of St. Quivox, in the

Janry. 13*th.*—Lectured on Exod. 20, prea. on Coll. 1, 19.

Twesday, Janry. 15*th.*—Being a fast day on account of Queen Marys death, w^ch^ happened dec^r^ 28, 1694, I lectured on hoseah 5, and preacht on hos. 5, 9.

20*th.*—Att Sterlin I lectured on Eph. 5, and preacht on Eph. 5, 8.

27*th.*—Att home lectured on Exod. 20, and preacht on coll. 1, 20.

Febry. 3*d.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

10*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on Coll. 1, 21.

17*th.*—Att Falkirke, Mr. crichton[2] being unwell, lectured on psa. 40, and preacht on Jer. 3, 13.

24*th.*—Lectured on exod. 20, preacht on coll. 1, 21.

March 3.—Lectured on ditto, preacht on coll. 1, 22.

10*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

17*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on coll. 1, 23.

18*th.*—I went to Falkirke, and thence the next day to Eden^r^.

24*th.*—In the aftarnoon I preacht in the tron church on ditto.

Thursday, 28.—I came from Eden^r^, and was att Sauchy, thence next day home.

31.—Lectured on ditto, preached on coll. 1, 24.

Aprile 7*th.*—Lectured on exod. 21, and preacht on coll. 1, 25.

12*th.*—Being Fryday, Mr. Ro^tt^ Rule, minister att Sterlin, marryed me and Elisabeth Glass my wife togither in the house of Sauchy.[3]

19*th.*—I brought my wife home.

Presbytery of Ayr, 31st July 1700, and died 28th September 1710, aged about sixty.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[1] In the parish of St. Ninians, Stirlingshire, the property of John Glass, his future brother-in-law.—See Introduction, p. 304.

[2] See note, p. 350.

[3] See Introduction, p. 303. At the same time Grissel Glass, Mrs. Turnbull's sister, was married to Mr. Thomas Buchanan, minister of Tulliallan.

1695 21.—preacht on coll. 1, 26.

28.—Lectured on exod. 22, prea. on coll. 1, 27.

May 5*th.*—Lect. on exod. 23, prea. on John 8, 36.

12*th.*—Lect. on exod. 24, prea. on coll. 1, 27.

19*th.*—Lect. on exod. 25, prea. on coll. 1, 28.

26*th.*—Lect. on exod. 26, preacht on psa. 19, 7.

June 2.—Lect. on exod. 27, preacht on Isay. 41, 17.

9*th.*—Lect. on exod. 28, preacht on gal. 3, 10.

13*th.*—A fast day by ordinance of parliätt att the desire of min^rs, preacht on psa. 132, 8.

16*th.*—Lect. on exod. 29, preacht on gal. 3, 10.

23.—Lect. on exod. 30, preacht on rev. 2, 4.

30.—Att Sterlin lectured on mat. 20, and preacht on coll. 2, 11.

July 7*th.*—Lect. on exod. 31, preacht on rev. 2, 4.

14.—Lect. on mat. 22, preacht on 1 cor. 11, 27.

21.—Lectured and preached on ditto.

28.—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on 1 cor. 11, 28.

Aug. 4*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

11*th.*—I had the comūnion att alloa; y^re were twelve tables. I preacht on 1 cor. 11, 26; my assistants were M^rs Rule, potter, Dowglass, stevenson, Buchanan, and Mr. Chalmers;[1] it was a good day of the gospell here.

Aug. 18*th.*—Lectured on mat. 13, 44 to the end, preacht on psa. 45, 10.

25.—Lect. on Isay. 1, and preacht on ditto, v. 18.

Septr. 1.—Lect. on Exod. 32, and preacht on Isay. 5, 2.

8*th.*—Lectured on ditto, preacht on coll. 2, 11.

15.—Lectured on Exod. 33, preacht on coll. 2, 12.

22.—Being a day of thanksgiving for King W^ms pservation this campagne in Flanders, and for the taking of the city and castle of namure,[2] I lectured on psa. 118, and preacht on psa. 107, 43.

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[1] This was probably George Chalmers, who had been licensed by the Presbytery of Stirling on the 6th of May. He was ordained to Kilwinning in 1696, and afterwards became Principal of the University and King's College, Aberdeen.

[2] The French, under the Marquis of Boufflers, surrendered the town of Namur on the 6th, and the citadel or castle on the 26th of August.

29th.—Lect. on Exod. 34, preacht on coll. 2, 12. 1695

Octr. 6.—Lect. on Exod. 34, preacht on coll. 2, 13.

Next lords day Mr. Chalmers preached for me, myself being ill of the gowt.

20th.—I preacht in the afternoon on phil. 1, 3, 4, 5.

27th.—Lect. on Exod. 35, preacht on coll. 2, 14.

Novr. 3d.—Lect. on Exod. 36, preacht on coll. 2, 15.

10*th.*—Lect. on Exod. 37, preacht on mat. 6, 33.

Saturnday, 16*th.*—I went to Sauchy, and on Sabbath, 17th, I lectured on hos. 4; preacht all day on heb. 11, 10 at sterlin. that night I returned to Sauchy, stayed till wedensday, then went and saw my wifs freinds in monteith, and returned home fryday 22d.

The Sabbath I was absent, Mr. chalmers preacht.

24th.—Lectured on Exod. 38, and preacht on mat. 6, 33.

Decr. 1.—Lect. on Exod. 39, and preacht on ditto.

8th.—Lect. on Exod. 40, and preacht on heb. 11, 10.

Moonday, 9*th.*—I went to Eden^r, where I stayed till Fryday; that night I was at Blackness, and on saturnday, calling att Linlithgaw, I returned home.

15*th.*—Lect. on psa. 19, preacht on v. 12.

22d.—Lect. and preacht on ditto.

The 17^th day of this moneth dec^r being Twesday did the generall assembly meet, mr. patrick symson, minister at Renfrew,[1] was chosen moderater, my lord Carmichall was comīssioner from the king; of this assembly I was no member. they ended the 4^th of Janr^y 1696, and adjourned there next meeting to Jan^ry 2^d, 1697.

29th.—Lect. on psa. 19, and preacht on v. 13.

Janry. 5th.—Lect. and preacht on ditto. 1696

12th.—Lect. on psa. 118, and preacht on ditto.

The next morning, about 4 of the cloake or sooner being

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[1] Patrick Simson, the grandson of the celebrated minister of Stirling of the same name; born at New Abbey (where his father, Adam Simson, was minister), 2d October 1628. For four years he was tutor in the family of the Marquis of Argyll, and was ordained to the charge of Renfrew in 1653. Ejected for nonconformity in 1662, he was indulged to Kilmalcolm in 1672, returned to Renfrew in 1687, and died Father of the Church of Scotland, 24th October 1715.—Scott's *Fasti*.

1696 moonday, Jan^{ry} 13, 1696, I felt a sensible com̄otion of y^{e} earth like ane earthquake, which also many others through all the Kerse of Sterlin felt. all this weeke was blowing weather, especially Thursday 16th.

This weeke I was att a visitation at Kippan.

19*th.*—I preacht att Sterlin on mat. 6, 33, and lect. on psa. 118.

Mr. chalmers preacht att alloa for me.

Twesday, 21.—My wife and I returned home to alloa from Sauchy.

Janry. 26.—Lect. on psa. 118, pr. on psa. 19, 13.

Febry. 2.—Lectured and preached on ditto.

9*th.*—Lectured and preached on ditto.

16*th.*—Lect. on psa. 13, preacht on coll. 3, 1.

23.—Lect. on psa. 114, preacht on hos. 14, 1.

March 1.—Lect. on psa. 111, prea. on marke 1, 14, 15.

About this time was there a discovery made of ane intended invasion by the french under the qduct of King James upon these nations, and of assassinatting his maj. King William; 43 ruffiians hired for that end, wherof the duke of Berwicke was principall.[1] this the lord in great mercy to these lands graciously discovered. may these lands improve aright so great a deliverance. a day of publicke thanksgiving to god upon that acc^{tt} was kept through the wholle nation.

On monday, march 2, I tooke journey to monross to see my father, who lay sicke there in all appearance unto death; moonday I lodged at monquhany; Twesday, my uncle[2] and I came to monross at night, where we found my father very sicke. I lodged in the same house with him called David lyalls. I stayed with him all that weeke, and through y^{e} lords goodnes my father somewhat recovering, on wedensday, march 11th, about 3 in the aftarnoon, he and I went aboard of a monross dogger, david gentleman, master,[1] and the wind being fair, ere day light fell we made the light of may about eleven at night, gott into the frith, and by 3 next morning were in the Queensferry road, where my father came ashoar. I went straight to Blackness and sent my mother to him, stayed there all night, and came home Fryday, march 13th. two great mercys from god not to be forgotten, that my father did so farr recover as to be transported south to his wife and freinds; and 2, when the sea was said to be infested with french pirates, that we had so good a passage. that sabbath I was att monross Mr. Buchanan preacht for me. 1696

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[1] This is known in history as the Assassination Plot. It was a Jacobite conspiracy to waylay and murder the king, on the 15th of February, as he went from Kensington Palace to hunt in Richmond Park, usually attended by only twenty-five guards. It was betrayed, however, and some of the plotters were executed. While it was being planned, the Duke of Berwick, James Fitzjames, the natural son of James VII. and Arabella Churchill, was endeavouring to persuade the Jacobite aristocracy to rise in arms. For a detailed account of this conspiracy, see Macaulay's *England*, vol. iv. p. 648 *et seq.*

[2] James Crawford, the laird of Mountquhanie.

March 15*th.*—Early in the morning, being the sabbath day, was I sent for in all hast to Mr. Buchanan, whose wife being some eight days befor that delivered of a child, and having gott cold, was dangerously sicke of hysterick fitts, under which she qtinued in a very extraordinary manner till moonday morning, when blood being taken of her arm she recovered dayly. I stayed at Tillyallan till Twesday, and then came home.

This sabbath, march 15, no preaching at alloa, I being att Tillyallan on account of my sister in laws sickness.

22, *a fast day.*—I lectured on psa. 2, and preacht on Lamen. 3, 31, 32, 33.

29.—Lect. on ditto. preacht on marke 1, 14, 15.

Aprl. 5th.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Apr. 12.—Lect. on ditto; preacht on coll. 2, 13.

16*th*, *Thursday.*—Was my wife delivered of a son.

19*th.*—Lect. on psa. 8th, preacht on ditto.

This day my son was baptised by mr. Thomas Buchanan by the name of William.[2]

Apr. 26.—Lect. on psa. 22, and preacht on ditto.

May 3*d.*—Lect. on ditto, and preacht on coll. 2, 14.

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[1] There were at this time three persons of this name in Montrose, who were engaged in the seafaring profession—James Gentleman, skipper of the ketch 'Hope,' of 45 tons; William, who owned a bark of 20 tons; and David, the master of this 'Dogger.' The family of Gentleman is now extinct in Montrose. They intermarried with the Grahams, and are believed to have left that neighbourhood and settled near Stirling or Falkirk about the end of last century.

[2] Died of fever at Tyninghame, 24th February 1703; see the *Diary* under this date, p. 428.

1696 10*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

17*th.*—Lect. on psa. 22, and preacht on coll. 2, 15.

24*th.*—Lect. on psa. 68, and preacht on coll. 2, 16.

Wedensday, 27*th*, by appointment of the synod was kept as a fast day in all the bounds of the province for speciall causes. I preacht that day on psa. 68, 28.

31.—Lect. on psa. 68, and prea. on coll. 2, 18, 19.

June.—This weeke I was in Eden^{r}.

Twesday, 9*th.*—Mr. Wrquhart in clackmannan,[1] and Mr. Lindsey in ava,[2] were deprived by the councell.

14*th.*—I preacht in clackmannan church on Isay. 1, 18, and lectured on that chaptar.

Twesday, 16*th*, was kept by appointment of authority att the desire of the min^{rs} as a nationall fast, and the causes printed. this day I lectured on deut. 32, and preacht on v. 5, 6.

21.—Lect. on psa. 68; prea. on coll. 3, 14.

28.—Lect. on ditto; preacht on coll. 2, 20, 21.

July 5*th.*—Lect. on ditto; preacht on coll. 3, 1, 2, 3.

12*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Saturnday, 18*th*, being the pparation day for the com̄union in Tillyallan, I preached on heb. 12, 28.

19*th.*—In the fornoon I preacht att clackmannan on act. 2, 37, and lectured from that verse to the end. in the aftarnoon I went to Tillyallan, tooke the sacrament and served two tables.

26.—Lect. on Eph. 2; preacht on coll. 3, 1, 2.

Aug. 2.—I assisted at the com̄union in Logie. preacht on saturday on Jer. 4, 14, and on the sabbath on psa. 110, 3, and served four tables.

9*th.*—Lect. on Eph. 2, and preacht on coll. 3, 3.

16*th.*—Lectured on ditto; preacht on coll. 3, 4.

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[1] Daniel Urquhart, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1675, and settled at Clackmannan 8th September 1687. He was the 'Episcopal incumbent' mentioned by Boston in his *Memoirs*, when he came to reside as tutor at Kennet House, in the parish, this year.

[2] William Lindsay, M.A., had his degree at St. Andrews in 1677; admitted to Alva 20th April 1681: retired in 1690 on the passing of the Act of Parliament that year establishing Presbyterian church-government, but afterwards intruded. —Scott's *Fasti.*

23.—Att sterlin lect. on psa. 91, and preacht on heb. 6, 19. 1696

Twesday, 25*th*, being a fast day for the psent dearth, scarcity, and bad threatning weather.[1] lect. on psa. 91, and preacht on psa. 59, 15.

29*th*.—Lect. on Eph. 2, and preacht on coll. 3, 5.

Septr. 6.—Lectured on ditto; preacht on coll. 3, 6, 7.

13.—Lectured on numb. 1; preacht on ditto.

20.—Lectured on numb. 2; preacht on coll. 3, 8.

27.—Lect. on numb. 3; preacht on ditto.

Octor. 4*th*.—Lect. on numb. 4; preacht on coll. 3, 9.

11*th*.—Lect. on numb. 5; preacht on coll. 3, 10.

18*th*.—Lect. on numb. 6; preacht on coll. 3, 11.

25*th*.—Lect. on numb. 7; preacht on ditto. this day Mr. chalmers att Killwinning[2] assisted me.

Novr. 1.—Mr. Gowrlay preacht for me.

Moonday, *Octor*. 26, I went to Linlithgaw, thence the next day to Blackness to sie my mother and sisters, and on the wedensday I went to Eden^{r}, in order to assist at the sacrament of the lords supper in the tron-church of Eden^{r}, where I preacht the sabbath morning on psa. 34, 8, and served thrie tables. this was nov^{r} 1, and again, on moonday, nov^{r} 2, preacht on psa. 85, 8.

I returned to alloa on Saturnday, Nov^{r} 7.

Novr. 8.—Preacht att alloa on coll. 3, 12; lectured on numb. 8.

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[1] It did not pass unnoticed, that the period of the covenanting struggle was one of general abundance. But not long after King William had brought days of religious security, the seasons began to be bad, and much physical suffering was endured. This, indeed, had been foretold, it is said, by Alexander Peden, the so-called 'Prophet.' 'As long,' he said, 'as the lads are upon the hills, you will have bannocks o'er night; but if once you were beneath the bield of the brae, you will have clean teeth and many a black and pale face in Scotland.'—Patrick Walker's *Life of Donald Cargill*, *Biog. Pres.*, vol. ii. p. 24. The first bad season apparently was the autumn of 1695; and when the following summer threatened to prove no better, the weather being of such a character 'as doth sadly threaten,' to quote from the *Record of the Privy Council*, 'the misgiving and blasting of the present crop, to the increase of that distress whereby the kingdom is already afflicted,' at the request of the Church a fast was proclaimed for the 25th of August in all churches south of the Tay, and on the 8th of September in those elsewhere.

[2] See note, p. 364.

1696 15.—Att clackmannan lectured on psa. 119, 113, etc.: preacht on psa. 119, 120.

22d.—Lect. on numb. 9; preacht on coll. 3, 12.

29th.—Lect. on numb. 10, and preacht on ditto.

Decr. 6th.—Lect. on numb. 11; preacht on coll. 3, 13.

13.—Lect. on ditto; preacht on coll. 3, 14.

20.—Lect. on numb. 12; preacht on coll. 3, 15.

27.—Lect. on numb. 13; preacht on ditto in the fornoon, and in clackmannan in the aftarnoon, on Joshua 24, 19.

1697 *Janry.* 3.—Lect. on numb. 14; preacht on coll. 3, 16.

The second day of this moneth did the generall assembly sitt down, being on a Saturnday, my lord Carmichael was com̄issionar for the king, Mr. William Crichton, on of the min^{rs} of Eden^{r}, was chosen moderator. this assembly was dissolved on Twesday, Jan^{ry} 11th, and a new assembly indicted to meet on the second Twesday of Jan^{ry} 1698. this was a very comfortable assembly.

On Twesday, Janry. 4, I went to Eden^{r} to waitt on the assembly. Sabbath following, in the fornoon, by appointment of the assembly, I preacht in the tron church on psa. 119, 120, and lectured on that section.

Saturnday, Janry. 15.—I returned to alloa.

Sabbath, 16th.—Lect. on numb. 15; pr. on Coll. 3, 16.

Fryday, Janry. 8th.—Was on Thomas aikinhead executt att gallow lee, betwixt leith and Eden^{r},[1] being convict of horrid blasphemy denying god, the trinity, the scripturs, etc.; but recanted his errors, and seemed to dye penitent, as a speech left behind him bears. this was in the time of the assemblys sitting.[2]

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[1] A sandy knoll, situated on the west side of Leith Walk, immediately adjoining the present Shrub Hill. Ordinary malefactors were usually hanged at the Cross in the Grassmarket, or on the shore at Leith; but the Gallow Lee was the special place of the execution of witches, and of those who had committed great crimes. It continued to be so used till considerably after the middle of last century.

[2] The execution of this youth of eighteen years of age, the son of James Aikenhead, an Edinburgh 'chirurgeon,' has been the subject of some controversy regarding the conduct of the ministers of the city in connection with it. Lord Macaulay and others accuse them of having refused to intercede on his behalf, when the Privy Council proposed, on his own petition, to grant him a short reprieve, in order that he 'might have the opportunity,' as he said, 'of conversing with godly ministers in the place, and by their assistance be more prepared

Thursday, 21.—A fast-day for sin and the psent judgments of dearth and sickness. preached on amos 4, 6. 1697

24.—Lect. on numb. 16; preacht on Coll. 3, 16, 17.

Moonday, 25.—I went to Eden^{r}, and returned on Fryday, 29th, during w^{ch} time my son william had the meassalls and recovered again.

31.—Lect. on numb. 17; preacht on coll. 3, 18.

Febry. 7.—Lect. on numb. 18; prea. coll. 3, 18, 19.

14*th.*—In the fornoon att clackmannan lect. on marke 4 to 21; preacht on marke 1, 15; in the aftarnoon at home on coll. 3, 19.

21*st.*—Lect. on numb. 19; preacht in the fornoon on Isay. 1, 5, and in y^{e} aftarnoon on coll. 3, 20.

28*th.*—Lect. on numb. 20, and preacht as above.

March 7*th.*—Lect. on num. 21, and in the fornoon preacht on rom. 1, 18, and in the aftarnoon on coll. 3, 21.

14*th.*—Lect. on numb. 22, and preacht as above.

21.—Lect. on numb. 23, and preacht as above.

Thursday, 25*th.*—By com̄ission from the pbitry preacht and moderat in a call given by the paroch of clackmanan to Mr. Tho. Hoog.[1]

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for an eternal rest.' This, however, has been strenuously denied. The whole story, and the details of the controversy may be seen in Howell's *State Trials*; Macaulay's *England*, vol. iv. p. 781; Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, vol. iii. p. 160; and Dr. Thomas M'Crie's *Macaulay on Scotland, a Critique*. Some accounts would have it that Aikenhead died penitently, others that he renewed his blasphemous utterances even on the scaffold. According to the statement in the text, from the pen of Turnbull, who, if not an actual eye-witness of the execution, was at all events in Edinburgh at the time, the former are probably the more correct. This was the first and only execution for blasphemy in Scotland.

[1] Then minister of the Scots' Church at Campvere in Holland. He was the son of Thomas Hog, minister of Larbert, and was born there in August 1655; graduated at Edinburgh in 1673; licensed and ordained in 1678; he went to Holland in 1679, and for a short time officiated in the Scots' Church, Rotterdam, as assistant to his uncle, minister there. After a brief visit to Scotland, he returned to Holland in 1681; became rector of the Latin school of Tergoes in Zealand in 1686, and minister successively of the Scottish Churches at Delft, Campvere, and Rotterdam, at the last of which he died, 6th January 1723. The case of this call to him from Clackmannan was long in dependence before the Church courts, but he persistently declined it, and at last, in deference to his earnest wishes, it was given up.—Steven's *Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, p. 140 *seq.*

1697 *28th.*—At Tillicutry lect. and preacht on hos. 14, 1.

This day Mr. John Forrester, min^{r} att sterlin,[1] preacht for me at alloa.

April 4th.—Lect. on numb. 24; preacht on tit. 2, 11.

11*th.*—Lect. on numb. 25; preacht fornoon on tit. 2, 12, aftarnoon on coll. 3, 22.

18*th.*—Lect. on numb. 26; preacht on tit. 2, 12; aftarnoon on coll. 3, 22.

25*th.*—Lect. on numb. 27; preacht on tit. 2, 12; aftarnoon on coll. 4, 1.

May 2.—Lect. and preacht as above.

On saturnday, may 8th, did my dearest father depart this life, and was buryed on Twesday, the Eleventh, in the churchyard of Carriden, in the laird of Granges[3] buriall place.

9*th.*—I was with my mother at Blackness.

16*th.*—Lect. on numb. 28; preacht on Tit. 2, 12; aftarnoon on coll. 4, 2.

23*d.*—Lect. on numb. 29, and preacht as above.

Thursday, 27.—A fast day; preacht on Job 42, 10.

Saturnday 29*th*, *and moonday* 31.—I assisted mr. Logan, min^{r} att Killmadocke, att the sacrament; served two tables; preacht on psa. 119, 59, 60.

June 6*th.*—Lect. on numb. 30; preacht on Tit. 2, 12; aftarnoon on coll. 4, 2.

13*th.*—Lect. on numb. 31; preacht on ditto.

20*th.*—Lect. on numb. 32; preacht on tit. 2, 12, and in the aftarnoon on coll. 4, 3, 4.

On Wedensday 16 I was at auchtermuchty all night, next day at monquhany, and on fryday 18th I returned home.

27.—In the fornoon I lect. on numb. 33; preacht on coll.

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[1] John Forrester, ordained by the Scots' Presbytery, London, in 1687, as minister at Ware in Hertfordshire; admitted to the second charge Stirling, 3d December 1696; died in 1702.—Scott's *Fasti*.

[2] The estate of Grange, in the parish of Carriden, Linlithgowshire, now the property of Henry M. Cadell, Esq., was at this time in the possession of a family of the name of Hamilton. They are now represented by the Duke of Hamilton, who is a large landowner in the parish and neighbourhood. The old churchyard, now almost entirely unused, is situated within the policies of Carriden House. It has of recent years been levelled and greatly altered. A diligent search has failed to bring to light any trace of the old lairds of Grange's burial-place.

4, 5. this day, in the aftarnoon, I assisted att the sacrament in Logie, and served two tables. at this occassion I preached on the fast day, Thursday 24th, on Job 13, 23; and on the moonday 28th, on Eph. 5, 2. 1697

July 4*th.*—Lect. on mat. 26; preacht on heb. 10, 19.

11*th.*—Att Linlithgaw; lectured on psal. 143, and preacht on 2 cor. 7, 1.

18*th.*—Lect. on mat. 26; preacht on heb. 10, 24.

25*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Aug. 1.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

8*th.*—I gave the sacrament of the lords supper in alloa; I preacht on Exod. 24, 7, 8. our fast day was on Thursday, Aug. 5th. this day my second son was baptised by the name of John, being born the day befor. he dyed on fryday, and was buried on saturnday. my helpers wer mrs. Rott Rule, Michael potter, John Forrester, alexr Dowglass, William Moncreiff, Tho. Buchanan, Rott Gowrlay, and John Logan at Killmadock. it was a great day of the gospell here; the lord follow it with a lasting blessing.

15*th.*—Lectured on mat. 26, preacht on luke 22, 31, 32.

We had twelve tables at the cōmunion.

22*d.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

29*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Septr. 5*th.*—Att clackmannan lectured on psa. 23, preacht on rev. 22, 17.

12*th.*—Lect. on Zech. 6; preacht on ditto, v. 12.

Moonday, 13*th.*—I went to Edenr, and returned saturnday, 18th.

19*th.*—Lect. on psa. 32; preacht on Zech. 6, 12.

26.—Lect. on luke 15; preacht on ditto, v. 17.

Octor. 3.—Lect. on psa. 25; preacht on ditto.

10*th.*—Lect. on psa. 27; preacht on ditto.

17*th.*—Lect. on psa. 28; preacht on ditto.

24*th.*—At ava, lect. on psa. 24, and preacht on v. 4, ditto. this day Mr. Will. moor preacht for me at Alloa.

31.—On psa. 29, preacht on luke 15, 18.

Novr. 7*th.*—On psa. 30, preacht on ditto.

Novr. 14.—On psa. 36, preacht on luke 15, 19, 20.

21.—On psa. 37; preacht on ditto.

1697 28.—On psa. 38; preacht on ditto.

Decr. 5th.—On psa. 39; preacht on ditto.

This weeke I beganne to visit the landwart familys in the paroch.

12*th.*—On deut. 1; preacht on ditto.

Thursday, 16*th.*—Being a thanksgiving day for the peace at Reswick betwixt us and the french, and owr kings safe return to these kingdoms aftar a dangerous warr and glorious peace,[1] I preacht on psa. 100, 4, 5.

19*th.*—Lect. on deut. 2; preacht on luke 15, 20, etc.

26*th.*—Lect. on deut. 3; preacht on ditto.

1698 *Janry.* 2.—Lect. on deut. 4; preacht on ditto.

9*th.*—Lect. on deut. 5; preacht on ditto.

16*th.*—Att Sterlin lect. on 2 cor. 5 to v. 10, on which I preached all day.

23.—At home lect. on deut. 6, pr. on lam. 3, 40.

30.—Lect. on deut. 7; preacht on mat. 16, 26.

Twesday, *Janry.* 11*th*, did the generall assembly of this nationall church sitt down, my Lord Carmichaell was comīssioner, Mr. Geo. Meldrum,[2] min^r^ att Eden^r^ moderator. it was a very comfortable assembly. they were dissolved and rose Jan^ry^ 24^th^ moonday; indicted the next assembly agst Jan^ry^ 20^th^ 1699.

Febry. 6*th.*—Lect. on deut. 8; preacht on ditto.

13*th.*—Att Ava church, where I admitted six elders, lect. on rom. 12, prea. on Isay. 41, 17.

20*th.*—Lect. on deut. 9; preacht on mat. 16, 26.

27.—Lect. on deut. 10; preacht on ditto.

March 6*th.*—I was absent, having gone to Sauchy to waitt on my mother in law[3] in her sickness; she dyed Wedensday 9^th^

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[1] The Treaty of Ryswick was concluded on the 11th of September, and King William landed at Margate, on his return from the Continent, on the 14th of November, and entered London on the 16th, amidst universal rejoicing.

[2] Minister of the Tron Church, to which he had been translated from Kilwinning in 1692. He was made Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh in October 1702, still retaining his ministerial charge however. He was again elected Moderator of the General Assembly in 1703, and died 18th February 1709, in his seventy-fifth year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[3] Marion Rae, daughter of James Rae of Coltinghouse and Touchgorm in St. Ninian's parish, which, through her, became part of the property of Sauchie. See Introduction, p. 304. Her mother was Janet Sinclair, the daughter of Sir John Sinclair, Bart. of Stevenston, East Lothian. She was born 2d December

and was buryed Fryday 11th in s^{t} ninians. this Sabbath march 6th I preached in S^{t} ninians, aftarnoon on gen. 2, 7.

13*th.*—At home lect. on deut. 11 ; pr. on rom. 5, 1.

Thursday, 17*th.*—I went to Eden^{r}, and became tutor to my sister helens children.

Sunday, 20*th.*—I preacht in the tron-church fornoon on heb. 11, 10.

Saturnday, 26*th.*—I returned home.

27*th.*—Lect. on deut. 12, prea. on heb. 9, 28.

Aprl. 3.—Lect. on deut. 13 ; preacht on rom. 5, 1.

This weeke I grew very ill of a cold.

Twesday, 5*th.*—I let a litle blood and aftarwards purged.

10*th.*—Lect. on deut. 14 ; prea. on rom. 5, 2.

My indisposition still continuing, Mr. William muir, probationar, preached for me two sabbaths, viz. apr. 17 and apr. 24.

This weeke my son tooke the kinkhoast on apr. 24 ; was let blood of with fowr leaches behind the ears.

May 1.—No sermon here, my sickness qtinuing.

I was absent from this aprile synod (which mett at Sterlin) through indisposition ; by this synod the pbitrys of dumblan and sterlin, who had acted jointly since the revolution, were disjoined, and ordered to meet and act separatly ; the pbitry of sterlin because of y^{re} many vacancys not yet filled up dissented, and appealled to the assembly. Mr. Dowglass of dumblan pbitry adhæring.

This was a very severe season,[1] a very bitter, cold aprile ; on Twesday, may 3, a great showr of snow and frequent showrs of haill till saturnday, May 7th, when the weather begane to mend.

It pleased god to recover me also, and my son this first weeke of May.

8*th.*—Lect. on deut. 15 ; preacht on Jer. 9, 1, 2, 3.

15.—Lect. on deut. 16 ; preacht on rom. 5, 2.

22.—Lect. on deut. 17 ; preacht on rom. 5, 2, 3.

1632, and was the widow of Alexander Glass of Sauchie, who died in 1683, to whom she was married in 1655.

[1] For a short account of the unpropitious weather, and consequent dearth, which prevailed in Scotland at this period for several seasons, and to which several references occur in this part of the *Diary*, see Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, vol. iii. p. 195 *seq.*

1698 *Wedensday, 25th.*—Being a nationall fast[1] for the psent ill season, abounding sin, and the distress of the ptestant churchs abroad, I preacht on Jer. 14, 7.

About this time god was pleased graciously to send pleasant showrs and warm weather.

29th.—Lect. on deut. 18, and preacht on rom. ditto.

Twesday, 31.—I went to Edenʳ to assist att the comission, being a member; saturnday, June 4ᵗʰ, I returned to Tillyallan.

June 5th.—The comunion was given att Tillyallan church; I lectured in the morning on numb. 13, v. 17 to yᵉ end. I comunicatt and served a table, being still unweell.

Twesday, 7th.—I returned home, I fell very ill that night, was feverish, I lett some blood next day.

June 12th.—Mr. Mᶜclagan, minister att litle dunkeld[2] a freind of my wifs, did preach for me.

This weeke I purged twice and begunn a milke dyett.

19th.—Mr. Tho. Bowston[3] preacht for me.

26th.—Mr. Tho. Buchanan preacht for me.

July 3d.—My indisposition continuing, Mr. John Forrester at sterlin preacht.

4th, Moonday.—By advice of the doctors I putt two issues betwixt my showlders.

10th.—Mr. Gowrlay preacht for me.

Moonday morning, about 3 in yᵉ cloake was my wife delivered of her third son, George;[4] Mr. Gowrlay baptised him on the next fryday, july 15ᵗʰ.

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[1] The fast was ordered for the 17th of May within the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, and the 25th day of the month for the rest of the kingdom.—Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, vol. iii. p. 196.

[2] Alexander M'Clagan, M.A., graduated at St. Andrews, 26th July 1673; admitted minister of Little Dunkeld in 1687, under Episcopacy; was received, on his own petition, into Presbyterian communion by the Synod of the bounds in 1697, having renounced Prelacy and declared his approbation of and adherence to Presbyterian church government. He died in July 1722, aged about sixty-nine.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[3] This was the celebrated Thomas Boston, afterwards minister successively of Simprin and Ettrick. Formerly tutor at Kennet, in Clackmannan parish, to young Fletcher of Aberlady, whose mother had become the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce, he had recently returned to the neighbourhood of Alloa (on the 17th of May), and was living at this time with Thomas Brown of Barhill, at Ferrytown, near Clackmannan, whose sister-in-law, Catherine Brown, he afterwards married.

[4] He became Professor of Philosophy in the University and Marischal College, Aberdeen.

17*th.*—No sermon here. 1698

24*th.*—Mr. Wallace[1] preacht for me.

31.—I preacht on psa. 55, 19; lectured on the beginning of that psalme.

Monday, Aug. 1.—The issues in my shoulders not mattaring, I let them dry up, and putt ane issue in my left arm.

Aug. 7th.—Mr. Blair preacht for me.

14*th.*—I lectured on heb. 12; and preacht on ditto.

21.—Lectured on ditto, preacht on rom. 5, 3.

28.—Mr. Hugh Walker at lecropt[2] preacht for me.

31.—Being Wedensday I went to Eden^r^, and on fryday, Sept^r^ 2, I went to prestonkirke, where I preacht for Mr. Forrest the min^r^,[3] on sabbath, sept^r^ 4^th^, on psa. 136, 1; on moonday thereaftar I went to aberlady; on Twesday to s^r^ Robert sinclar of Stevenson[4] his house, and returned on Wedensday to Eden^r^; on Thursday, sept^r^ 8^th^ I attended the commission of the Kirke, and fryday 9^th^ returned safe home.

This sabbath, septr. 4th. Mr. Bowston probationar preacht for me.

11*th.*—Being a fast day for the bad harvest weather and the lands sins on hos. 7, 14.

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[1] Probably Matthew Wallace, M.A., minister of Kincardine; ordained there 24th April 1695, and died in 1727, aged about fifty-five. His son, Robert, who became one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Dean of the Chapel Royal, married Mr. Turnbull's daughter Helen.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] Hugh Walker, licensed by the united Presbytery of Stirling and Dunblane, 23d September 1696; ordained at Lecropt, 29th April 1697; deposed for forgery, etc., 16th April 1724. Died about 1741.—*Ibid.*

[3] John Forrest, M.A., graduated at Glasgow in 1654; ordained minister of Tulliallan in 1660; ejected for nonconformity in 1662; indulged at Tillicoultry in 1669; removed by the Privy Council to Carmichael in Lanarkshire in 1675; returned to Tulliallan in 1690; translated to Falkland in 1691, and thence to Prestonkirk in East Lothian, the following year.—*Ibid.* For an account of his death, which occurred 31st December 1700, see this *Diary*, pp. 397-8.

[4] Grandson of John Sinclair, the first baronet of the family, who amassed a considerable fortune in Edinburgh, and purchased the lands and barony of Stevenston, in East Lothian, about a mile to the east of the town of Haddington, in 1638. Sir Robert succeeded his brother, Sir John, the second baronet, in 1652. He was cousin-german to Mrs. Turnbull's mother. (See note [3], p. 374.)

1698 18*th.*—Mr. Watson att denny[1] preacht for me.

25*th.*—Mr. Dowglass att Logie preacht.

All this moneth of septr. was bad, rainy, and blowing weather, especially the sabbaths, which made the harvest very late.

Octr. 2.—Lectured on heb. 12, 12, to 18 v. and preacht on rom. 5, 4.

9*th.*—Mr. Dowglass preacht for me.

16*th.*—Mr. Ker preacht in the fornoon and I in the aftarnoon on mal. 4, 2.

23.—Lect. on heb. 12: preacht on ditto.

Novr. 6*th.*—Lect. on ditto. preacht on rom. 5, 4.

13*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

20.—Lect. on ditto, and preacht on psa. 136, 1.

27.—Lect. on ditto. preacht on 2 cor. 5, 15.

Decr. 4*th.*—Lect. on rev. 6. preacht on ditto.

11*th.*—Lect. on micah 6. preacht on ditto.

18*th.*—Lect. on heb. 13. preacht on rom. 5, 4.

Moonday, 19*th.*—I tooke physicke.

25*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

The weather all this winter was very stormy, very high winds from the martymess till this time, chiefly on saturnday decr. 17th were extraordinary winds, a great deall of præjudice done thereby both by land and sea. yet our king having been since july last in holland, arrived safely in England about the beginning of this moneth, and had good passage. this also was a sad year among the commons and tradsmen the dearth continuing and encreasing.

1699 *Janry.* 1.—Lect. on heb. 13; pr. on Isay 55, 6.

The pbitry of sterlin upon my motion appointted congregationall fasts in all there bounds on wedensday 4th janry. for abounding sin and calamity and for the approaching nationall assembly.

Att this pbitry also I procured another brother to be elected in my place as com̄issionar to the assembly, I not darring to goe, my tenderness continueing.

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[1] John Watson, M.A., took his degree at Edinburgh 27th April 1682; admitted minister at Denny in 1691; died 25th March 1733, aged about seventy-one.—Scott's *Fasti.*

Wedensday, 4th janry.—Being a fast day I preached on Isay 58, 1. 1699

8th.—Lectured and preacht on heb. 13, 15, 16.

Fryday 13th.—My gowt returned upon me and was very painfull.

15th.—Mr. Ker preached for me.

22.—My gowtish pain abating I lect. on heb. 13, 18, 19, and pr. on Isay 55, 6.

Moonday 23.—I tooke physicke.

This january was pleasant weathar.

Fryday, janry. 20th.—Our nationall assembly sat down. Mr. Meldrum the last mod^{r}. preached on ,[1] and opened the meeting. my Lord Carmichaell was again comissionar for the king, and Mr. George Hamilton[2] on of the ministers of Eden^{r}. was chosen moderator, and Mr. Ballantin[3] qtinued clerke. this was a very comfortable and healing assembly. Mr. John Hepburn[4] was received, and reponed to his ministry with some others, and so ane end putt to that

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[1] Blank in the MS.

[2] See note, p. 321.

[3] John Bannatyne of Corehouse; imprisoned in July 1683 for resetting rebels, and only liberated on payment of his fine in September 1685; ordained minister of Lanark, 14th November 1688; elected clerk to the General Assembly 1695, which office he also held in the four succeeding assemblies; died 22d March 1707, in his sixty-sixth year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[4] John Hepburn, M.A., the son of a Morayshire farmer, graduated at Aberdeen in 1669, and ordained by Presbyterian ministers at London in 1678. After the Revolution, he was settled at Urr, in the Presbytery of Dumfries, in 1689. In 1693 he gave in a paper of public grievances to the Synod of Dumfries, and he was afterwards prosecuted both before the Synod and General Assembly for his freedom in condemning what he regarded as the backslidings of the church, and for preaching and baptizing beyond the bounds of his parish, and suspended from the ministry, in his absence, by the Assembly in January 1696, a sentence which he himself treated as null and void, continuing, notwithstanding, in the exercise of his ministry. In this same year he was tried before the Privy Council for not taking the oaths to government, and after three months' imprisonment at Edinburgh and Stirling was banished from his people for three years. The sentence of suspension was removed by this assembly of 1699, and he continued undisturbed in his ministry at Urr till 1703, when, in consequence of his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne, he was deposed by the Commission of Assembly in April 1705. The sentence of deposition was rescinded in June 1707. He died 20th March 1723, aged about seventy-four. For further particulars regarding this somewhat remarkable man see Struthers' *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 76-90. See also note [2], p. 439.

1699 long schisme: they ended febr^{y}. 4th 1699, and the next assembly indicted to meet att Eden^{r}. first fryday of Febr^{y}. 1700.

Twesday, Janry. 24th.—The day aftar my physicke I grew ill and sickish, and qtinued so all that weeke.

Janry. 29th.—No sermon here: that day I was very ill; yet kept not my bed; when I was seriously pleading with god to be ppared for eternity, and that in the meantime the lord would not conceal his mind from me, whether this distemper might be mortal, or if death were near, by way of answer that Scripture psa. 118, 16, 17, 18, 19, was born in upon my mind, specially v. 18:—the lord hath chastned me sore, but he hath not given me over to death—however, the lord præpare me for the worst, and help to resign to god's holy will.

Moonday.—I called Dr. sybald, I grew some better, wsed few medicines.

Febry. 5th.—Mr. Tho. Bowston preacht for me.[1] in the aftarnoon I baptised some children.

that day I did unwarrantably seeke a sign from god, whether my death was near or not, for w^{ch} god rebuked me.

12*th.*—Mr. James Ker preacht for me.

19*th.*—Mr. Buchanan preacht for me.

26.—Mr. Henry Robin[2] preacht for me.

March 1.—My brethren in the presbitry were so kind as to meet here on my account.

March 5th.—Mr. Ker preacht for me.

Wedensday, 9*th.*—Being a nationall fast for the psent sins and calamitys of the land mr. Ker. preacht for me.

This weeke I beganne a course of physicke by the doctors direction.

12*th.*—Mr. Whytt[3] preacht for me.

19*th.*—Mr. Robin preacht for me.

About this time there was two weeks of very stormy blowing weather.

20*th.*—My son Will. mett with a very mercifull providence, being in the chamber alone att the fire his cloths tooke low, and were all burnt, his hair, and very eylids scorcht, and yet his face and wholle body untouched. Mr. Dowglass was in the house att the time ; a mercy not to be forgotten. 1699

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[1] See Boston's *Memoirs* under this date.

[2] Henry Robin, M.A., took his degree at Edinburgh, 3d July 1693; licensed by the Presbytery of Haddington 11th November 1697; ordained minister of Alva 27th September 1699; translated to Burntisland in 1714; deposed for adultery in 1718, and died in January 1734, aged about sixty-one.—Scott's *Fasti*.

[3] See note, p. 356.

22.—My wife and I went to Tillyallan and staid till next Thursday. this was a weeke of seasonable weather.

26*th*.—Mr. Ker preacht for me.

Aprile 2*d*.—Mr. Robin preacht for me.

This weeke I began another course of physicke by dr. Mitchells direction.

Wedensday, 5*th*.—I went to Coldoch [1] and on Thursday baptised his son by the name of archbald ; next day returned.

9*th*.—Mr. Bowston preached for me.

10*th*.—I purged again.

Apr. 15*th*.—Mr. Forrest's [2] letter came to my hand, bearing a call from the paroch of Tuningham was præparing for me. I did and doe still lay that affair entirely befor the lord.

16*th*.—Mr. Ker preacht for me.

23.—Mr. Robin preacht for me.

About this time there appeared some levity among my people, even professors ready to offend and desert such as I employed to preach for me on slight grounds. also I found it profitable upon observation to resolve on the text I should preach on upon the next sabbath soon in the weeke, for this cause that I might in my reading and meditation through the weeke still collect that might be wsfull or pertinent to that subject.

Apr. 30.—I preacht on 2 sam. 22, 31.

this sabbath in the time of the fornoons sermons we were allarumed with the news of airths being murdered by achinbowy.[3]

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[1] In the parish of Kincardine-Menteith, the laird of which, John Edmonstone, was married to one of the Glasses of Sauchie, a sister of Mrs. Turnbull. He was a brother of William Edmonstone of Cambuswallace, who was also married to a sister of Mrs. Turnbull. See note [3], p. 384.

[2] Minister of Prestonkirk. See note [3], p. 377.

[3] Charles Elphinstone of Airth, then a minor, was the son of Jean Bruce, the daughter and heiress of Major Alexander Bruce, the last proprietor of Airth of that name, by Richard, eldest son and heir of Sir Thomas Elphinstone of Calderhall. Captain William Bruce, the eldest son of William Bruce, second

1699 About this time I was earnest with the lord about my diuty and light from god as to my staying in or leaving of alloa.

Wedensday, *May* 3.—I supplicatt the pbitry for a transportability in reguard my health could not bear up under the weight of my psent charge. out of pity and compassion to me they granted it upon the mattar, thogh not in express terms.

As to the laird of airths murder, a few days befor it fell out some of alex^{r} Glasfords men aboard the ship lying in clackmannan pow saw in the air a repsentation of a great lightning, then two men drawing and closing with on another, then a showr of very great hail, which ecclipsed all again: the vision appeared to be just above the house of airth: it is very noticable.

May 7th.—Mr. Bowston preacht for me.

This weeke the lord helped me to lay the affair of my transportation befor him with full resignation to god, and earnest seriousness for direction: and on saturnday 13th May I heard my call to Tuningham was duly and harmoniously perfected. O that the lord may further still clear and ppar my heart and way.

14*th.*—I lectured on mat. 20: and preacht on 2 sam. 22, 31.

Moonday, *May* 15*th.*—I tooke journey in order to my goat

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laird of Newtoune, married Janet, the daughter and heiress of entail of her father, John Bruce of Auchenbowie, and *jure uxoris* was styled 'of Auchenbowie.' Elphinstone and Bruce met together, apparently on perfectly friendly terms, at the house of Lord Forrester at Torwoodhead in the parish of Dunipace, Stirlingshire, on Saturday the 29th April, and left again together on horseback. On reaching a hostelry or change-house, near the end of the Torwood, Captain Bruce deliberately picked a quarrel with young Elphinstone, against whom he had some private and, it is said, quite uncalled-for grudge, on what account does not appear. The latter endeavoured to avoid a quarrel, but in the scuffle which ensued, Bruce drew his sword and wounded Elphinstone, so that he died the following day, and Bruce immediately rode away, leaving his sword behind him. For this a process for murder was shortly after instituted against him before the Lords of Justiciary, but failing to appear, he was denounced a fugitive on the 22d of September following. He appears to have escaped abroad, but returned in 1709, when a warrant was issued for his apprehension; but nothing further is known about him. He apparently left no children, and his younger brother Alexander succeeded to the property of Newtoune. Copies of the indictment against him, and of the warrant for his apprehension, are given in Major Bruce-Armstrong's *The Bruces of Airth and their Cadets*, App. cxx-cxxiii.

milke dyett; lodged that night att the Coldoch; next day I came to my quartars, which was in John Grahams house att the bridge-end of aberfoyl: the place is pretty pleasant, close by Forth watarside, att the foot of Craigmor, betwixt which and the watar there is a strath very proper for walking: the people rude and ignorant, but not unkind aftar the highland way. pvidence having in ane unexpected manner sent me up hither for my milke, in the midst of my barbarous and diss-affected neighbours I looked to god, waitted, and does waitt for his protection, and blessing to the means. 1699

17*th.*—I beganne my milke dyet.

21.—Mr. Dowglass preacht for me.

All this time I found my milke to aggrie with me, it had no very binding influence upon me; I thought myself dayly bettar, and mett with much discretion from all, even my most barbarous neighbours: all which I tooke from god, and thanks him for.

28.—Mr. Gowrlay preacht for me.

29.—I ascended on of the highest neighbowring hills, from the top of w^{ch} I saw a great tract of mountains from Benn Lomand and all north east, having y^{re} tops covered with snow.

This weeke I heard the lamentable account of Mr. Ferny, min^{r} att Newburgh in fife,[1] his death by witches as was thought.

June 4*th.*—Mr. Walker, min^{r} at Lecropt, preacht for me. I bless the lord my milke still aggried with me, my neighbours still kind, and my family well att home, for all w^{ch} I still praise the lord; but alace a body of unbelieve in my heart still harassing me. god subdue it.

11*th.*—Mr. Logan of st. ninians preacht.

This people of aberfoyll no untractable people, there psent min^{r} [2] silly. O that god would shew them mercy.

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[1] Thomas Fernie, M.A., took his degree at St. Andrews, 22d July 1692; ordained at Newburgh, 8th February 1699, and died in May 1699, aged about twenty-seven.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] William Fisher, formerly of Eastwood, near Glasgow. During his incumbency there, he had saved the life of Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, afterwards a Lord of Session by the title of Lord Pollok, when he was under proscription for

1699 On the 29th of May dyed a person in the paroch of alloa that had much grieved and crossed me: he called for me on death bed, but my great distance did not let me know it till aftar his death.

All this moneth of june was rainy weather, and some wind: on the 16th being fryday we had some of the most fierce, sudden, frequent, but short rushes of wind, that made a noise like thunder, that ever I observed.

18*th.*—Mr. Ker preached for me.

19*th.*—I left the goat milke, with w^{ch} I had aggried very well, I leave the event to god, and thanks him for all kindnesses I mett with from all hands; for my safty and all.

That night I was att Bellwill[1] the laird of Helbertshyrs house.

Twesday, 20*th.*—I came in by Cardrus and the port to Coldoch; on Thursday 22 I came to Camswallace;[2] and on Fryday 23 gott safe home to alloa again, where I thanke the holy god I found all well.

June 25*th.*—I preacht on 2 sam. 22, 31.

30*th.*—Mr. Logan of st. ninians by comission from the pbitry intimatt to the heritors and elders that I was desiring a transportability on account of my health: they all professed great unwillingness to part with me.

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his adherence to Presbytery. On the latter's recommendation, the Marquis of Montrose took Fisher, who had deserted his charge in 1689, for his domestic chaplain, and in 1696 intruded him into Aberfoyle, where, protected by the influence of the Marquis, he continued unmolested till his death in 1732. He was the last Episcopal minister who was allowed to hold a parochial charge in Scotland after the Revolution.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[1] Near the village of Bucklyvie, in the parish of Kippen, now the property of Sir William M'Onie of Ballochneck.

[2] The laird of Cambuswallace, now called Doune Lodge, about one mile north-west of Doune, was William Edmonstone, who was married to a sister of Mrs. Turnbull. See this *Diary*, p. 441. He was born in 1659, and died in 1748, aged eighty-nine. Some interesting notes about him and his brother John, the laird of Coldoch, who was also married to one of the Glasses of Sauchie, will be found in Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. pp. 108-9. For an account of the reception of Prince Charles Edward, in September 1745, by himself and his family, see Chambers's *History of the Rebellion in* 1745-6.

Thursday, 29.—Did the laird of Tillibody[1] dye, and was buryed next moonday. 1699.

July 2d.—Lect. on mat. 7; preacht on ditto.

Fryday, *7th.*—My son Will tooke a feavar.

9*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

12*th.*—My son George tooke a severe fitt of sickness also, and both my servant-women had the feavar, but this weeke it pleased the lord to recover y^{m} all. O that could praise him aright for it.

16*th.*—Lectured on mat. 7; prea. on Isay 3, 10.

This moneth was violent hot weather, this evening came a pleasant rain.

23*d.*—I was att Tillicutry att the sacrament, where I served two tables, and on moonday I ended the worke on 2 sam. 22, 33: this Sabbath mr. Ker preacht for me att home.

July 30.—Lectured on mat. 7; and preacht on 2 sam. 22, 31; all this time much rain.

I still insisting on my transportability the pibitry appointted there next meeting to be att alloa wedensday Aug. 2d, the w^{ch} day they mett, the paroch did indeed make a very kind appearance for me, but in end the pbitry made me transportable upon the first call, it being produced befor them; of all I still leave the event to god, to his wise and well ordering pvidence.

Saturnday, *Aug.* 5.—I preacht att dumblan in order to the sacrament on heb. 13, 20.

Sunday, *Aug.* 6.—I tooke the sacrament, did serve a table, and preacht in the aftarnoon on heb. 13, 21.

On moonday did Mr. Rule,[2] aged eighty, preach near thrie hours, nether memory nor strength failling.

This sabbath Mr. Robin preacht for me.

13*th.*—Lectured on mat. 7; and preacht on heb. 3, 19.

This day my son George having relapsed in his feavar, was extraordinary sicke, blessed be god he recovered again.

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[1] George Abercromby of Skeith, aged seventy-four. The property of Tullibody passed to his cousin, Alexander Abercromby, the second son of Sir Alexander Abercromby, Bart., of Birkenbog, and grandfather of the famous Sir Ralph, the victor of Aboukir.

[2] Minister of Stirling, see note, p. 355.

1699 *20th.*—Lect. on ditto; preacht on 2 sam. 22, 31.

Wedensday, 16*th.*—Did Mr. Brown, minister at Spot,[1] in the pbitry of dumbar, with two elders from Tuningham, produce befor the pbitry of sterlin a call to me from Tuningham, w^{ch} I received and tooke to consideration; my Lady Rothess[2] wrott also pressing me to accept of it.

Thursday, 24.—Ane express came to me from Tuningham with letters from my Lord Hadingtown,[3] pbitry of dumbar and session of Tuningham, earnestly expressing y^{re} desire of my accepting y^{e} call. I promised to pay them a visit against the second sabbath of sept^{r}, and in y^{e} mean time I still implore the lords direction.

27th.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

29th.—I went to Tillyallan, thence on Thursday 31 to Blackness, my sister there having had a child dead, and on fryday sept^{r} 1 I came to Torry and to Tillyallan agst night, next day home.

Septr. 3d.—Preacht and lectured on ditto.

This weeke Mr. James Areskine[4] went to Holland, whom god prosper.

This same day, Twesday, sept^{r} 5th, I went to Eden^{r}, on Thursday 7th I went to redhouse, next day to preston-kirke to Mr. Forrests, and on sunday, sept^{r} 10th, I preacht in Tinningham church for the first time, lect. on Isay. 35: preacht on mal. 4, 2: I staid there that night, and on moonday and Twesday att preston.

When I came to this countrey I found a letter left by my

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[1] Andrew Broune, M.A., graduated at Glasgow in 1676, ordained at Spott in 1693, and died 20th March 1726, in his sixty-fifth year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] Lady Margaret Leslie, elder daughter of John, sixth earl, and afterwards first Duke of Rothes, Chancellor of Scotland, whom she succeeded as Countess of Rothes, in her own right. She married, 8th October 1674, Charles, fifth Earl of Haddington, and by the contract of marriage it was arranged that her eldest son should succeed to the earldom of Rothes, and her second to that of Haddington. The latter is referred to in the next entry. Her husband died in 1685, and she survived him till the 20th August 1700. See this *Diary*, p. 395.

[3] Thomas, sixth earl, born September 1680, died 28th November 1735. Being only five years old when he succeeded, he was brought up with his mother at Leslie in Fife, under the guardianship of tutors.—Sir William Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. i. p. xxiv.

[4] See note, p. 357.

1699 Lady Rothess to me, entreating my complyance with the call of Tinningham.

Wedensday, *Septr.* 13.—Which day also was a solar Ecclipse. I went to dumbar, where all the members of that presbitry being psent, I accepted of Tinningham call. they appointted my edict to be served next lords day, and my admission to be on Twesday 26th.

Thursday, 14.—I went to sie Sr George sowty of Begonn,[1] on of the heritors of Tinningham; the rest of the weeke I stayed att Mr. Forrests.

Sunday, 17*th*.—I lectured on psa. 32, and preacht on rom. 5, 1: in Whytkirke, Mr. William Hamilton, the minr there,[2] serving my edict att Tinningham. this night I stayed att newbeath.[3]

Twesday, 19*th*.—I went to Sr Robert sinclars of stevenson, and staid there till Thursday, which day I went to Ormiston to waitt on that family, particularly the Countess of Haddington, dowager:[4] in ye even I came to Mr. Adam Glass's, my brother in law att Redhouse.[5]

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[1] Sir George Suttie, second baronet of Balgone.

[2] William Hamilton, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh, 9th July 1656; minister successively at Penicuik (1664), Irvine (1688), Kirknewton (1689), and Whitekirk, to which he was admitted in 1694. He died 16th July 1712, in his seventy-fifth year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[3] Newbyth, in the parish of Whitekirk, the residence of Sir William Baird, baronet.

[4] Lady Christian Lindsay, second daughter of John, fifteenth Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, and widow of John, fourth Earl of Haddington, to whom she had been married in 1648. Her daughter, Lady Susanna Hamilton, married Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, afterwards a Lord of Session and Lord Justice-Clerk. She seems to have resided latterly very much at Ormiston with her son-in-law. Her death is recorded in this *Diary*, p. 444, under date 26th November 1704.

[5] Adam Glas, third son of Alexander Glas of Sauchie; ordained minister of Aberlady 29th April 1697; married Helen, the daughter of Captain Thomas Hamilton of Redhouse, in that parish, the representative of a branch of the Haddington family. During his ministry at Aberlady he seems to have resided at Redhouse. From extravagant living he became involved in debt, and had to take shelter from his creditors in the sanctuary of Holyrood. After fruitless admonitions from his brethren, he at last deserted his charge, which was declared vacant by the Presbytery on the 4th December 1711. He subsequently joined the Church of England, and being re-ordained a deacon and priest by Henry, Bishop of London, was instituted to the rectory of Lofthouse in 1712, which, however, he did not long retain. He died about 1741.—Scott's *Fasti.*

1699 *Fryday*, 22.—I went to sie my lord Elibanke[1] att Bancreif, and John sheriff att the Byrs,[2] and att night to preston. next sunday I lectured on psa. 17, and preacht on 1 cor. 1, 30, in Tinningham.

Twesday, 26*th*.—Mr. John Forrest preacht on coll. 4, 17, and the wholle presbitry of dumbarr being psent, except Mr. da. Clunny, min^r att Cockburnspath, I was admitted min^r at Tinningham,[3] S^r Robert Sinclar of stevenson and John sheriff chamberlan receiving me in the Earle of Haddingtons name, Mr. Matthew red, min^r att north Berwicke,[4] in name of S^r George Sowty of Begonn, Ro^{tt} jackson of Lochhouses for himself, which are all the heritors of that paroch; and all the Elders. severall min^{rs}, and gentlemen strangers præsent. all this time my mind was in great perplexity, my spirit in bonds, rackt to know what was sin or diuty; the desolation of poor alloway paroch was grievous to me. O that god may provide well and speedily for them.

The same day of my admission the pbitry also visitted the manse; we all dined in the Earle of Haddingtons house.

This weeke I was mostly att Tinningham, only on Fryday I dined att stevenson, and returned by binstone, on saturnday I dined att Smeaton.[5]

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[1] Alexander, fourth Baron Elibank, who succeeded his father Alexander, the third lord, in 1687. Ballencrieff, his residence, is in the parish of Aberlady.

[2] A barony, three miles north-west of Haddington, which for centuries belonged to the noble family of Lindsay, from whom it was acquired, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, by the Earl of Haddington. It is now the property of the Earl of Hopetoun.

[3] The church of Tyninghame was originally founded in the sixth century by St. Baldred of the Bass. In the time of King Malcolm the Maiden it enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary or 'girth.' Previous to the Reformation it belonged to St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. It was situated a little to the south-east of the present mansion, and all that now remains of it and its ancient churchyard are two beautiful arches of Norman architecture, in an enclosure which is used as the burial-place of the Haddington family. The parish was united to that of Whitekirk in 1760. The old manse occupied a site on the rising ground a few yards west of the mansion. Its door or gateway, bearing the date 1666, may still be seen, built into the wall of the present garden. For further information see *The Churches of Saint Baldred*, by A. I. Ritchie, Edinburgh, 1880.

[4] Matthew Reid, M.A., second son of Matthew Reid, minister of Hoddam, Dumfriesshire; graduated at Edinburgh 1687; ordained at North Berwick 13th January 1692; and died, 9th January 1730, aged about sixty-two.—Scott's *Fasti*.

[5] In the parish of Prestonkirk, the property and residence of Patrick Hepburn.

Sunday, *Octor.* 1.—I lect. on psa. 71 : and preacht on 1 cor. 1, 30, in Tinningham. 1699

Moonday.—Came to Edenr, Twesday to Tillyallan, where my wife and I mett again in comfort, praise to god.

Octor. 5th.—I returned in safty to alloa, and saw my children in health.

8.—I lect. on psa. 71, and preacht on 2 sam. 22, 32.

15*th.*—I lectured on psa. 17, and preacht my farwell sermon to the people of alloa on Exod. 3, 2 : the lord provide speedily and well for them.

22.—Att clackmannan lect. on Isay 35: preacht on psa. 55, 19.

Twesday, 24*th.*—We left alloa and came to Tillyallan, where we stayed till Thursday, which day all our family came safe to Blackness, where having seen my mother and other freinds we came all to Edenr on saturnday.

29*th.*—I preacht non, but was a hearer in Edenr. this day the church of alloa was declared vacant by the minr of Alva. on the fryday befor all my plenishing arrived safe att north Berwicke, and was transported thence to Tinningham.

Novr. 1.—Being Wedensday I brought all my family in a coach to preston.

5*th.*—Att Tinningham lect. on 1 pet. 1, and preacht on 1 cor. 1, 30.

Next weeke I attended the synod of Lothian, being now a member of it, and in my absenes my wife brought the family from preston to Tinningham. O that it may be for gods glory and the good of souls.

Novr. 12*th.*—Att Tinningham lectured and preacht on ditto.

19*th.*—lect. and preacht on ditto.

26*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on John 3, 16.

Thursday, 30*th.*—Being a thanksgiving for the late good harvest, I preacht on Joel 2, 26, 27.

Decr. 3.—Lect. on 1 pet. 1 : pre. on John 3, 16.

10*th.*—Lect. and preacht on ditto.

17*th.*—Lect. and preacht on ditto.

24*th.*—Lect. and preacht on ditto.

All this moneth extraordinary mild winter weather, yet much sickness still.

31.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

1700 *Janry.* 7*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto. still extraordinary mild weather, and the sickness much abated.

Certain news that our countrey men had repossessed Darien in America.[1]

Lord Basil hamilton[2] sent with ane address to the king from y^e^ american company.

I entered upon visiting the paroch, and beganne our maintenance to the poor of the paroch.

14*th.*—Lect. and preacht on ditto.

21.—Lect. on ditto, prea. on rom. 5, 4.

Janry.—This weeke I began to examine.

28*th.*—Lect. on 1 pet. 2, prea. on rom. 5, 5.

Account again that our countrey men had deserted Darien for the second time, capt^n^ Jamisons ship with all the provisions being blown up. as to L^d^ Basil Hamilton, the king did not admitt him to his psence, but granted the desire of the company in a favorable letter to the councell.

Febry. 2.—The generall assembly mett, my Lord Seafield[3] com̃issioner, and Mr. Da. Blair,[4] mod^r^, Mr. John Ballantyn, clerke: in it were great heats about Caledonia. they rose Feb. 20^th^, the next assembly to meet Feb. 19, 1701.

4*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Very high winds about this. The countrey begane to sow pise about the middle of january, the season being very dry.

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[1] This was the disastrous speculation originated in 1695 by William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, the ultimate failure of which caused such unprecedented excitement and great misery in Scotland. A full account of the scheme is given in J. H. Burton's *Darien Papers*, printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1849. See also Macaulay's *England*, vol. iv. p. 201 *et seq.*; Bannister's *Life of Paterson*, p. 122 *et seq.*

[2] The sixth son of Lady Anne Hamilton, daughter of James, third Marquis and first Duke of Hamilton, who succeeded her uncle William, the second duke, as Duchess of Hamilton in her own right, in 1651. She married Lord William Douglas, eldest son of William, first Marquis of Douglas, who, on her petition, was created Duke of Hamilton for life in 1660. Lord Basil Hamilton's tragic death, in August 1701, is referred to p. 404.

[3] James, created Viscount Seafield in 1698; born in 1664; son of James, third Earl of Findlater, to which title he succeeded on his father's death in 1711. He was educated for the bar, and passed advocate in 1685; was successively Solicitor-General and Secretary of State for Scotland, Chancellor of Scotland, and Keeper of the Great Seal. Created Earl of Seafield in 1701. Died in 1730.

[4] See note, p. 322.

On saturnday, Febr^{y} 3, did a most terrible fire[1] breake owt in the city of Eden^{r}, betwixt ten and eleven att night, in Robertsons land,[2] and a high wind blowing, it burnt and wasted all befor it till moonday morning, and laid all that land and a great part of the parliament close in ashes. above 300 familys dislodged, the loss valued att above ane hundreth thousand pounds sterlin. may the lord sanctify so awakning a stroake. 1700

11*th.*—Mr. James Ker preacht for me.

Twesday, 13*th.*—About two in y^{e} morning, being fastens Eve morning, was my wife brought to bed of a daughter, who, on Fryday 16th, was baptised by the name of Marion, by Mr. John Forrest, min^{r} att preston-kirke. I did devote her and my other children anew to the lord. my wife recovered pretty well, only her breasts very sore.

18*th.*—Mr. Buchanan preacht for me, and I preacht in Stenton kirke on jer. 9, 1, 2, 3, and lectured on 2 sam. 22, 31, etc.

25.—Lect. on 1 pet. 2: preacht on mal. 3, 2.

This weeke I ended the Examination.

This weeke was [*sic*] son George was very sicke of a feavar. as also my wife of very sore breasts. it pleased god mercifully to recover both; a new pledge of his love.

March 3.—Lect. on ditto, prea. on rom. 5, 6.

10*th.*—Lect. on ditto, preacht on acts 9, 11.

Wedensday, 13.—I had the addition befor the pbitry on 1 pet. 4, 12.

This day my wife aggried with a nurse to her daughter Marion, and she entered home.

17*th.*—Lect. and preacht on ditto.

Moonday, 18*th.*—I went to Eden^{r} to sie the family of Rothess, and returned on wedensday.

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[1] Some curious details of this great fire will be found in Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, vol. iii. p. 225.

[2] This was a tenement of houses of the extraordinary altitude of fourteen stories, six or seven of which, however, were below the level of the ground on the north side. It was built some twenty years before this by Thomas Robertson, a brewer and thriving citizen, who died in 1686.—Chambers's *Domestic Annals*; Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 162.

1700 *Thursday*, 21.—The pbitry mett att Dumbar for prayer.

24th.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Thursday, *28th.*—Being a nationall fast day for our psent sins and calamitys, pticularly our loss att Darien, and the late fire in Eden^r, I preacht on psa. 107, 43.

March 31.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Aprile 7th.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

14*th.*—Lectured on ditto. preacht on 2 cor. 5, 11.

The weeke befor I tooke physicke.

Twesday, 16*th.*—I went to Eden^r, thence on Wedensday to Tillyallan; on Thursday to dunfermlin; on Fryday to Queensferry; on saturnday backe to Tillyallan, and on the sabbath morning I went into alloa, where I preacht and lectured on act 9.

Twesday, *April* 23.—I was psent att the admission of Mr. John Wylie to be min^r at clackmannan.[1] I went in that evening to sterlin to waitt on the family of marr. I returned to Tillyallan on Thursday, where I stayed and preacht sabbath, apr. 28th.

Moonday, 29*th.*—I went to Lesly to waitt on that family, where I stayed till wedensday, may 1. I came that night to Eden^r, and on Thursday, may 2^d, home, where, glory to the highest god, I found all well again.

May 5*th.*—Lect. on 1 pet. 2; pr. on act 2, 37.

This weeke the synod of Lothian sate, mr. John Hamilton,[2] mod^r. I attended from Twesday to Fryday in Eden^r.

This weeke my son William was very sick of a dangerous feavar.

12*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

This weeke my son begane to recover weakly.

19*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and pre. on John 15, 1.

26*th.*—Lectured on 1 pet. 3; preacht on ditto.

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[1] John Wylie, M.A., graduated at St. Andrews in 1677; ordained at Saline, 19th September 1695; translated to Clackmannan on this date, and died in June 1728, in his seventy-fifth year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] John Hamilton, M.A., son of Archibald Hamilton, minister of Wigtown; graduated at Edinburgh in 1668; ordained to the Presbyterian congregation at Comber, Ireland, he returned to Scotland in 1689; was admitted minister of Cramond in 1691; translated to Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh (second charge), in 1693, and died 17th October 1702, in his fifty-first year.—*Ibid.*

1700 *May* 21, being Twesday, did our parliament sitt down, the duke of Queensburry[1] being com̄issionar. this parliātt began with great heats and factions about Caledonia, was adjourned once and again.

June 2.—Lectured and preacht on ditto v. 2.

Thursday, june 6*th.*—I went to Eden^{r}, and next day to Tillyallan, where I preacht on the saturnday befor the sacrament there on job 23, 3; and on the sabbath did renew my covenant with god. on moonday I went to alloway, Twesday returned to Eden^{r}, and on wedensday home again.

Thursday, 13*th.*—Was the fast day befor the sacrament in Preston-kirke paroch.

Saturnday, 15*th.*—I preacht there on James 4, 8.

Sunday, 16*th.*—I renewed cov^{tt} with god, for my self, wife, and children, served two tables; and in the aftarnoon preacht on song 3, 4.

23.—Att home lect. on 1 pet. 3, 8; preacht on John 15, 2.

About this time we gott the sad news of the defeat of our american colony by the spaniards in the moneth of Febr^{y} last, a very sad loss to the nation.

30.—Lec. on ditto, and preacht on Isay 1, 5.

July.—The first Sabbath of this moneth the com̄union was att Whittingham. I preached on saturday the 6th on heb. 13, 20: on the sabbath served thrie tables; and on moonday 8th, preached on heb. 13, 21: this was a good day: here also I renewed covenant with god. I returned home on the moonday.

July 14*th.*—Lect. att home on 1 pet. 3: preacht on rev. 3, 20.

This moneth was very winday and dry weather, which kept the mercats still up, till the 19th. owr heats and animositys continue: many enter into a resolve agst all forreign cloth, and all french wins: this displeases the gov^{tt}. about this time capt^{n} campbell of finab coms to Eden^{r} from darien, and affirms the surrender of it by treaty to y^{e} spaniards.

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[1] James, second duke, born 18th December 1662, at Sanquhar, Dumfriesshire; appointed Lord High Treasurer in 1693; royal commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, 1700-1703, and again in the last parliament of 1706, when the Union was concluded. Died at London, 6th July 1711.—Burke's *Peerage.*

1700 21.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

28.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

On the wedensday 24, I tooke a very severe collicke, for w^{ch} I blamed a solyn goose, a part whereof I had eat at the my lord Bellhavens house[1] the day befor.

Next wedensday 31, I preacht at Stenton on Ezek. 7, 16, being a fast befor y^{e} sacrament.

Saturnday, Aug. 3.—I baptised a child to Andrew Purvess in dumbar.

Aug. 4.—Lectured and preacht on my ordinary.

Wedensday, 7th.—I assisted att the ordination of mr. Hugh Darlin[2] to be minister of the gospel att Ennerwicke.

11*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

About the end of the pceding july died the duke of Glocester, the only surviving person of the posterity of chancelor Hyd:[3] wise men fear this accident may produce alterations.

This summer the King is in holland again.

About this time I had many fears and doubts least I had erred and sinned in leaving the paroch of alloway; lord clear them and provide mercifully for that people.

Aug. 18.—I preacht att spott, lectured on psa. 16; preacht on 2 cor. 5, 10.

Wedensday 21.—I visit my brother in law att Redhouse, next day I visit the lord Elebank, and on fryday returned home.

Twesday 20*th.*—Dyed the worthy, religious, and truly noble margaret, Countess of Rothess, my very great freind and benefactrix :[1] she was buryed sept^r^ 3: a feavar of a very few days qtinuance carryed her off.

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[1] Beil, in the parish of Stenton. Lord Belhaven was John Hamilton, the second Baron, born 5th June 1656, a keen opponent of the Union. He died 21st June 1708, on his release from a short imprisonment on a charge of favouring the Pretender.—Burke's *Peerage.*

[2] Hew Darling, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1696; licensed by the Presbytery of Dalkeith in 1699; ordained to Innerwick on this date; and died Edinburgh, 29th September 1701, aged about twenty-five.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[3] William, Duke of Gloucester, only surviving child of Princess (afterwards Queen) Anne, and her husband, George, Prince of Denmark, and heir-presumptive to the throne. Born in 1689, he died on the 30th July of this year (1700). His death 'was such a political catastrophe as those only who remember the death of the Princess Charlotte can in some degree realise.'—Burton's *Queen Anne,* vol. i. p. 18.

25th.—I lectured on my ordinary, and preacht on heb. 12, 1.

29th.—Being Thursday, a nationall fast day for the sins of the land, I preacht on hos. 4, 1, 2, 3.

Septemb. 1.—Lectured on 1 pet. 4, 1 ; prea. on heb. 12, 1.

8th.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

15th.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

22.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

About this time there was a warm report of the duke of brandeburg[2] his being made king of prussia by the pops confirmation, and the emperors inaugura^o^n, which made many suspect his stedfastness in the protestant religion, and fear least he should doe as the duke of saxony had done,[2] deny the faith for a crown, w^ch^ god pvent. this proved most false.

29th.—I lectured on 2 cor. 5, and preacht on v. 11. of that chaptar att Whyttingham.

October 5th.—Being saturnday befor the sacrament of the lords suppar att Whytkirke, I preacht on psa. 32, 1, 2.

Octobr. 6th.—Att Tyningham on my ordinary.

This was fierce blowing weather and the harvest late in many places.

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[1] See note, p. 386. Crawford in his *Peerage* (pp. 430, 431) says of Lady Rothes that she was 'a lady of incomparable piety and goodness,' a character which bears out what is here recorded about her. Her mother, Lady Anne Lindsay, Duchess of Rothes, was a warm friend of the Covenanters, though her husband, the Duke, who was a man of coarse and loose habits, was the very opposite, chiefly, however, from political considerations. For further information about both these distinguished ladies, see Wodrow's *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 300; *Analecta*, vol. iv. p. 172 ; and Anderson's *Ladies of the Covenant*, pp. 234 and 248.

[2] Frederick, son of Frederick William, the great Elector, born in 1652. He succeeded his father as Elector of Brandenburg in 1688, and supporting the Emperor Leopold I. in the war of the Spanish succession, obtained from him the title of King of Prussia, which he had long coveted. He crowned himself at Königsberg, 18th January 1701. Died 25th February 1713.

[3] Frederick Augustus, the Elector of Saxony, a vain, ambitious, and dissolute man, formerly the head of the European Protestant States; became a Roman Catholic in March 1697, and a candidate for the throne of Poland, and was elected and crowned such. Thereafter the headship of the Protestant States of Germany passed to the Elector of Brandenburg.

1700 *9th.*—Being wedensday and a fast day befor the sacrament att North berwicke, I preacht in the aftarnoon on Jer. 4, 14.

13th.—I was att preston-kirke. Mr. Forrest being unwell, I lectured on rev. 2 to v. 8th, and preacht on verse 4th.

Moonday 14*th.*—My brother in law mr. adam Glass and his wife came here and stayed till wedensday. that day we dined in Smeiton, and went att night to Stevenson, next day to ormiston to visit my old Lady Hadington, where my wife fell unwell, and I believe miscarryed, she not knowing she was with child: Fryday we returned safe home blessed be god.

20*th.*—Att home lect. on 1 pet. 4, 9, 10, 11: and preacht on heb. 12, 1.

27*th.*—Lect. on 1 pet. 4, 12, 13; and preacht on ditto.

Octobr. 29*th.*—Our parliätt mett, the duke of Queensburry continuing comissioner. the king in his letter to them shews he cannot affect there right to Darien, but promiseth whatever else is for the nations advantadge: in it are many heats about the affair of caledonia and a standing army in time of peace: yet severall good laws are made, 1100 souldiers voted to qtinue for two years, and our right to caledonia asserted: but many members dissent.[1] this parliatt sat till Feb. 1, 1701.

Novr. 3*d.*—Lect. on 1 pet. 4, 14, 15, 16; and preached on heb. 12. 2.

Novr. 4*th.*—Being moonday I went from home on my way to Edenr: my wife was with me. we lodged all night in Musselburgh: next morning went to Edenr to attend upon the synod, and returned safe home on saturnday next. att Edenr I gott the ill news of my brother in laws death, William Grieve: he dyed aug. 17 at sea, returning from the west indies. god provid for the widow and orphans.

10*th.*—I preacht att preston kirke for mr. Forrest; lect. on psa. 125; pr. on heb. 11. 10.

The harvest was very late in some places, they gott not all in till the martymess. This weeke we had snow and frost.

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[1] The king 'went back to his beloved Holland (in July), to the grievous disappointment and embarrassment of his servants in Scotland, who found themselves obliged to carry on he government in an impeded and ineffective fashion, in the face of a general disloyalty and a large Parliamentary opposition.'—Story's *Carstares*, p. 267.

17*th.*—Att home, I lectured on rom. 12, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and admitted five new elders, viz. alex^{r} bromfield in oldham, william Beckby in Scowgall, James Turnbull, James stevenson, both in Tinningham, and Thomas Congleton in gateside, who being added, made our elders ten in number. god furnish them for there worke. in the afternoon preacht on 2 cor. 7, 1.

24*th.*—Lect. on 1 pet. 4, 17: preacht on ditto.

Decr. 1.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Moonday, 2.—I was att the buriall of our worthy compresbyter, mr. David Cluny, min^{r} att Cockburnspath:[1] he dyed on Fryday, nov^{r} 29.

Twesday, *Decr.* 3.—m^{ris} Forrest[2] dyed.

Decr. 4*th.*—Being wedensday did my Lord Haddington and family come hither.[3] my lady Hopton[4] and lady ann Lindsey were with them.

8*th.*—Lectured on 1 pet. 5, 1, etc.; preacht on ditto.

15*th.*—Lect. on ditto; preacht on mat. 11, 28.

22*d.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

I was now busy visitting the paroch, who seemed to reform dayly; as also we established a maintenance for our poor. This weeke I went to Eden^{r} to pay the lady minto,[5] and to adwice what to doe as to my part of Wm. Grievs ship. I returned on Fryday 27.

29.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Twesday, 31, and the last day of this current century I was called in the evening to sie Mr. Forrest, who aftar a long

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[1] David Clunie, M.A., graduated at Glasgow University, 18th July 1672; ordained minister of Cockburnspath in 1689.

[2] Marioun, daughter of James Stevenson, merchant, Edinburgh, and wife of Mr. John Forrest, minister of Prestonkirk.

[3] The Earl of Haddington, after his marriage in 1696, when only sixteen years of age, to his own cousin, Helen Hope, daughter of John Hope of Hopetoun, father of the first Earl of Hopetoun, continued for several years to reside at Leslie. He only now came to reside permanently at Tyninghame, the estate, since his father's death in 1685, having been let to tenants.

[4] The earl's aunt and mother-in-law, Lady Margaret Hamilton, daughter of John, fourth Earl of Haddington; married, 31st December 1668, to John Hope of Hopetoun. She died in December 1711, and was buried at Tyninghame.—Sir William Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington.*

[5] Jane, daughter of Sir Andrew Carre of Cavers, knight; married Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, who, in 1705, became a Lord of Session, by the title of Lord Minto.

1700 sickness was a dying; he had raved for many days befor, and yet that his last evening was very sensible, and aftar having spoken to me most seriously of his souls state, and ordered all his sæcular affairs,[1] in all w^ch he used me as his only confident, he dyed sweetly in the lord about 12 at night, and next Fryday, Jan^ry 3, was buryed. I was with him all that night,* and on Thursday, jan^ry 2, was with his children all night, and came home on the buriall day, which was Fryday jan^ry 3d.

*of his death.

1701 *Janry.* 5*th.*—Mr. John Athleck, minister att aucterderrin, in fyfe,[2] preached for me all day.

This weeke I beganne to examin.

12*th.*—Lectured on 2 pet. 1; preacht on matt. 11, 28.

Janry. 19.—Lect. and preacht on ditto.

This moneth was cold, sever, but very unqstart weather, yet no great sickness.

26*th.*—Lectured and preached on ditto.

Febry. 2.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

The weather very cold still, and changable.

9*th.*—Lect. on ditto; preacht on mat. 11, 29.

16*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto: this day the Earle of Marr,[3] lord Rosberry,[4] mr. Francis mongomry,[5] capt^n Areskine, etc., were in the church.

Twesday, 18*th.*—I went to Eden^r to the assembly, which mett att Eden^r on wedensday 19th; the lord Anandale[6] was comissioner from the king, and mr. Thomas Wilky, min^r in the canongate,[1] was chosen mod^r^. contrary to the fears of freinds this assembly mett and parted in great harmony; the chief worke of this assembly was the qdemna^o^n of the apology for m. antonia bourignon.[2] it was the design of many to have the churches intrinsicke right asserted, and a good step towards it was made, viz., the king acquainted with the churches inclina^o^n, and endeavours used to ppare him to comply with it agst the next assembly; the assembly rose on moonday, march 10th, 1701, and the next indicted to meet march 6, 1702. 1701

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[1] See note, p. 377. He bequeathed j^cxx lb. to his former charge at Tulliallan, 'for keeping poor scholars at the school.'—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] John Affleck, chaplain to Margaret, Countess of Rothes; ordained minister of Auchterderran, 18th December 1700. Died at Edinburgh, while attending the General Assembly, in 1740, aged seventy.—*Ibid.*

[3] See note, p. 349.

[4] Archibald Primrose, born 1664; created Baron Primrose and Dalmeny, and Viscount Rosebery, 1st April 1700, and Earl of Rosebery in 1703; died 17th October 1723.—Burke's *Peerage.*

[5] Of Giffen, second son of Hugh, seventh Earl of Eglintoun. By his mother, Lady Mary Leslie, daughter of the Earl of Rothes, he was a cousin of the Earl of Haddington.

[6] William, second Earl of Annandale and Hartfell, who was advanced in June this same year (1701) to the Marquisate of Annandale. Died in 1720.

Sunday 23.—I preacht in the aftarnoon in the new church befor the com̄issionar on psa. 68, 28, by order of the assembly.

March 11.—I returned home to Tiningham, where, praise to god, I found my family well.

March 16.—Lectured on 2 pet. 2; preacht on mat. 11, 29; this day montross,[3] his mother,[4] mr. Bruce, etc., were in church.

This march was very backward weather for the seed, a cold easterly wind with some snow.

23.—Lectured and preacht on ditto. Hopton,[5] his lady, and mother in the church.

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[1] Thomas Wilkie, M.A., born 9th April 1645; graduated at Edinburgh 31st July 1662; ordained minister of the Canongate Parish in 1689. Died 19th March 1711.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] Dr. George Garden of Aberdeen, a minister of the Church, had published an Apology for Antonia Bourignon, a French visionary, born at Lille in 1616, who claimed divine inspiration, and taught that religion consisted solely in internal emotion, and not in either knowledge or practice. Refusing to retract his opinions, the Assembly first condemned these as heretical, and then deposed Dr. Garden from the ministry. A solemn renunciation of 'Bourignonism' was, at this time, prescribed for every entrant on the ministry, an article which still remains in the formula of the Established Church of Scotland, signed by all its ministers at their ordination.

[3] James, fourth marquis, born in 1665, created Duke of Montrose in 1707. Previous to the Union he was Lord President of the Council, and on the accession of King George I. became one of the principal secretaries of State. Died 7th January 1742. He was cousin-german to the Earl of Haddington.

[4] Lady Christian Leslie, second daughter of John, Duke of Rothes, married first, to James, third Marquis of Montrose; and, secondly, in 1687, to Sir John Bruce of Kinross.

[5] Charles Hope, son of John Hope of Hopetoun, born in 1681, created Earl of Hopetoun in 1703, married, in 1699, Henrietta, only daughter of William, first Marquis of Annandale. Died 26th February 1742. He was brother of the Countess of Haddington.

1701 *30th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Twesday, aprile 1.—I lett a litle blood, and purged that same weeke.

Apr. 6th.—Lect. on 2 pet. 2; preacht on mat. 6, 33.

9th.—Att the desire of Mr. Hugh Darlin, min^r att Enner-weeke, I proposed a design of marriage betwixt him and Sarah Riddell to Mr. Archbald Riddell, min^r att Kirkcaldy hir father,[1] he being att Smeaton, and to the lady Smeaton her aunt.[2]

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[1] Archibald Riddell, M.A., third son of Sir Walter Riddell of that ilk; graduated at Edinburgh in 1666; ordained minister of Kippen about 1670; became famous as a field preacher; apprehended in 1680, and imprisoned at Jedburgh and Edinburgh. In 1681 he was sent to the Bass, where he remained in confinement till the close of 1684, when he agreed to emigrate to New Jersey in America, and on the voyage thither his wife died on shipboard of malignant fever. Here he continued, exercising his ministry at Woodbridge, till June 1689, when he sailed for England, but being captured, along with his son, by a French man-of-war, they were carried prisoners to France, where they were subjected to great hardships and rigorous treatment. Released at length through the interference of the English government, who gave two French priests, who were prisoners in Blackness, in exchange for them, he returned to Scotland, and was settled at Wemyss in 1691; translated to Kirkcaldy in 1697, and to Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, in 1702. Died 17th February 1708, in his seventy-third year. His daughter Sarah, here mentioned, married Mr. John Currie, minister of Oldhamstocks, and afterwards of Haddington, on the 26th November 1703.—*Bass Rock*, p. 363; Scott's *Fasti*.

[2] Of this lady, Sarah Riddell, the wife of Patrick Hepburn of Smeaton, a strange story appears in the *Records of the Presbytery of Dunbar*, under date 28th February 1675. 'The minister reportit that there is a great clamour of the people anent a riot at Smeaton between Sarah Riddel, spous to Patrick Hepburn at Smeaton, and James Drew, servitor, upon ane Antony Broune, an English lad, who is said to have been kicked most cruelly three times, to the great hazard of his life; and that the general rumour is that the said Antony is deid—at least cannot be found since; and that the minister and kirk-session in this place were by the general voice of the people blamed for not taking notice of the riot in representing it to the civil magistrate, especiallie seing the person that suffered is a young man without friends in this nation; whereupon the minister and session, judging it a matter criminal, and so not concerning them, were very unwilling to act anything, fearing lest they might incur any suspicion. Seing the said Sarah absents herself from publick and divine service of God in this church, yet they thought fit to desire the minister to go to Smeaton, for whom they have a very great respect, and acquaint him with the said riot, who was supposed to be ignorant of the same; and to cause search for said Antony Broune, and produce him publiklie, to stop the clamour of the people.' It appears from the minutes that this was done. Search was made, and the minister —Mr. George Sheal—went to Edinburgh to consult the Lord Advocate—

April 13*th.*—Lect. on 2 pet. 2; preacht on Coll. 3, 11. 1701

15*th.*—I went to yester where I was assisting att the ordination of Mr. James Craig[1] to that paroch. Mr. Matthew Reid min^r at north Berwicke preacht on Jer. 23, 22.

Wedensday, 16*th.*—I had the pbiteriall exercise on 1 pet. 5, 2; having had the addition the former pbitry day on v. 1.

This weeke was very cold, the nights frosty, and a bitter easterly wind.

20*th.*—Lectured on ditto. preacht on Tit. 2, 11.

About this time the certain news of the late King James his death came to Eden^r. he dyed[2]

Thursday, 24*th.*—Being a nationall fast day by appointment of the last assembly for the sins of the land, and the dangers threatning the reformed churches,[3] I lectured on Isay. 58; and preacht on Ezek. 21, 13.

Aprile 27.—Lect. on 2 pet. 3; and preacht on tit. 2, 11, 12. Atherston in church. The season was still cold, yet the corn cheap.

May 4*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

This weeke our synod of Lothian mett, I went from home to it moonday 5th. Mr. will. Burnett att Falkirke[4] was chosen mod^r.

Thursday, 8*th.*—I preached befor the synod on philip. 2, 16; and returned home on Fryday 9th att night.

Dalrymple of Hailes—who was also an elder in the parish (Prestonkirk). The conclusion of the matter is thus recorded:—'Dunbar, 5 October 1675. The Laird of Smeaton, from the reference that the general voice that his lady had kicked an English boy three times, to the danger of his life, the boy is now found to be alive, and for verification theirof was publicklie shown to the whole people convened in the kirk, and presented to the sheriff-depute sitting in judgment at Haddington; therefore he desired this to be registrat in their book, and wished an extract from the clerk.'

[1] James Craig, M.A., born 5th September 1669; graduated at Edinburgh 9th July 1694; translated to Dunbar in 1718, and thence to the Old Church parish, Edinburgh, in 1721. Died 31st January 1731.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] Blank in the MS.

[3] In France, Piedmont, and the Palatinate.

[4] William Burnett, admitted minister of Mid-Calder, November 1687; translated to Falkirk in 1696, and died 18th December 1714. His wife was a daughter of the celebrated James Fraser of Brae, minister of Culross.—Scott's *Fasti.*

1701 This weeke mr. Buchanan, min^r^ att Tillyallan, and his wife visited us, and stayed till Twesday, may 13th.

11*th.*—Mr. Buchanan preached for me both fornoon and afternoon on hos. 13, 12; and I lectured on 2 pet. 3, 11, 12, etc.

Twesday, 13*th.*—I went to redhouse with mr. Buchanan and his wife, and returned next day. Thursday 15th I went to a visitation at oldhamstocks, and returned that night.

18*th.*—Lectured on 2 pet. 3, 14 to the end, and preacht on tit. 2, 12.

Twesday, 20*th.*—I began the examination of the paroch in order to comunion.

This was a weeke of very blowing weather.

25*th.*—Lect. on John 6; and preacht on ditto.

June 1.—Lect. on ditto, and preacht on Jer. 50, 4, and 2^{d}. I went to Blackness to visit my mother and sisters, I returned the next day to Eden^{r}, and attended the comission of the kirke till Fryday 6th, when I returned home, and brought Mr. William Crichton, min^{r} in the tron church [1] of Eden^{r}, with me for his health.

June 8*th.*—Lect. on John 6; prea. on jer. 50, 4.

11*th.*—I was att spott, being the fast day befor there sacrament, where Mr. watson [2] and mr. stark [3] preacht.

Saturnday, 14*th.*—Mr. Curry [4] and I preached. my text was job 23, 3; on the sabbath I served thrie tables, and preacht on the moonday on psa. 119, 60. Mr. Curry also preacht. I came home y^{t} day, having lodged the former night at Lochend.[5]

Thursday, 19*th.*—I preacht att preston-kirk on Isay. 41, 17, 18; and moderatt in a call given by the parish of prestonhaugh to mr. John Curry, min^{r} att oldhamstocks.

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[1] See note, p. 350.

[2] John Watson, ordained at Whittingham in 1694, demitted in 1705, and died at Edinburgh 4th June 1743, in his seventieth year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[3] Robert Stark, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1675; ordained at Stenton 19th March 1691, and died in December 1716, aged about sixty-two.—*Ibid.*

[4] John Currie, a native of Ochiltree, Ayrshire, ordained minister of Oldhamstocks in 1695; translated to Haddington in 1704; elected Moderator of the General Assembly of 1709, and died 18th June 1720.—*Ibid.*

[5] In the parish of Dunbar, the residence of George Warrender, a wealthy merchant of Edinburgh, a bailie, and afterwards Lord Provost of the city, who was created a baronet by King George I. in 1715. He was M.P. for Edinburgh from 1715 to 1721.

22.—Lect. on John 6, 28, etc.; preacht on Jer. 51, 4, 5. 1701
Mr. crichton preacht in the aftarnoon on prov. 10, 4.

Wedensday, 25.—Was our fast day befor the com̄union; Mrs Watson, Reid, and starke preached that day.

Saturnday.—The pparation day, M^{rs} Webstar [1] and Buchanan preached.

Sabbath, 29*th.*—I preached on jer. 50, 15; and Mr. Webstar [1] in the afternoon.

Moonday, 30*th.*—Mrs Glass and curry preached.

This was a sweet time of the gospell, and a good gathering of people. lord follow it with a lasting blessing. there were seven tables about thrie hundreth com̄unicants.

July 6*th.*—Lectured on John 6, 34 to 41; and preacht on Jer. 50, 5; Mr. William crichton preacht in the aftarnoon.

The next Sabbath Mr. Oliver preacht for me.

12.—Being saturnday the pparation befor the sacrament in oldhamstocks, I preached on gen. 35, 4, 5; on the Lords day I served two tables and preacht in the aftarnoon on 2 sam. 22, 23; M^{rs} pow,[2] min^{r} in Caldstream, and Brown in spott with my self were assistants to Mr. Curry, min^{r} in the place. Saturnday and sabbath nights I lodged at dunglass with S^{r} James hall,[3] where we all dined on moonday, and I returned home that day in the evening.

20*th.*—I lectured att home on acts 1, preacht on Tit. 2, 12.

23.—Mr. Crichton left this place, I conveyed him to ormiston, where I stayed all night, and returned next day by the way of salton to visit Mr. Lundy.[4]

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[1] James Webster, minister of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, to which he had been translated from Whitekirk in 1693. He was minister at Liberton in 1688, and was translated to Whitekirk in 1691.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] John Pow, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1688; ordained at Coldstream, 7th August 1694, and died 5th January 1735, aged about sixty-seven. He presided at the ordination of the celebrated Thomas Boston to the ministerial charge of Simprin in 1669.—*Ibid.*

[3] The second Baronet of the name, son of John Hall, a merchant burgess of Edinburgh, who, in 1687, was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia. Dunglass, in the parish of Oldhamstocks, originally one of the many strongholds of the Earl of Home, became his by purchase. It was the scene in 1640 of an explosion, in which Thomas, the second Earl of Haddington and a number of his kindred and friends perished.

[4] Archibald Lundie, eldest son of James Lundie, minister of North Leith,

1701 27.—Lectured and preacht on ditto. this day severall strangers were in the church.

28.—I went to ormiston again, and on wedensday 30 mr. Crichton and I went in to Eden^{r}, and on Fryday Aug. 1 returned home. my sister in law m^{ris} Glass came also.

Aug. 3.—Lect. on acts 1; preacht on Tit. 2, 13.

10*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

13*th.*—Being a fast day befor the sacrament in stenton, I preached on job 13, 23.

17.—Lectured on acts 2, preacht on Tit. 2, 13.

18*th.*—Moonday aftar the sacrament att stenton preached on jude 21.

My sister in law m^{ris} Blackwood came here saturday 9th, and went away Thursday 14th of august.

All this moneth of August my children George and marion were ill of the kinkcogh.[2]

This moneth there was extraordinary lightning and thunder both in the night and day time, yet the rains not excessive.

Aug. 24.—I preacht att preston-kirke by order of the pbitry on mat. 7, 13, 14; and lectured on that chapter from v. 1 to 13. This evening about eight at night my Lady Had. brought forth a son, whom next day, being Moonday, I baptised by the name of John.[3]

31.—Att home lectured on acts 2, and preacht on Tit. 2, 14. about this time Lord Basil Hamilton, son to the late duke of Hamilton, was very strangly drowned in the river of travelling from his own house att Baldoon to Cassells in company with his Brother Lord selkirk and others.[4]

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graduated at Edinburgh in 1691; ordained minister of Salton in 1696. Died Father of the Church of Scotland, 4th November 1759, in his ninety-sixth year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[1] Hooping-cough.

[2] The Honourable John Hamilton, second son of Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington. Educated at Glasgow University, where he matriculated in October 1716; admitted advocate at the Scotch bar in 1725; married, in 1728, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Home, Bart., of Blackadder, Berwickshire, and died at Edinburgh, 11th February 1772.—Sir William Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington.*

[4] A detailed account of this accident, which occurred at the Water of Minnick

Septr. 2, *Twesday.*—I went to prestonpanns to assist att a comittee of the synod of Lothian for accomodatting some differences in that paroch;[1] I lodged that night with the Laird of prestongrang;[2] next day went to Edenʳ to assist att the comission of the kirk. 1701

Thursday.—I paid to Andrew Karr writter in Edenʳ for the lady minto the last moyety of her bond. I retired the bond, gave a new bond for the remaining 100 lib. scots, and in stead of a generall discharge I tooke assignation to the wholl bond of 1100 lib. scots, in alexʳ Glass's[3] name for my behoof; I returned next fryday.

Septr. 7th.—I lectured on acts 2, 22, etc.; Mr. Will. moncrief in Largo[4] preacht for me all the day on acts 26, 18. next saturday, septʳ 13, I went to cockburnspath, stayed with mʳⁱˢ cluny,[5] next day I lectured on mat. 24, 42 to the end, preacht on coll. 1, 13; went up that night to dunglass with Sʳ James hall, where sir Roᵗᵗ Chiesly[6] and his lady were, and came home on moonday. this sabbath mr. Will. oliver preacht for me, and in my absence a letter came to me from ormiston treasurer deput,[7] with the sad news of his Ladys death, who died that day in the fornoon.

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in Galloway, on the 27th of August, will be found in Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, vol. iii. p. 246. See also Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. i. p. 10.

[1] There had been a protracted vacancy here, owing to differences between the lairds of Preston and Prestongrange as to who should be called as minister.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] William Morison, M.P. for Peeblesshire, 1702-1713. The property was afterwards acquired by William Grant, second son of Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, who became a Lord of Session as Lord Prestongrange, and is now part of the ancestral possession of Sir George Grant-Suttie, Bart., of Balgone.

[3] Probably Alexander Glass, a brother of Mrs. Turnbull, and second son of Alexander Glass of Sauchie. He was admitted a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh on 4th November 1695, after an apprenticeship with Robert Watson. Was Joint-Fiscal 1699-1702. Treasurer of the Society 1714-22. Married Jean Blackwood, and died *s.p.* 8th February 1733.—*History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet*, Edinburgh, 1890.

[4] Note, p. 354.

[5] Grizel Thomsone, widow of David Clunie, minister of Cockburnspath; see note, p. 397.

[6] Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1694-1696, M.P. for Edinburgh, 1696-1702.—Foster's *Members of Parliament—Scotland.*

[7] Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, appointed Lord Justice-Clerk in 1692, and Treasurer-Depute in 1699. On the accession of Queen Anne he was dismissed

1701 *Septr.* 15*th.*—New stile dyed King James the seventh at St. Germans in France, and the prince of wales was im̄ediattly proclamed king of great Brittain, etc. there by order of the french King.

All this summer the Emperors arms in Italy were successfull.[1]

18*th*, *Thursday.*—I assisted att the ordination of mr. John junkison[2] to be min^{r} att athelstonford: mr. Tho. Finlay preacht on jer. 3, 15.

This night my gowt, aftar two full years intermission, seised me again, my pain was violent till the sabbath morning.

21.—I preacht all day on Tit. 2, 14.

This weeke our harvest was fully ended, and all the corns inned.

My gowt continued, but the violence of the pain abated, blessed be god.

Saturnday, *Septr.* 27*th.*—About six in the morning was my wife brought to bed of a fourth son; he was baptised next day being the lords day in the aftarnoon in the church by the name of Thomas,[3] by mr. Will. Hamilton, min^{r} at Whytkirke,[4] who preacht on mat. 6, 5. I preacht in the fornoon on psa. 18, 31; my gowt still continued.

Octor. 1, *Wedensday.*—The Earle of Dalkeith[5] passed by this

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from this and all other offices which he held, but was again appointed Lord Justice-Clerk in 1705, being superseded as such by James Erskine of Grange in 1710, but retaining his place as an ordinary Judge of Session till his death on 16th April 1735, in his seventy-ninth year. He was married in March 1679 to Lady Susanna Hamilton, fifth daughter of John, fourth Earl of Haddington. An account of the marriage festivities at Tyninghame, and of the expenses thereof, is printed in Sir William Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. i. Lady Susanna, whose death is here recorded, was born in December 1657.

[1] Under the command of Prince Eugene of Savoy, who inflicted several severe defeats upon the French at Carpi and Chiari.

[2] John Jonkison, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1695; died 15th February 1730, aged fifty-five.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[3] Became afterwards minister of Greenlaw in 1725, and was translated thence to Borthwick in 1734; Moderator of the General Assembly in 1758; a great friend of Lord President Dundas; died 23d March 1786.—*Ibid.*

[4] See note, p. 387.

[5] James, son of Anne, second Countess of Buccleuch, who married, in 1663, James, Duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles II. and was created Duchess of Buccleuch in 1673. This dignity she continued to hold in her own right after her husband's execution and the forfeiture of his honours in 1685.—Douglas's *Peerage.*

on his way to dalkeith, where the dutchess of Balcleugh his mother was, she having come from England some time befor. My wife recovered pretty well, and provs a nurse her self. This weeke also our secretarys, Carmichall[1] and seafield,[2] passed by in there way to London, and carryed with them a very Loyall address to the King against the prince of Wales, etc. our king also recalled his ambassador from france, as did the states of holland theres, and discharged the french ambassador from there rex̄ive dominions.

Octor. 5.—My brother in law, mr. Glass, minʳ att abarlady, preacht for me on John 3, 36.

Twesday 7th.—I was at a visitation in spot, which was first journey abroad, but my gowt not wholly gone.

12*th.*—I preacht in the fornoon on Tit. 2, 14; and in the aftarnoon mr. Thomas wilky, minʳ in the canongate of Edenʳ, on 2 Thess. 4, 15, 16, 17. my gowt now wholly away; praise to god.

Wedensday, 15*th.*—I went to the biel to take farwell of my Lord Bellhaven and his two sons,[3] who were to travell to travell [*sic*].

Octor. 16*th.*—I went to visit Sʳ George Sutty of Balgon on of my heritors, next day to north Berwick to visit the lord psident of the session.[4]

19*th.*—I lectured on acts 2, preacht on Tit. 2, 14.

Moonday, 20*th.*—I tooke journey for Kelso to the synod of Merse and Teviotdale, with whom I was to correspond from the synod of Lothian and Tweddal; that night I lodged att Crooksfield[5] with hector Turnbull, next day I gott to Kelso, in

Mr. Dysart in Coldingham[6] was chosen moderator to this synod.

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[1] See note, p. 359.

[2] See note, p. 390.

[3] John, afterwards third Lord Belhaven, and James Hamilton, afterwards an advocate, and Solicitor of the Boards of Customs and Excise.

[4] Hugh Dalrymple, third son of James, first Viscount Stair; admitted advocate in 1677; Dean of Faculty of Advocates in 1695; created a Baronet in 1698, and was elevated to the bench and the Lord Presidency of the Court of Session the same year. Died 1st February 1737, in his eighty-fifth year.—Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 465.

[5] In the parish of Bunkle, Berwickshire. A Hector Turnbull, son of George Turnbull in Paxton, in the same county, appears in the List of Fugitives issued in 1684.—Wodrow's *History*, vol. iv. p. 26.

[6] John Dysart, M.A., graduated at Glasgow in 1680; ordained to a Presby-

1701 the fornoon heard sermon by mr. Lawry,[1] gave in my comission to the synod and went out all night to Mr. Glens att Stitshell;[2] next day I mett with the synod and came to Stitshell att night, as also on the Thursday, which day the synod rose; I stayed that weeke with Mr. Glen, the weather being ill; I preacht all the sabbath on John 15, 2.

Moonday, 27.—I returned home in safty and found my family all well, thanks to god.

This sabbath Mr. William olipher, a probationar, preacht for me at home.

Wedensday, 29*th*.—I was att dumbar, where the pbitry mett for privy censurs and prayer; approven and harmonious.

On Thursday 23 the old Countess of Haddington came from Ormestown to Tiningham to stay here.

About this time my mothere returned safe from Holland aftar thrie moneths stay there, she being in the seventy thrid year of her age.

Novr. 2.—Lectured on acts 3; preacht on Eccl. 1, 2.

Moonday.—I went to Edenr to attend the synod of Lothian and Tweddall; mr. will. wishart minr in Leith[3] was moderator. at this synod a fast was indicted through the bounds of it on Thursday 20th instant and ane address to the king voted

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terian congregation at Dalton in Northumberland in 1686; admitted minister of Langton in 1691, and translated thence to Coldingham in 1694. On the occasion of his settlement at the latter, a military force had to be present to prevent a riot, most of the parishioners being attached to Episcopacy. Thereafter, for some time, he was accustomed to carry pistols with him to the pulpit, which he laid down openly on each side of him. He died in 1732, aged about seventy-two.—Scott's *Fasti*; Carr's *Hist. of Coldingham*, p. 79.

[1] Gilbert Lawrie, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1673; fled to Holland; ordained by the Scots' Presbytery of London in 1686; went to America, and returning was ordained to Hutton in 1693. Died 3d September 1727, aged about seventy-five.—Scott's *Fasti*.

[2] John Glen, licensed by the Presbytery of Kelso in May, and ordained minister of Stitchell in June 1691. Died in May 1718.—*Ibid.*

[3] William Wishart, son of the minister of Kinneil, of the same name, graduated at Edinburgh in 1680; imprisoned in 1684 for denying the king's authority, but released the following year. Ordained to the meeting-house, South Leith, in 1688, and received formally by the Presbytery in 1692 as minister of the parish; translated to the Tron Church, Edinburgh, in 1707; was five times Moderator of the General Assembly; elected Principal of Edinburgh University, and died 11th June 1729, aged about sixty-nine.—*Ibid.*

unanimously. about this time the king returned to England.[1] 1701 on Fryday the synod concluded, and I went to Queensferry, where I mett my mother; stayed there all night, and on saturnday returned to redhouse.

Sunday 9th.—I preacht at aberlady kirke on rev. 3, 20; lectured on Isay 1.

Moonday.—I visited Gosford[2] and Elibank.[3] stayed that night at redhouse.

Twesday.—I visited Mr. Clerke min^r att Dirltown[4] and returned home that night safe, and found my family all well, praise to God.

16*th.*—Lectured on acts 3; pre. on Eccl. 1, 2.

Thursday, Novr. 20*th.*—Being a fast day in the bounds of the Synod of Lothian for the nations sins, preacht on hos. 11, 8, 9. that which gave occassion to this fast was a dreadfull fire in Eden^r in the lanmercatt, octo^r 28, wherin severall persons lost there lifes, and many familys ruined.

23.—Lectured on act. 3, 19, etc.; pracht [*sic*] on psa. 81, 10. the old countess of Haddintown was this day in church.

30*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto. the old countess was out again this day.

Decr. 7*th.*—Lectured on acts 4; preacht on psa. 37, 37.[5] the old countess was out again; but her daughter Hopton very ill. The last weeke I entered on the visita^on and examination of the paroch.

14*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Saturday.—I was att ann Hamilton Lady Sydserf[6] her buriall. she died on wedens. 17th by a fall off her horse, from behind her own son in law, Mr. matthew reid min^r att north berwicke.

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[1] On the 4th November.

[2] In the parish of Aberlady. The village of this name no longer exists, but Francis, fifth Earl of Wemyss, built a splendid mansion on the spot.

[3] Ballencrieff, the seat of Lord Elibank.

[4] James Clark, ordained to Innerwick 1691; translated to Dirleton in 1697, and to the Tron Church, Glasgow, in 1702, and died in 1724, aged about sixty-four.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[5] See note, p. 397.

[6] Wife of Robert Atchison of Sydserf. Their daughter Anna married, 24th February 1693, Matthew Reid, minister of North Berwick, see note, p. 388. Mrs. Reid died of cancer in January 1703, see the *Diary*, pp. 419-20.

1701 21.—Lectured on acts 5; preacht on ditto.

Moonday.—I went in to Edenʳ about my affair with the heritors of Dalmeany. I obtained a favorable interlocutor from the lords, but the minister and kirke of session of dalmenny giving in a petition against me I was obliged to consult Sʳ david dalrumple,[1] and give in answers to there bill. this tooke me up till Saturnday, janʳʸ 3, 1702, wᶜʰ day I returned home again. I had the cold ill all this time. I mett my mother att Edenʳ.

Sunday, decr. 28.—No sermon here.

1702 *Janry.* 4.—Lect. on act. 5, and preacht on rom. 6, 14, 15.

Twesday, 6*th.*—I went again to Edenʳ about the affair of Dalmenny, and had a conference about it betwixt the psident and Lord whitlaw,[2] to whom I submitted it, and returned home on Thursday 8ᵗʰ.

11*th.*—Lectured on acts 5, and preacht on John 6, 68.

13, *Twesday.*—My Lord Haddington being ill of a feavar, my Lady was called in to sie him, being att Edenʳ, and I went with her, and stayed till Fryday 16th, when my Lord being better I returned home.

Sunday, 18*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Moonday, 19*th.*—I tooke a litle blood for a cold I had gott, and purged on Twesday.

Wedensday, 21.—The pbitry mett here and choosed yʳᵉ comissioners to the assembly, and Mr. Henry shaw,[3] chaplan to the Earle of Haddington, preached his popular sermon on rom. 6, 14, and having finished all his other tryalls, was licensed to preach.

Thursday.—I purged again.

25*th.*—I was att preston-kirke, where I lectured on mat.

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[1] Fifth son of James, first Viscount Stair; admitted an advocate in 1688; created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1700; became Lord Advocate in 1720, and died 3d December 1721.—Foster's *Members of Parliament—Scotland.*

[2] Sir William Hamilton, Knight, fifth son of John Hamilton of Bangour, admitted advocate in 1664; raised to the bench as Lord Whitelaw in 1693; appointed Lord Justice-Clerk in 1704; died 14th December the same year.—Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 462.

[3] Henry Shaw studied at Glasgow, Leyden, and Utrecht, ordained minister of Cockburnspath, 14th May 1702; died 8th June 1746, in his sixty-seventh year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

21, 33, to the end, and preacht on 2 cor. 7, 1. no sermon here. 1702

All this moneth of january was exceeding windy blowing weather; the sea was observed to flow very high in some places as at Barrostounness and leith, but att different times, and to stand still for some hours att other places, as att Tyningham here, dumbar, and along the east coast.

Febry. 1.—Lect. on act. 6; preacht on job 5, 6, 7.

My lord Haddington being now recovered of his feavar was come home with my Lady.

8th.—Lectured on ditto. preacht on Jer. 31, 31, having ended the examination of the paroch the last weeke for the first time this winter, I entered this weeke upon a second examination of them.

15th.—Lectured and preacht on ditto. this day the Earle of Rothess,[1] his lady, and my lord thesaurer deput,[2] were in church, and Mr. Henry shaw preacht in the afternoon on Eph. 2, 1. This weeke was cold frosty weather and some snow.

22d.—I lectured on act. 7; preacht Jer. 31, 31; the same strangers there still.

March 1.—Lectured and preacht on ditto. lord anstruther,[3] his lady and son in the church.

Wedensday, March 4th.—The presbitry of dunbar held a visitation of this paroch. I preacht on my ordinary Jer. 31, 31. they allocatt as a further provision of grass for the ministers here, besids the church yard, a piece of ground comonly called the fold last possessed by Tho. Ewart, officer to the Earle of

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[1] John, eighth Earl of Rothes, elder brother of the Earl of Haddington; born at Tyninghame in August 1679; succeeded to the earldom on the death of his mother, the Countess of Rothes in her own right, in 1700; appointed Vice-Admiral of Scotland in 1714. He took a prominent part in the suppression of the Rebellion of 1715. His wife, to whom he was married on the 27th April 1697, was Lady Jean Kay, daughter of John, second Marquis of Tweeddale, Chancellor of Scotland. He died in 1767.—Sir William Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. i. p. 235.

[2] Adam Cockburn, of Ormiston; see note, p. 405.

[3] William Anstruther of that ilk, M.P. for Fife in 1681, and from 1689 to 1707; created a Baronet in 1694, and raised to the bench in 1689. He married in 1677 Lady Helen Hamilton, fourth daughter of John, fourth Earl of Haddington—an aunt of Thomas, the sixth Earl,—and died 24th January 1711.—*Ibid.*; Burke's *Peerage*; Brunton and Haig's *Senators*, p. 443.

1702 Haddington, lying between the high way to Whitkirke on the west and the west loch on the east[1] etc., and w^ch^ grass the heritors are to make fencible, and the min^rs^ to keep it up.

Fryday, March 6th, did the generall assembly of this nationall church meet att Eden^r^; the Earle of marchmont, psent chancellor,[2] sat as comissionar repsenting the kings person, and mr. david Williamson, min^r^ in west kirk,[3] was chosen moderator. they dissolved again wedensday 11th on the news of K. Williams being sicke unto death; of this assembly I was no member. they named a numerous comission to exped the affairs they could not overtake; of this comission I was on.[4]

March 9th.—I went to Eden^r^, where on Thursday 12^th^ we gott the sad news of the death of our great and excellent monarch king William. he dyed march 8^th^, being sunday, about eight in the morning. he had gott a fall off his horse at a hunting at Hampton court, Feb. 21, which threw him into ane ague of which he died.

Princess ann, King James's youngest daughter, succeed to the crown of Britain and Irland. she was proclaimed in London the very day that the king died, and in Eden^{r} Fryday march 13th in the afternoon. may the lord make these nations happy under her reign. 1702

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[1] On a recent visit which I paid to Tyninghame, I was told that this very same field is at present tenanted by a man of the name of Ewart, the representative of a family who have been in the parish for centuries.

[2] The celebrated Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth, whose romantic succouring by his daughter, afterwards Lady Grizel Baillie, when he lay concealed in the family burial vault beneath Polwarth Church during the persecution, has been so often narrated. He succeeded his father as eighth Baron of Polwarth in 1648; imprisoned for his opposition to the government from 1675 to 1679; fled to Holland on his liberation to escape further persecution; returned to Scotland at the Revolution; became Lord Chancellor in 1696, and was created Earl of Marchmont in 1697. He died in his eighty-fourth year, on 1st August 1724.—Burke's *Peerage*; Foster's *Members of Parliament—Scotland.*

[3] David Williamson, M.A., son of a glover in St. Andrews; graduated there in 1655; ordained to the second charge of St. Cuthbert's or West Church, Edinburgh, in 1661; ejected for nonconformity in 1662; denounced as a rebel in 1674 for holding conventicles; returned in 1687 to a meeting-house which was erected for him, and died 6th August 1706, aged about seventy-two. He was married no fewer than seven times!—Scott's *Fasti.*

[4] 'The Assembly manifested equal propriety and judgment in the appointment of this commission. All the old and experienced ministers of the period antecedent to the persecution who were still alive were first nominated, and to them were added a sufficient number of such others as were most distinguished by experience and ability, ready to meet the possible exigencies of a crisis so dangerous.'—Hetherington's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland,* vol. ii. p. 227.

The com̄ission of the kirke voted ane address to her unanimously imediattly att there first sitting down.

This weeke I sold to Andrew walker in dumfermlin some houses my father had there, my mother consenting.[1]

Sunday, 15.—I was a hearer in the tron church, and returned home on the moonday, where I found all well, glory to god. what god may bring out of this great change time must resolve; but sad things seem to be threatned;[2] our sins great and clamant. the best weather and the warmest that we have had in march for a long time.

This weeke I tooke the gowt in my right foot, where I never had it befor, and it qtinued with me some time, disabling me from preaching two sabbaths.

On Thursday this weeke also my mother came out hither.

March 22.—Mr. Henry shaw preacht for me all day on John 3, 3.

This weeke was cold, windy weather.

29.—Mr. John Athleck min^{r} att auchterdearin in Fife, preacht for me. he lectured on hos. 14, and preacht on lam. 3, 16. I went not out this day nor the other.

Aprile 5th.—Mr. shaw lectured on psa. 46; and I preacht on Isay 14, 32. My gowt not yet away.

About this time many of our nobility went to court to waitt on the Queen, ptending to complain of grievances and to procure the dissolution of this parliatt w^{ch} had qtinued since

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[1] An Andrew Walker appears in a list in the Town Council minutes of Dunfermline, of those proprietors who, in 1712, redeemed the Burgh 'Penny Meals' payable annually, at ten years' purchase. Judging from the amount which he paid on this occasion, his 'land,' situated on the north side of the High Street, must have been of some size. It probably consisted of the houses bought at this time from Turnbull.—Henderson's *Annals of Dunfermline*, p. 390.

[2] 'It was well understood that the Jacobites anticipated an immediate change of measures upon the demise of William and the succession of Anne; and the Prelatists confidently expected a degree of direct favour more answerable to their wishes than the toleration or the comprehension schemes of the reigning monarch.'—Hetherington's *History*, vol. ii. p. 227.

1702 K. Williams accession to the crown and had been turned from a qvention of Estats to a parliätt.

12*th.*—Lect. on acts 8; preacht on Jer. 31, 31.

19*th.*—Lect. on ditto. preacht on jer. 31, 32.

My gowt now gone; the weather very cold.

Wedensday, 22.—Our pbitry mett att dunbar where I was. on the Twesday befor my youngest son Thomas fell sicke of a feavar, it qtinued till saturnday, when he grew bettar.

Thursday.—I preacht on John 6, 44, and baptised a child.

Fryday.—I went to Aberlady to assist at the sacrament there next sunday; I preacht on the saturnday on Tit. 2, 14; served a table and comunicatt. the assistants to the min^r^ were M^rs^ webstar, Bell,[1] and my self: it was a sweet gospell day.

Mr. Henry shaw preacht this day for me in Tyningham.

Moonday, 27.—I returned home together with my mother, who also was with us.

May 3.—Lect. on act 8; preacht on jer. 31, 32.

Moonday, 4*th.*—I went on my way to the synod as far as aberlady, next morning went in to town, heard the sermon, and staid till the synod ended; mr. Riddell[2] was chosen moderator.

I returned home on fryday.

10*th.*—Lect. on ditto; preacht on jer. 31, 33.

All this time a great drought, the wind still eastarly.

14*th.*—I preached att cockburnspath on 2 Tim. 4, 1. 2, att the ordination of mr. Henry Shaw, min^r^ there;[3] I stayd two nights at dunglass and returned home on Frydays evening.

17*th.*—Lect. on acts 9: preacht on jer. 31, 33.

Still a violent drought and easterly wind.

About this time our nobility who went to court returned: the Queen thought fitt the parliätt should meet att the time appointted, to w^ch^ our nobility qsented, but would not hear that any parliamentary business should be done further then to make a loyall address to y^{e} Queen, so that much fire and faction is like to be this session of parliätt. 1702

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[1] John Bell, M.A., son of a Glasgow merchant; born 2d February 1676; ordained minister of Broughton in 1697; translated to Gladsmuir in 1701, and died 30th October 1707.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] See note, p. 400.

[3] See note, p. 410.

24th.—In the kirke of aberlady lectured on Tit. 2, 11. etc., and preacht on Tit. 2, 14.

Moonday.—My wife mett me here, and we returned home that same day by the way of Dirlton and saw mr. clerk and family.

Twesday.—The old lady lochouses[1] was buryed, having dyed the saturnday befor.

May 31.—Att home lectured on acts 9, and preacht on jer. 31, 34; about this time some flying showrs of rain yet the grass all burnt up.

Twesday, june 2.—I went to Eden^{r} to attend the com̄ission of the kirke w^{ch} mett next day, where the causes of a nationall fast being qdescended on by the min^{rs} and some members min^{rs} and Elders being deputed to waitt on the duke of Queensberry her majestys com̄issioner to obtain the civil sanction; he answered, it should be granted and being again desired to call a councell for that end that necessary diuty being allready too long delayed, he answered that the councell was adjourned till Thursday 11th befor which time the parliätt was to sit, where he would take care of it. this answer being returned to the com̄ission, aftar some heat and debate the Lord yester[2] protested that no other civill court might be applyed for the civill sanction to this fast but the privy councell, in reguard it might be of dangerous qsequence to the peace of the church in this junctar: to this protest the Lord Rugglen,[3]

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[1] This was the name of a hamlet and property in the parish, long in the possession of a family of the name of Jackson.

[2] John, second Marquis of Tweeddale, born 1645; appointed Lord Chancellor of Scotland in 1704, and was High Commissioner to the Parliament of that year, which passed the famous Act of Security. Died 20th April 1713. He was at the head of a strong party in Parliament called the 'Squadron Volante,' from their sometimes opposing, at other times supporting, the measures of Government.—Burke's *Peerage*; Brunton and Haig's *Senators*, p. 477.

[3] Lord John Hamilton, fourth son of William and Anne, Duke and Duchess of Hamilton; born in 1665; created Earl of Ruglen in 1697; succeeded his brother Charles as third Earl of Selkirk in 1739; died 3d December 1744.—Burke's *Peerage*.

1702 S^{r} W^{m} Baird,[1] S^{r} John Hume,[2] and jarwiswood[3] adhæred: the com̃ission let the affair stand as it was and proceeded to other business. here a foundation of trouble and division laid, if god pvent it not. the main design was the countrey party would not have the kirke to own the next session of parliātt as a parliament.

Fryday.—I returned home; my sister the Lady mongrenin[4] and her son with me.

Saturnday.—Being the pparation befor the sacrament I preached on heb. 10, 22.

June 7th.—I preacht att Whitkirke withowt on 1 pet. 2, 7, and served two tables; here mr. webstar and mr. starke and I assisted mr. Hamilton the min^{r}.

I com̃unicatt and again renewed cov^{tt} with god; himself make me faithfull.

Twesday, 9th.—Our parliātt sitts down where heats and factions and the sad consequences of these to y^{e} church are feared.[5]

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[1] William Baird of Newbyth, son of Sir John Baird, a Lord of Session, and grandson of James Baird, the founder of the houses of Newbyth and Saughton Hall; created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1695; died 17th February 1737.—Burke's *Peerage.*

[2] John Home of Blackadder, second baronet, succeeded his father Sir John in 1675; M.P. for Berwickshire 1690-1706; died 4th April 1706.—Foster's *Members of Parliament—Scotland.*

[3] George Baillie of Jerviswood, son of Robert Baillie, executed in 1684 for complicity in the Rye House Plot; born 16th March 1644; married to the famous Lady Grizel Home, daughter of Sir Patrick Home, Lord Marchmont; appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury in 1717, and died at Oxford 6th August 1738.—*Ibid.*; Lady Murray of Stanhope's *Memoirs of Baillie, and of Lady Grizel Baillie.*

[4] Probably the wife of Hugh Stevenson, one of the clerks of the Privy Council. He acquired the property of Mountgreenan in the parish of Kilwinning, Ayrshire, in 1687, on the forfeiture of Thomas Cunningham, the fifth laird of that name, a noted sufferer during the persecution. Though his forfeiture was rescinded at the Revolution, and Cunningham's name appears in the Act rescissory, yet the property does not seem to have returned to his family. The Stevensons held it till 1778, when it was sold to John Bowman of Ashinyards. Hugh Stevenson died about this very time, in 1702 or 1703. His wife seems to have been a daughter of Alexander Glass of Sauchie, and a sister of Mrs. Turnbull.—Robertson's *Ayrshire Families*, vol. i. pp. 324-5.

[5] 'Clouds were darkening the northern sky. The political atmosphere was charged with the elements of storm. That passionate and tortuous strife was

9th.—They did meet and aftar prayer the duke of Hamilton[1] in his own and the name of all who would adhære to him dissented from voting and sitting in this parliātt as a lawfull parliātt, and gave in there reasons and then withdrew in a body, withowt any respect to which the parliātt im̄eediattly proceeded to business.[2] 1702

That day I went with my sister in law the lady mongreenin to aberlady and returned home next day.

June 14.—Lect. on acts 9 ; preacht on jer. 31, 34.

Sabbath, 21.—I was assisting att the com̄union in Whittingham, where I served two tables, and preacht in the aftarnoon. there were there mrs Bell, craig, moor,[3] junkyson, myself and the min^r^ : it was a good day of the gospell. I renewed cov^tt^ with god.

I went away on the saturday and returned on the moonday, and stayed att the min^rs^. I preacht on psa. 45, 10.

24th, Wedensday.—I went to a visitation att Cockburnspath and returned that day.

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beginning which was to end in the Union ; and Jacobite stratagems, Episcopal pretensions, Presbyterian jealousies, national prejudices, personal dishonesties, and political corruptions, weltered together in illimitable babble and confusion.'—Story's *Carstares*, p. 275.

[1] James, fourth duke ; born 11th April 1658 ; appointed a gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles II. in 1679 ; ambassador extraordinary to France in 1683 ; master of the wardrobe to James II. in 1687. Killed in a duel with Lord Mahon in Hyde Park, London, 15th November 1712, his opponent falling on the same occasion.—Burke's *Peerage*.

[2] 'The Convention Parliament had not only continued during the reign of William, but had also prolonged its power of meeting to within twenty days after his decease. It had been, however, irregularly prorogued beyond that time, and when it met the Duke of Hamilton, the head of the Jacobites, who had personally applied to the Queen for its dissolution, protested against its proceedings, as an illegal assembly, and seceded, accompanied by eighty members ; the remainder, the majority, proceeded, notwithstanding, to business, ratified the acts in favour of the Presbyterian constitution, and in pursuance of the late king's recommendation, appointed commissioners to meet with a deputation of the English Parliament at Westminster, to treat for an incorporating union of the two kingdoms.'—Aikman's *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 618.

[3] Archibald Muir, ordained minister of Barra, in the Presbytery of Haddington in 1699 ; removed to Garvald in 1702, on the union of the two parishes ; deposed in 1719 for drunkenness, cursing and disaffection to the Government. An account of the proceedings against him is given by Wodrow in his letters—*Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 529 ; vol. iii. pp. 196, 204.

1702 28.—Lectur. on acts 10, and preacht on luke 11. 21.

On fryday befor, the 26 of june, a very ūwsuall and sad providence fell owt in Tyningham, a young man called John Nisbett about 24 years of age formerly a pretty sober lad a merchant in the place fell distracted and was possessed w^t such a spirit of Blasphemy and cursing that it was terrible to hear him and yet he was not furious; all that was observable as to the rise or cause of his distemper was, that his mother a widow no good woman was surly and unkind to him; what may be the event god knows. in a short time he recovered by the help of some naturall means, and is now pretty well.[1]

July 1, *Wedensday.*—I was att spott a fast day befor the sacrament when mr. shaw preacht on Zech. 12, 10; and in the aftarnoon mr. Curry on Isay 59, 2.

The day befor this, Twesday the last of june, our parliātt rose and adjourned till august 18; having done all the business they designed; some heats about the oath abjuring the prince of wales hastned the adjourm^{tt}.[2]

Fryday, july 3.—Meditating on publike affairs I thought I saw plainly a design laid to bring in the prince of wales, and y^t severalls in both our partys acted in concert for that end, whille honeste men on both sides knew nor suspected nothing of it: how far the court is qcerned time will discover; but our talke of grievances under the late kings reign, our shyiness to establish the succession, and complaints of pjudice done us by the English, and wishing to be disjoined even when ane union is treated of, are all preluds of the scœne.

The sacrament was given att spott on sabbath july 5th. I preached in the aftarnoon on acts 4, 13, and served two tables, attended all the dyitts; this was a right sweet day of the gospell, and wherin I renewed cov^{tt} with god for me and mine.

On Fryday july 3 about 6 a cloake in the aftarnoon some barrells of powder to the number of 30 or 40 being brought from the powder worke in Leith and left in ane entry 1702 accidentally fired, overturned the house where they were, and shattered severall other houses up and down the town of Leith, and killed about 8 persons and hurt severall others;[1] this the third judgement by fire on Eden^r and Leith in on year and a halfe's time.

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[1] From the colour of the ink this last sentence has evidently been added at a subsequent date.

[2] 'The introduction of a bill, by Marchmont, the chancellor, for the incapacitation of the pretended Prince of Wales, occasioned the prorogation of the Parliament, which was soon after dissolved.'—Aikman's *History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 619.

Thursday, july 9th.—I prayed and spake to the sins of the land all the fornoon and in the aftarnoon preacht on psa. 28, 5; it was a nationall fast.

Sunday, 12*th.*—Lectured on acts 10; pre. on luke 11, 21.

Wedensday, 15*th.*—I was att stenton being the fast day befor the sacrament. I was a hearer.

Saturnday.—I was there also, and on the lords day july 19 I preacht withowt and served two tables, and on moonday 20th I preacht on psa. 66, 16; this was also a sweet time and day of the gospell.

Wedensday, july 22.—Was a pbitry day att Dunbar, I had the addition on 1 pet. 5, 11.

Sunday, 26.—At home lect. on act 11, and pr. luke 11, 21, 22.

Fryday, july last.—The Earle of Hadington tooke journey to the bath in England, S^r John Anstruther[2] with him.

Aug. 2.—Lect. on ditto, preacht on gal. 6, 14.

9*th.*—Lect. on acts 12; preacht on psa. 119, 11.

This weeke our harvest began.

13*th, Thursday.*—I was called to be with my neighbour Mr. Matthew Reid min^r att north berwick when his wifs[3] breast was to be cutt of a cancer for a second time; but the physicians thought fitt to delay it for some time, and take further adwice

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[1] A petition from the inhabitants of Leith was laid before the Lords of Council on this occasion, in which it was stated that the damage done by the explosion amounted to £36,936 Scots, 'by and attour' the injuries done to several back-closes and lofts, household furniture, and merchants' goods. The proprietors of the wrecked houses were for the most part unable to repair them, and the petition asked that a collection on their behalf might be made throughout the kingdom at the doors of the churches, a request which was granted.

[2] Sir John Anstruther, knight, eldest son of Sir William Anstruther of that ilk, and Lady Helen Hamilton, fourth daughter of John, fourth Earl of Haddington, and a cousin-german therefore of Thomas, sixth Lord Haddington. He succeeded his father as baronet in 1711, and died in 1746.—Burke's *Peerage.*

[3] Anna, daughter of Robert Atchison of Sydserf; see note, p. 409.

1702 about it. they all agreed that her case was hopeless; the woman herself was pretty composed and shewed much X^{an} resolution; the physicians were Stewart, pitcarn younger, chirurgeons Eggar and Brown: all from Haddington.

This was a most rainy day.

Saturnday, 15*th*.—Also rainy, and sunday 16th lect. on act 12; preacht on psa. 119, 11.

Wedensday, 19*th*.—I had the exercise befor the pbitry att dunbar on 1 pet. 5, 12.

Thursday, 20.—I baptised Mr. watson minister att Whittingham his daughter by the name of isobell, and pr. on psa. 127, 3.

The weather still rainy and misty.

Fryday.—I was att aberlady and preston-panns and returned that night.

Sunday, 23.—Lect. on acts 13; Mr. John seathrum min^{r} att Newbrugh[1] preacht on mat. 11, 28.

Twesday, 25*th*.—I went to Eden^{r}, where I paid mr. Ross some money my father was owing his wife, gott his and hers complet discharge; as also I paid Mr. Batherston the apothecary all acc̄tts. I returned to aberlady on Thursday and home on Fryday.

Aug. 30*th*.—I lectured on job 29, 1, 2, 3; and mr. Shaw in Lesly[2] preacht on job 16, 14.

I thinke there is a speciall direction of god in leading min^{rs} to these texts and subjects, where there is a waitting on him for that end; but it is best of all when the peoples or pticular persons cases lead min^{rs} to there text and subject; it was so with me in this lecture; the Countess of H. her case led me to it; and it has been often so with me, and that I did not record it was my fault.

This was a very rainy harvest.

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[1] John Sethrum, licensed by the Presbytery of St. Andrews in 1700; ordained at Newburgh in 1702; translated to Gladsmuir in 1711; died at Perth, 9th June 1727.—Scott's *Fasti*.

[2] John Shaw, licensed by the Presbytery of Dalkeith in 1696, and ordained to the charge of Newton in that presbytery on 21st April that same year; translated to Leslie in 1698, and to South Leith in 1708; died 7th September 1739, in his sixty-sixth year.—*Ibid*.

On Twesday I was att the Beill.

On wedensday with mr. starke att Beinston.[1]

On Thursday with my wife att Lochend.

Septr. 6.—Lect. on job 29 ; pr. on psa. 119, 11.

13.—Lect. on acts 13 ; pr. on rom. 5, 6.

Wedensday, 16.—Was a pbitry day where I was.

Thursday.—Mr. cūmin and I went to stenton, and were witnesses to the baptism of mr. starks son Robert, was all night att Spot, and returned on Fryday.

20*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on rom. 5, 7, 8.

The weather still rough and rainy.

Thursday, 24.—Coll^{ll} Rae, my wifs uncle,[2] came here, and stayed till Twesday next.

27*th.*—Lectured on ditto; preacht in the fornoon on rom. 5, 7, 8 ; and in the aftarnoon on v. 9th. the weather turned good.

Octobr. 1, *Thursday.*—Being a fast day in morham befor the sacrament I preacht in the aftarnoon on gen. 3, 9 ; M^{rs} junkison and craig in the fornoon.

Saturnday, 3.—I preacht att oldhamstocks on Joshua 3, 5 ; it was the ppara^{o}n day befor the sacrament there ; I served two tables on the lords day, and in the aftarnoon preacht on John 6, 67, 68 ; there were there of minr̃s besids Mr. currie, min^{r} of the place, and my self, M^{rs} Brown, pow, and shaw ; it was a very sweet gospell day, seven tables. I lodged att Dunglass and returned home on the moonday.

11*th.*—I preacht att home on psa. 24, 7th, and lectured on that psalme.

This lords day was most stormy and rainy, all our salt-greens[3] att Tyningham covered with watar, much late corn destroyed, the like not seen for 40 years.

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[1] Beanston, in the parish of Prestonkirk, the residence of William Hepburn, an elder in the parish, and a relation of Patrick Hepburn, the laird of Smeaton. It was at one time a seat of the Earl of Wemyss.

[2] A son of James Rae of Coltinghouse, in the parish of St. Ninian's, Stirlingshire. He was probably the Major Adam Rae who registered arms in the Lyon office in 1672-8.

[3] This is the name still given to some meadows on the banks of the river Tyne, immediately opposite, and a little to the south of, the old church, and present

1702 This inundation was generally through all east Lothian, the confusion was such that there was no sermon in severall churches as aberlady, ormiston, etc.

Wedensday, Octor. 14.—Being the fast day befor the sacrament Mr. shaw min^r^ att Cockburnspath preacht in the fornoon on Ezek. 7, 16; and in the afternoon Mr. Finlay min^r^ att Morham[1] on mat. 11, 28.

Saturnday, 17.—Mr. currie min^r^ att oldhamstocks together with Brown att Spott preacht, the former on song 4, 16; and the other on John 1, 47.

Sunday, Octr. 18*th.*—I preacht on rom. 5, 10; there were seven tables full, and a few att another. Mr. starke min^r^ att stenton preacht in the church on John 13, 10. Mr. Watson min^r^ att Whyttingham preacht without in the aftarnoon. all the other min^rs^ had there turn without in the fornoon, and Mr. Miln a probationar.

Moonday, 19*th.*—Mr. Cury preacht on song 1, 13; and Mr. Hamilton min^r^ att Whytkirke on Coll. 2, 6; there was a great confluence of people; and all the days were sweet livly days of the gospell. god follow the worke with a lasting blessing.

Octr. 25*th.*—I lectured on rom. 12; and preacht on rom. 5, 10.

Moonday, 26.—My wife and I dined att Mr. jonkysons, min^r^ att athelstonford, was all night att Mr. sheriffs, in the byrs, dined the next day att Gilmerton,[2] and home at night.

Thursday.—Our pbitry mett att dunbar for privy censurs and prayer where I was.

Fryday.—I went wp to spott.

Novr. 1.—I lectured att home on luke 11, 24, 25, 26; and

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mansion-house of Tyninghame. When the tide rises unusually high these are flooded, and the grass here is more luxuriant than elsewhere in the immediate neighbourhood, owing to the influence of the sea water.

[1] Thomas Findlay, ordained minister of Morham in 1699; translated to Prestonkirk, 23d December 1702; died in November 1732.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] In the parish of Athelstaneford, the property and residence of Sir Alexander Kinloch, the second baronet of the family.

Mr. Cleghorn min^{r} at Bruntiland[1] preacht for me all the day on heb. 11, 25. 1702

Moonday, 2.—I and my wife went to Eden^{r}. the synod of Lothian mett on the Twesday. Mr. Ro^{tt} Leviston min^{r} att Biggar[2] was chosen mod^{r}: at this synod ane act for adhærence to the stablished doctrin worshipp and pbiteriall gov^{tt} passed to be subscribed by all min^{rs} in there rex̄ive pbitrys: the synod ended in harmony.

Novr.—About this time the English fleet[3] seized the spanish plat fleet at Vigo, tooke and burnt a great many of them. the parliātt of England is also now sitting,[4] and the church party carrys and speaks high against the dissentars.[5] the com̄issionars nominatt for ane union betwixt the two nations mett Twesday, nov^{r} 10, att London, and severall articles and proposals being made *hinc inde*, but parted without concluding any thing, neither side being serious in the mattar.[6]

8th.—I preacht in the tron Kirk, Eden^{r}, in the afternoon on gal. 6, 14.

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[1] John Cleghorn, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1699; ordained minister of Burntisland in 1701; translated to Wemyss in 1711; died 22d February 1744, aged about sixty-five. His daughter Elizabeth became the wife of Sir James Clerk, third baronet of Penicuik.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] Robert Livingstone, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1671; ordained minister of the united parishes of Libberton and Quothquan in 1689; translated to Biggar in 1696; died 10th May 1733, aged about eighty-two.—*Ibid.*

[3] Under the command of Sir George Rooke, on the 12th of October.

[4] This was the first Parliament of Queen Anne, which began on the 20th of October.

[5] This refers to the discussions on the Occasional Conformity Bill, the object of which was to inflict penalties upon Dissenters who, having received the sacrament in order to qualify themselves for office, attended their own chapels during the tenure of the office thus obtained. The bill passed the House of Commons, where the Tories were in a majority, but it was rejected by the House of Lords, where the majority were Whigs.—Burton's *Queen Anne*, vol. i. p. 86.

[6] 'The coolness and indifference with which the English Commissioners proceeded in the treaty were extreme; and the objections which they stated to the existence of the Scottish African Company precluded all further progress in it. Here, therefore, the treaty rested, and the new Scottish Parliament, which soon afterwards was called by the Queen, annulled the powers of their commissioners.'—*History of the Union*, by Rev. Ebenezer Marshall, 1799, p. 26.

1702. *Wedensday.*—I came to redhouse, next day to aberlady, and on Fryday home.

Saturnday, 14.—It blew most fiercly all night, tirred[1] houses, overthrew stacks, and among others, all mine.

15*th.*—Att home lect. on act. 14; preacht on James 3, 18.

Wedensday, 18*th.*—Att dunbar, being a pbitry day I was chosen mod^r^. that day we all tooke the ôaths to Queen ann befor the magistrats of dunbar, I as mod^r^ first praying, and then bespeaking the magistrats thus—Gentlemen, magistrats of this city, We own Quen [*sic*] ann as our lawfull soveraign, and sieing we have ptection under her gov^tt^ we reckon it our diuty to swear alleadganc to her maj., being required so to do by lawfull authority, and we are also encouraged to this because her maj. has taken the coronation oath, and entered upon the gov^tt^ according to the claim of right and upon these terms we swear and subscrib.

Novr. 19, *Thursday.*—I was in a comittee for a visitation att Whyttingham.

20.—I was att dunbar upon a tryst for aggrieing the widow of Tho. Bryson and her brother [in] law William Bryson there.

22.—Lectured on acts 15; prea. on Eph. 5, 14.

This weeke I began again parochiall visitations.

29*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

This day the old Countess of Haddington was very sicke and indisposed, but soon bettared.

Decr. 1.—I went to Eden^r^ to attend the comission of the church, and returned on fryday dec^r^ 4th. att this comission mr. John or[2] was transported to Eden^r^ from Botwell, and Mr James Grham episcopall min^r^ att dumfermlin,[3] his process and sentence of deposition passed agst him by the synod of fife was long debated, and yet aftar the com̄ission had sustained his appeal was remitted to the next com̄ission. 1702

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[1] Unroofed.

[2] John Orr, ordained minister of Bothwell (in the meeting-house at Holytown) in 1688; translated to St. Giles parish, Edinburgh (second charge), in 1703; died 25th January 1707, in his forty-fourth year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[3] James Graham, Regent of Humanity in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, where he had the son of Archbishop Sharp as his pupil; admitted minister of Salton in East Lothian in 1670; deprived for refusing the test in 1681; instituted to the second charge, Dunfermline, in 1687; deposed by the Synod of Fife in June 1701, for Arminianism and neglect of ministerial duties, but reponed by the Commission; died in 1710, aged about seventy-one.—*Ibid.*

Decr. 5, Saturnday.—The Earle of Hadinton with s^r John anstruther returned home from London aftar fowr months absence.

Sunday, 6th.—I preacht on Eph. 5, 14.

Twesday, 8th.—I entered upon examination.

13th.—Lectured on acts 16: preacht on John 5, 28, 29.

This Sabbath the church of Haddington was taken possesion of by y^t pbitry mr Forman[1] on of the Episcopall min^{rs} there being dead. Mr. Matthew Reid min^r att north Berwicke preacht. Mr. John Bell was refused access the day befor.

Wedensday, 16th.—Our pbitry att dunbar where I was psent.

Decr. 20.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Moonday.—I dined att the Biel with my Lady Bellhaven, and aftar visited mr. Starke.

Twesday.—Examination.

Wedensday.—I assisted att Mr. Tho. Findlay his admission as min^r to prestonhaugh. mr. Starke preacht on 2 cor. 2, 16.

Thursday.—I visited the lady longformacus[2] att Lochend.

On Twesday dec^r 22 was my Lady Haddington delivered of a daughter about twelve att night: she was baptised by me sunday 27. by the name of Christian[3] aftar the aftarnoon sermon in the church of Tyningham.

Decr.—Having caused draw Mr. Will. Crichton[4] his picture

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[1] James Forman, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1663; admitted minister of Middlebie, in Dumfriesshire, in 1666; translated to second charge Haddington, in 1676, and to the first charge in 1678; died 30 December 1702, in his fifty-ninth year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] Christian Cockburn, daughter of Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Treasurer Depute, and Lady Susanna Hamilton, fifth daughter of John, fourth Earl of Haddington,—a cousin-german of Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington. She married Sir Robert Sinclair, third Baronet of Longformacus, M.P. for Berwickshire, 1702-7.

[3] Married in December 1725 to Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes, Bart., auditor of the Court of Exchequer, by whom she had sixteen children, and died at New Hailes, 30th June 1770.—Sir William Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. i. p. 263.

[4] See note, p. 352.

1702 and gott it owt of Edenʳ, I caused putt it up in the wester chamber as a remembrance of my worthy relation and kind benefactor.

27.—Lectured on acts 17; preacht on John 5, 29.

1703 *Janry.* 3.—Lectured on acts 18, and preacht on John, 5, 29.

10*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Wednesday, 13.—Was a pbitry day att dunbar, where I was.

Fryday, 15*th.*—I was att north Berwicke visitting Mʳⁱˢ Reid a dying.

Sunday, 17*th.*—Lectured on acts 19, and preacht on mat. 16, 26.

Wednesday, 20*th.*—Mʳⁱˢ reid was buried. I was there.

24*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Janry. 26, *Twesday.*—We had a pbitry *pro re nata* for subscribing yᵉ synods act of adhærence to the doctrin purity of worship, disciplin, and pbiteriall government of this church: which accordingly was done cheerfully by all psent, of whom I was on and there modʳ.

27, *Wednesday.*—A pbitry day att dunbar.

29, *Fryday.*—My wife and I went to Heldon to sie George Turnbulls wife there, stayed all night att mr. Browns in spot, and came home saturnday morning. we found Mʳ allan att our house, who stayed till the next moonday.

31, *Sunday.*—Lectured on acts 20, and preacht on mat. 16, 26.

Twesday, *Febry.* 2.—I was att Hadington town together with some other minʳˢ, assistants to that pbitry. upon there desire there was a call psented by the session of that town[1] to Mr. alexʳ Herriot late minʳ att dalkeith,[2] but deposed by the synod of Lothian, to be there minʳ. this call the pbitry rejected both because the man was inhabile and the call illegall. they appealed to the Queen and parliätt. the minʳˢ resolved to address the privy councell to gett the sᵈ Mr. Herriot punished for his qtumacy in preaching being deposed, and mr. dunbar[1] was required upon his peril not to employ any such again. the pbitry was adwised to proceed *quamprimum* to settle ane eldership in the place. I returned home wedensdays evening. 1703

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[1] On the death of James Forman mentioned above, a strenuous attempt was made by a party in Haddington to have an Episcopal successor appointed to him, but this was prevented by the Privy Council.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] Alexander Heriot, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1666; admitted minister of the second charge, Kirkcaldy, about 1676; translated to Dalkeith in 1683; deposed for contumacy, 3d December 1690.—*Ibid.*

Febry. 7th.—Lectured on acts 20; preacht on mat. 16, 26.

Fryday, 12*th.*—I was taken ill of the gowt.

14*th.*—No sermon here, I being indisposed.

On Thursday 11th in the evening Lord Binny[2] grew ill of a scarlet feavar, but soon recovered.

Next fryday 19th my son William, and on the saturnday my daughtar marion were both seized with a feavar: marions proved to be a scarlett feavar and she recovered soon; but william sickned more and more.

21.—I lectured on rev. 2 from the beginning, and Mr. Hary Lickly preached for me all the day on gen. 6, 3.

Moonday.—My son williams feavar encreased: he much troubled with a gross defluxion both att his eys, nose, and mouth, and that night grew worse. on Twesday morning very early I sent for provost Edgar apothecary in Hadington, and Mr. Brown min^r of spot, both persons of known skill. about ten of the cloake they came. aftar they had seen the child, and qsidered his case, dovs were applyed to his soles, and a blistering plaistar to his neck, and a cordiall julep given him now and then, it being the fifth day of his sickness. about midday he passed some wrin, which being kept did not appear ill, and about two in the aftarnoon he gott passage of his Belly, and came owt of the bed himself to do it: but in the evening all grew worse upon him, and next day, wednesday 24 of febr^y 1703, about midday, it pleased a holy and wise god

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[1] George Dunbar, M.A., a native of Dallas, in Morayshire; graduated at Aberdeen in 1673; settled at Kilmaurs, Ayrshire, in 1685; translated to second charge, Haddington, in 1685. Notwithstanding his Episcopacy, he was allowed to preach on alternate diets in the church, till he died, 23d October 1711, in his sixty-third year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] Charles, Lord Binning, eldest son of Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington; born in 1697; married about 1720, to Rachel, younger daughter of George Baillie of Jerviswood, and Lady Grizel Home; died at Naples, 27th December 1732. His son, Thomas (born in 1720 or 1721) became eventually seventh Earl of Haddington, on the death of his grandfather, the sixth earl, in 1735.—Sir William Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. i.

1703 to remove him from this life to a bettar in the seventh year of his age, being born apr. 16, 1696: he was indeed a child pleasant and desirable, of a sweet naturall disposition, grave and wise above his years, and seriously religious, a reprover of sin in his comrads, and frequent in his privat devotions as he was capable: and I ame confident is now in eternall glory. the child being much, alace I fear too much beloved by me, his death did sorly afflict me, and the poor loving mother no less. I was putt to it, to qsider the rod and gods voice by it, and made these observations and resolutions upon it. 1. I observed that for a long time I had been very secure, formall, yea, and carnall in my frame; this security had introduced a strang withering and universall decay on all my graces in so much that satan began to be very bold in his temptations, and blasphemous suggestions. 2. when I was pleading with the lord for the childs life, I thought it was as said to me, cease, if I give him eternal life is not that bettar then a naturall life: this allarumed me, yet I wanted not freedom even aftarward to plead for his life, which kept me still betwixt hope and despair; but in case of death I had no doubt of his salvation. 3. his death happning I did engadge to the lord, if he would spare and bless my surviving children, and those my wife might aftarwards bear to me, that henceforth I should be more fervent, freqwent, and particular in praying for my children, as well as more conscientious of all other paternall duitys; as also I did and does hereby engadge to more seriousness and diligence in all personall and relative duitys of holyness, as a Xan, a husband, a father, a minister, a mastar, a freind, or as even a neighbour: and I did and herby do begg of the lord that this bittar potion might prove to me medicinall and a cure of my too triffling and unserious temper and conversation sometimes, and to wean me more from the world, and to establish my faith of god, of things future and spirituall. amen. he was buryed honorably on fryday 26th febr^{y} in a part of the churchyard w^{ch} I design to enclose and by act of session appropriatt to the min^{rs} of the paroch as thers and y^{re} familys buriall place. all my parochionars shewed great concern and kindness, particularly the worthy and noble family of Haddington, specially that extraordinarly pious and kind person the

Countess of Haddiugton younger. may the lord reward there love by giving a dowble blessing to all there sweet children. 1703

I cannot pass it without observation likeways that for some time befor my sons death that scripturall passage was much upon my mind of absoloms firing joabs corn to bring him to him. indeed the lord sent a consuming fire among my corn and plants; O that it may fetch and unite me more to himself.

Febry. 28.—mr. Findlay preached all the day for me.

March 2.—I tooke a litle blood and purged on wedensday and the fryday thereaftar, finding myself much indisposed.

7th.—Lectured on rev. 2, 4, 5, 6; preacht on prov. 30, 4, being the first time I preacht aftar my sons death.

This weeke my daughter marion relapsed into a feavar. I sent for doctor Sinclar. the lord blessed the means, and she recovered.

Wednesday, march 10*th.*—The generall assembly mett att Eden^r, the Earle of seafield, chancelour,[1] was comissionar from the Queen, and mr. George meldrum, min^r att Eden^r,[2] was chosen moderator. this assembly was pretty full, but many young min^rs members. my daughters unwellness detained me untill Thursday, when I went to town, and on fryday attended as a member. the assembly having gott a pretty fair and favorable lettar from the Queen, returned her maj. a suitable answer. The chief things done in this assembly were some regulations for the bettar planting the highlands and Islands, together with ane enumeration or condescendance of grievances to be sent to the Queen and psented to her councell for redress: the chief heads of grievances were, the growth of popery, the number and boldness of trafficking priests, there erecting of schools; next the disorders of the episcopall clergy in intruding upon vacant churches and invading planted paroches, and lastly, the abounding of sin and prophanness, a redress of all which was earnestly craved. this assembly continued untill Twesday 23 in the aftarnoon, when, whille the assembly were very peacably and calmly reasoning upon some overturs transmitted to them by a former assembly, the comissionar very suddenly and unexpectedly rose up and dis-

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[1] See note, p. 390.

[2] See note, p. 374.

1703 solved the assembly, indicting a new on to meet att Eden^r, march 16th 1704. against this abrupt dissolution some members protested that it might be no prejudice to the truth of Christ, nor priviledges of his church : many min^rs adhæred ; but the mod^r praying, the assembly was dismissed with singing and the blessing.[1]

March 15*th.*—My wife came to Eden^r, severall of her sisters being in town. I was absent from my church three sabbaths, all which days mr. Likly, probationar, preacht for me.

Twesday, 30*th.*—My wife and I returned home and found all well, praise to god.

Wedensday.—The pbitry mett ad [*sic*] dunbar whither I went.

Aprile 4*th.*—Lectured on acts 22, and preacht on prov. 30, 4 ; this weeke I ended the examination of the paroch for the first time this year.

Thursday, 8*th.*—Chancelors Seafields lodgings in the abbey burnt by ane accidentall fire, putt on by a carless servant.

11*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

Thursday, 15*th.*—I was att Ennerweeke att the ordination of Mr. James Nisbitt, min^r to that paroch ;[2] Mr. Andrew Brown min^r at spot preacht on Ezek. 3, 17.

18*th.*—Lectured on acts 23, and preacht on marke 13, 37.

This weeke I began the examination of the paroch for the second time.

25*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

My Lord Hadington and lady returned aftar sometims absence on the Thursday befor.

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[1] For an account of this memorable Assembly, see Willison's *Fair and Impartial Testimony*, p. 31 ; Hill Burton's *History*, from 1688, vol. i. ; Boston's *Memoirs*; and Hetherington's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 228. The act of royal supremacy in dissolving the meeting filled the Assembly and the Church with consternation. It came upon them, says Boston, a member of the Assembly and an eye-witness of the scene, 'like a thunder-clap, the Moderator, otherwise a most grave and composed man, being in as much confusion as a school-boy when beaten. . . . This was one of the heaviest days that ever I saw, beholding a vain man trampling on the privileges of Christ's house, and others couching under the burden.'

[2] James Nisbet, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1695 ; translated from Innerwick to the Old Church Parish, Edinburgh, in 1713 ; died 8th August 1756, in his eightieth year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

May 2.—Lect. on acts 24, preacht on ditto.

Moonday, 3.—I went to Eden^{r} to attend the synod of Lothian; Mr. George Andrews, on of the ministers of Eden^{r},[1] was chosen moderator.

Thursday, 6th.—Our parliātt mett,[2] the duke of Queensbury com̄issionar; the Queens letter and speeches both of com̄issioner and chancellour were very generall with respect both to our religion and church gov^{tt}, this parliātt was also crouded with a great many of the nobility who had not sitt in any parliātt befor since the revolution; and thogh our courtiers ptended pbiterian gov^{tt} was to be continued, yet they as plainly appeared for a toleration and the restoration of patronages, visible steps to our subversion; god guide that supreme court of this nation, and putt it to a happy period.[3]

Fryday, 7th.—The com̄ission of the kirke mett also, where I also attended; they ppared an address to the parliātt with a repsentation of grievances, and did what else was proper or possible with the members of parliātt for the preservation of the church gov^{tt}.

I staid in town till Thursday 13th, w^{ch} day I returned home, and found my family in health, glory to my god. On wedensday may 5th a very tragicall accident fell owt, the laird of Coltstown[4] with his two only sons were drowned in Coltstown watar near y^{re} own house, and the Lady who was in the coach with them was very miraculously pserved.

Sunday, 16th.—Lectured on acts 25, preacht on mat. 26, 41.

On Wedensday and fryday this weeke I with some other

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[1] George Andrews, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1685; ordained at Tarbolton, Ayrshire, in 1689; translated to Prestonpans in 1694, and to the New North Church, Edinburgh, in 1699; died 15th May 1705, in his thirty-ninth year.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] An account of the ceremony called 'The Riding of the Parliament,' on this occasion, is given by Hugo Arnot in his *History of Edinburgh.*

[3] For a full account of the proceedings of this celebrated Parliament, see Burton's *History* and *Queen Anne*; Marshall's *History of the Union*; and *Account of the Proceedings of Parliament of* 1703.

[4] Sir George Brown, second Baronet of Colstoun, in the parish of Haddington, and about two miles south of the town. He married Lady Elizabeth M'Kenzie, daughter of George, first Earl of Cromarty.

1703 arbitrators to whom it was submitted finished ane aggriement betwixt William Bryson, late Bayly in dunbar, and agnes macky, relict to Thomas Bryson, brother german to the sd william.

23d.—Lectured on acts 26, and preacht on mat. 26, 41.

Moonday.—I went to sie the Lady Colstown.

Wedensday.—Att the presbitry.

Sunday, 30.—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

June 6*th.*—Lectured on acts 27, preacht on heb. 3, 12.

On the fryday before, being June 4th, I baptised Mr. Finlays son Hugh.

Wedensday, 9*th.*—All the ministers of this pbitry mett att spott for prayer and to discourse on overturs for refor°n of manners.

13*th.*—Lectured on acts 28, and preacht on ditto.

15*th.*—I went in to Edenr to attend the com̄ission of the kirke yet sitting. the old countess of Haddington went in att this time also; I returned home next fryday.

Saturnday, 19*th.*—I went to spot where the sacrament was to be; I com̄unicat and served two tables, and on moonday I preacht on luke 24, 30, 31; came home again that day.

Fryday, june 25.—I went to Edenr, and next lords day 27th I lectured in the high church of Edenr befor the parliātt by appointtment of the com̄ission on John 5, 17 to 30; and preacht on John 17, 11; mr. Reid preacht aftarnoon.

That weeke I attended the com̄ission of the kirke and returned home fryday, july second, where I found all well.

July 4*th.*—Att Tyningham lectured on heb. 3, and preacht on heb. 3, 12.

About this time my gowt recurred upon me, and continued some weeks.

11*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

18*th.*—Lectured on ditto, and preacht on v. 13.

Moonday.—I was att stevenson, on Twesday att ormiston, wednesday at dumbar att the pbitry.

Fryday.—My sister-in-law Mris Glass came here.

25*th.*—Lectured and preacht on ditto.

29*th.*—The pibitry mett att dunbar.

August 1*st.*—Lectured on Joshua 1, preacht on heb. 3, 15.

Twesday, 3d.—I went to Edenʳ to attend the synod of Lothian then mett *pro re nata*, and returned on Thursday 5. 1703

Fryday, Aug. 6th.—About twelve of the cloake in the day my wife was delivered of her fifth son, who next lords day 8th of Aug. was baptised in the church of Tyningham by the name of William[1] by Mr. John shaw minʳ at Lesly who preacht for me yᵗ day on song 5 last; I called this boy William also in testimony of the lords kindness, who having taken away on son gave me another for him.

This same day Mʳⁱˢ Glass fell unwell att my house, and in the night parted with child.

Wedensday, Aug. 11th.—I preached att Stenton church on luke 7, 38, that being a fast day befor the sacrament.

15*th, Sunday.*—I preached there in the aftarnoon aftar the sacrament on heb. 3, 14, and served two tables.

No sermon this day at Tyningham.

It was a sweet day of the gospell at Stenton.

About this time I was much troubled with the toothach.

Saturnday, Aug. 21.—My brother in law Sauchy,[2] Mr. Glass, writtar,[3] and with them Mr. William fowls[4] came here, and went away on moonday.

Aug. 22.—Lectured on Joshua 3, and preacht on psa. 19, 12; I intimat a nattionall fast to be kept next Thursday.

Thursday, 26th.—Being a nationall fast day lectured on jer. 36, and preacht on lam. 5, 16; it was a very windy harvest day, yet the people mett very well.

Much corn shaken this harvest and litle or no herring fishing.[5]

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[1] Became minister of the parish of Abbotsrule in Roxburghshire. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Jedburgh, 7th May 1729, and ordained 16th April 1730, died 6th April 1764.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[2] John Glass, who succeeded his father Alexander, as proprietor of Sauchie in 1683. He was married at Dunipace, on 4th July 1695 to Margaret Foulis, daughter of Sir John Foulis, Bart. of Ravelston, who was born 30th Sept. 1671. —*MS. account of the Foulis family.* He died about 1745, when his son John succeeded, and sold the estate about 1750 to a Captain Cheape.

[3] See note, p. 405.

[4] William Foulis of Woodhall, fifth son of Sir John Foulis, Bart. of Ravelston, born in 1647.

[5] Many of the inhabitants of the village of Tyninghame were fishermen. A small hamlet which formerly stood on the bank of the Tyne a few hundred yards south-east of the church and mansion-house, was called Fisherhouses. The Session Records contain many references to cases of discipline for fishing on the Sabbath.

1703 *29th.*—Lectured on Joshua 4th, and precht on psa. 19, 13.

Moonday, 30th.—I went to Stevenstown and on Twesday in to Edenr.

Septr. 1, Wedensday.—The com̄ission of ye kirke mett, which I attended till fryday when I returned home.

The parliament still sitting.

5th.—Lectured on Joshua 5th, precht on ditto.

Moonday, 6th.—Our pbitry mett att dunbar about Mr. Curries transporta°n to Hadintown.

Twesday, 7th.—I went to Edenr to attend the com̄ission of the Kirke again, where I continued till the com̄ission ended and adjourned, which was on fryday 17th, which day I returned home again.

Thursday, 16th.—The com̄ission qtinued Mr. Currie in oldhamstocks. That same day the parliātt was adjourned to octor 12th, all the acts of that parliātt were touched[1] except that entituled act for security of the nation; this parliātt went high upon limita°ns of the successor to the crown, and refused cess till that were granted ym.

The sabbath I was absent att the com̄ission Mr. Findlay precht for me.

19th.—Lectured on Joshua 6th, and precht on psa. 19, 13.

26th.—Lectured on mat. 20, precht on 1 cor. 10, 16, 17; in order to the sacrament, which I intimatt to be on Sabbath come fiftenth days, being the second sabbath of octr, and the 10th day of that moneth.

Octor. 3d.—Lectured on matt. 22, and precht on 1 cor. 10, 16, 17.

Wedensday.—Being the fast day befor the sacrament, Mr. Shaw minr att Cockburnspath precht in the fornoon, and Mr. Finly minr att preston-kirke in ye afternoon.

Saturnday.—Mr. Moncreiff minister att Largo and mr. Reid minr att north berwicke precht.

Sabbath, octor. 10th.—I precht on 1 cor. 10, 16, 17; there were eight full tables. Mr. Rott starke minr att stenton precht in the afternoon.

Moonday.—Mr. Moncreiff and Mr. Brown minr att spott; all the minrs precht by turns without on the lords day, for there was a great confluence of people, and the lord favored us with good weather; but which was infinitly bettar with his sweet gracious psence in the blessed experience of many; the lord follow it with a lasting blessin on all. 1703

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[1] That is, received the royal assent from the ceremony of touching them with the sceptre, by which this was signified.

My own heart was dead within me; O to know why he hids himself; and to be restless till he return to my soul again.

17*th.*—I lectured on Exod. 9, from v. 13 to 30th, on which last verse I insisted chiefly, and preacht on psa. 48, 3; Mr. Moncreiff preacht in the aftarnoon on John 8, 12.

24*th.*—Lectured on Joshua 7th, and preacht on psa. 48, 3; some of my people about this time and by the last sermon confessed that yre hearts were touched and made tender.

31.—Lectured on Joshua 8th, and Mr. Hary lickly probationar preacht for me all day.

This weeke the Countess of Hadington younger fell very unwell, not without danger, but she mercyfully recovered again.

Nov. 7th.—I was att Hadington by appointment of the com̄ission, and lectured in the fornoon in a meeting house on Tit. 2, 12, and preacht on eph. 5, 14, and in the aftarnoon in the church on ditto.

That Sabbath Mr. John Athleck, minr att achterderrin in Fife, preacht for me.

On saturday and the lords day I was att stevenson, moondays night att Colston, Twesdays night att the Byrs, and on wedensday I returned home.

14*th.*—Lectured on job 10, and pr. on psa. 19, 13.

This night david Meikison[1] lodged with me in his way to London.

21.—Lectured on Cant. 2, 14 to the end, and preacht on psa. 51, 17, on account still of some deserted dejected persons.

22, *Moonday.*—I was att Redhouse all night in my way to Edenr, whither I came safly on Twesday, and having seen Mr. crichton who was bettar I received 3000 mks. from James chrysty of Newhalls, with all bygone @rents, and which summe I lent to doctor sinclar of Hermiston[2] as per his bond att Edenr, Nov. 17, 1703.

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[1] A relative probably of Alexander Meikieson of Hill, in the Carse of Gowrie, whom Turnbull visited in August 1694. See p. 361, and note.

[2] Or Herdmanston, an estate in the parish of Salton, for several centuries in the possession of the family of Sinclair.

1703 On Thursday I was all night at redhouse again in my way home, whether I safly arrived on fryday 26.

Novr. 28.—Lectured on Joshua 9th, and preacht on psa. 19, 13.

Decr. 5th.—Lectured on Joshua 10th, and preacht on ditto.

This weeke I beganne ministeriall visitation of the paroch.

This weeke we gott account of a most terrible Hurrican and storm of wind in England, holland, flanders, severall parts of france, and elswhere, which did very great dammage both by sea and land, overthrowing houses, plucking up great trees by the roots, and many people lost att sea, and some killed att land:[1] the lord sanctify that stroack to all smitten with it, and pserve us from pulling down on our own heads greater judgmtts by our sins.

12*th.*—Preacht on psa. 19, 13.

That evening I went to redhouse to sie mris Glass my sister in law, who was dangerously ill, and returned on moonday.

19*th.*—Mr. Lickly preacht for me on jer. 3, 22.

This weeke I beganne to examin the paroch.

This moonday fornoon I sett apart for prayer.

26*th.*—Lectured on Joshua 13 and 14 chap., and preacht on psa. 4, 4.

Moonday 27*th.*—I went to Whyttingham.

This weeke there fell down a very great rheume from my head on my teeth, which tormented me most severly. also my youngest son Will fell ill of the measals; they came pretty well out, and the child very soon grew bettar, praise to the lord.

1704 *Janry.* 2.—Mr. pow, minister at Caldstream, preacht for me on John 10, 27.

Moonday, 3*d.*—My gowt returned upon me very severly, and

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[1] This tempest is known in history as 'the Great Storm.' It occurred on the 26th of November, and made itself felt all over Europe, but especially swept the British Islands. The first Eddystone lighthouse, built 1696-1700, was blown down, and completely washed away, with Winstanley its architect. The royal navy lost twelve ships and 1500 men; the damage done in London alone was computed at one million pounds; and amongst the great loss of life which it caused, Richard Kidder, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, along with his wife, was killed by the fall of part of the episcopal palace at Wells.—Burton's *Queen Anne*, vol. i. p. 103 *et seq.*

it qtinuing with me Mr. Walter Scot[1] pbationar preacht for 1704
me jan^{ry} 9th on rom. 10, 12.

Wedensday, 12*th*.—I went to the pbitry att dunbar, my gowt abating, and had the exercise and addition together on 2 pet. 1, 7.

This day we chose our com̃issionars to the assembly, who were Mr. John curry and myself, with the Lord Bellhaven ruling Elder.

16*th*.—I preacht fornoon and aftarnoon on John 20, 15, first part of the verse.

Wedensday, 19*th*.—I marryed Cleghorn, Bayly and Brewar in westport, to M^{ris} paterson gentlewoman to the old countess of Haddington.

Thursday, 20*th*.—Mr. paterson her brother min^{r} in the west church[2] preached here on eph. 5, 31, 32.

23.—I preacht all day on 1 pet. 5, 10.

30.—Preacht all day on ditto.

Moonday, 31.—I went to Eden^{r}, and returned on fryday.

February, 5*th*.—Being Saturnday, and the ppara^{o}n day befor the sacrament in Whitkirke, I preached there on 1 Cor. 11, 28.

6*th*.—Att home; lectured on Josh. 15, and preacht on 1 pet. 5, 10. Mr. Walter Scot preacht in the aftarnoon.

Twesday, *Febry*. 8*th*.—The pbitry mett att dunbar for refor^{o}n of manner and prayer; and on wedensday ordinary pbitry.

Febry. 13*th*.—Lectured on Joshua 16th, and preacht on luke 12, 1.

Wedensday, 16*th*.—I went to Eden^{r} to assist monquhany[3] in clearing the bishops rents for the year 1690, which my my [*sic*] father collected, and he was cautionar. I returned fryday next.

20*th*.—Lect. on joshua 17; prea. on ditto.

This weeke I ended the parochiall examin^{o}n, as also Mr. Hamilton min^{r} att Whitkirke, Mr. Findlay att preston, and I

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[1] Walter Scot, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1697; licensed by the Presbytery of Dunbar 27th January 1703; ordained minister of Westruther in 1704; died in May 1737, aged about sixty.—Scott's *Fasti*.

Thomas Paterson, ordained minister of Colinton in 1697; translated to the second charge of St. Cuthbert's or West Church, Edinburgh, in 1699, and to the first charge of the same in 1706; died 22d May 1726.—*Ibid*.

[3] His maternal uncle, James Crawford.

1704 mett in a society for prayer and conference upon refor^{o}n of manners, to be qtinued monethly; the first meeting was here Fryday, 25th febr^{y}.

This weeke my gowt recurred.

27th.—Lectured on Joshua 18th; preacht on luke 12, 1.

This weeke my gowt went off again.

March 5th.—Lectured on Joshua 19 and 20th chapters; preacht on luke 12, 1.

Wedensday, 8th.—I went to Eden^{r} to assist att the sacrament there in the tron kirke. I served two tables, preacht on sabbath aftarnoon, and on moonday fornoon on 1 pet. 5, 10; it was a sweet gospell day.

Thursday, 16th.—The generall assembly of this nationall church mett att Eden^{r}, being opened up by Mr. Geo. Meldrum, late mod^{r}, my Lord ross com̄issionar from the Queen. Mr. Thomas Wilkie min^{r} in the canongate[2] was chosen moderator. this was a very comfortable assembly thogh there [were] many young min^{rs} members of it. we mett, sat, and parted w^{t} great harmony and peace. the next assembly was indicted to meet att Eden^{r} the last Thursday of March 1705. I lodged all this time att Mr. Crichtons, and returned home Twesday, apr. 4th.

The church of Tyningham was supplyed all the fowr sabbaths of my absence.

Apr. 9th.—Att home; lectured on Joshua 22, and preacht on rev. 3, 2. This weeke I made severall visits.

16th.—Lect. on joshua 23; pr. on Isay 3, 10.

19th, Wednesday.—Being a fast day in the bounds of the pbitry of dunbar by the assemblys recom̄endation, I preached on prov. 14, 14; it was a good day.

23.—Lectured on joshua 24th; pr. on Isay 3, 11.

30th.—Lectured on judges 1, and preacht on ditto, and in the aftarnoon on Exod. 20, 3.

May 2.—I went to Eden^{r} to the synod. Mr. matthew selkirke[3] was chosen mod^{r}. I returned on fryday 5th.

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[1] William Ross, twelfth Baron Ross of Halkhead, son of George, eleventh baron, and Lady Grizel Cochrane, only daughter of William, first Earl of Dundonald; born about 1656; succeeded his father in 1682; died 5th March 1738.—Douglas's *Peerage*.

[2] See note, p. 399.

[3] Matthew Selkirk or Selkrig, M.A., graduated at Glasgow University in

1704

I began to preach on the com̄ands in y^{e} aftarnoons.

7th.—Mr. Walter Scot preacht for me in the fornoon; I preacht in the aftarnoon on Exod. 20, 4, 5, 6.

This weeke I tooke a litle physicke.

Mr. Reid min^{r} att north Berwick, and I concurred to erect a school for the bairns of both our parochs att the haflen barns.

14.—Lect. on judges 2; preacht in fornoon on Isay 3, 10, 11, and in the aftarnoon on Exod. 20, 4, 5, 6.

May 21.—Lectured on judges 3; preacht on Isay 3, 10, 11, and on Exod. 20, 7.

This weeke my children, George, Marion, and William tooke the nirls,[2] but they all recovered mercyfully.

28th.—Lectured on judges 4; preacht in the fornoon on rev. 14, 13, and in the aftarnoon on Exod. 20, 7.

Wedensday, May 31.—I preacht at Spott in the aftarnoon on psa. 51, 17, being y^{e} fast day befor the sacrament.

This same day my son George fell into a well in the town, but was mercyfully pserved and gott owt again: a mercy not to be forgotten.

This day also was my son Willy weaned.

June 4th.—Mr. Lickly probationar did preach for me at Tyningham all day.

That day I was att com̄union in Spot, served a table, and preacht without.

5th, moonday.—Att the Spot aftar the sacrament I preacht on Eph. 3, 17.

6th.—Being Twesday, I went to Eden^{r} to attend the com̄ission, who had M^{rs} Hepburn[2] and M'Millans[3] affair befor them;

1662; called by the people of Crichton, Cranston, Ormiston, and Humbie, after the toleration of 1687, and ordained in November that year; formally admitted minister of Crichton by the Presbytery of Dalkeith in September 1690; died 30th November 1728, aged about eighty-six.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[1] *Scotticé*, measles.

[2] See note, p. 379. The Assembly of 1704 referred the case of Mr. Hepburn to this Commission, by 'An act against schism and disorder,' dated 30th March. He was accordingly summoned to appear before the Commission, and failing to appear, was suspended. After further dealing, and several other citations to appear, he was deposed in April 1705, a sentence, however, which was rescinded by the Commission in June 1707.

[3] John M'Millan, M.A., of the family of Arndarroch; graduated at Edinburgh in 1697; ordained minister of Balmaghie, Kirkcudbrightshire, in 1701;

1704 the former did not compear, and was suspended; the other compeared and was delayed; y^{re} lybell was schism.

About this time a great and sudden alteration in the Queens privy Counsell and officers of state.[1]

June 11*th.*—Lectured on judges 5th, and preacht all day on Isay 55, 6.

17*th*, *Saturnday.*—Befor the sacrament in Stenton, I preacht on John 1, 12; and on the lords day, 18th, aftarnoon on John 1, 16; it was a good day.

No sermon att Tyningham this sunday.

25*th.*—Att Tyningham, lect. on judg. 6; preacht in the fornoon on psa. 56, 10; and aftarnoon on Exod. 20, 8, 9, 10, 11.

July 2.—Lectured on judges 7th, and preacht on psa. 143, 2. Mr. Millar at Kirkliston[2] preacht in the aftarnoon on job 22, 27.

9*th.*—Lect. on judges 8; preacht fornoon on psa. 143, 2; and aftarnoon on Exod. 20, 8, 9, 10.

This weeke my wife and I made a progress to visit our freinds. Thursday 13th we came to Eden^{r}, and stayed there till next moonday; that day we went to Killbryd easter, by the way of Hamilton, lodged att Killbryd that night, and twesday 18th we came to Killwinning, where my wife had a

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deposed by the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright in December 1703, for disorderly and schismatical practices. In answer to their summons he appeared before the Commission, both in June and July this year (1704); but no prospect appearing of his being reponed, he continued his ministry, and the parishioners being strongly influenced in his favour, resisted every attempt to eject him from the church and manse, till he voluntarily retired about twelve years after. Joining the Cameronian party, who had no minister since 1690, he and a Mr. Nairn—a minister of the Secession church—and one or two elders, constituted themselves into a church court, which they called 'the Reformed Presbytery,' at Braehead, Carnwath, Lanarkshire, on 1st August 1743,—the beginning of what afterwards come to be known as 'The Reformed Presbyterian Church.' Mr. M'Millan died at Broomhill, in the parish of Bothwell, 1st December 1753, in his eighty-fourth year.—Scott's *Fasti*; Struthers' *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 57-75.

[1] See Marshall's *Hist. of the Union*, pp. 46, 56, 57.

[2] Thomas Millar, M.A., graduated at Edinburgh in 1669; became minister of Stranraer in 1689, and was admitted minister of Kirkliston in 1691, on producing certificates of his ordination. Died in January 1716, aged about sixty-seven.—Scott's *Fasti.*

sister;[1] on wedensday I preacht there on psa. 56, 10; as also on the next sunday lectured on John 5, and preacht on v^s 28, 29 of that chaptar. moonday 24th we came to Glasgaw, and next day to sauchy, my wifs brothers house; on Thursday theraftar we went to Camswallace, and on fryday to Coldoch, two gentlemens houses in menteith, marryed to two sisters of my wifes,[2] and on saturnday we returned to sauchy. 1704

Sunday, 30*th*.—We were att the church of s^t ninians, where I lectured on John 5, and preacht on prov. 14, 14. moonday next I went to Tillyallan.

Aug. 2.—Being Wedensday I preacht att Tillyallan on luke 12, 1. Thursday I went to alloway to visit my old flock now again happily planted with another minister Mr. John Logan, transported from Killmadock to them, where I mett with my people in much love, joy, and sorrow att once; that night I lodged att the laird of Tillybodys[3] house, and next day being fryday I preacht att alloway on coll. 3, 11. that night I went to Logie to visit Mr. Dowglass minister there, and returned on saturnday to Tillybody, and on sunday aug. 6th in y^e aftarnoon, I preacht att alloway on psa. 48, 3. moonday we returned to Tillyallan, on Twesday I made some visits att salin, Tillycutry, and ava, and came back att night to Tillyallan, where next day I preacht again on heb. 3, 14. aug. 10th being Thursday we went from Tillyallan to Monquany,[4] my uncles house, sunday aftarnoon I preacht att

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[1] In Macvean's *Collection of Epitaphs*, Glasgow, 1834, the following inscription on a tombstone in Kilwinning churchyard appears:—'Here lyes the corps of John Cunningham, son to Gabriel Cunningham and Janet Glass, who died January 15th, 1712, aged 19 years; also their daughter Marie, who died June 15th, aged 6 years.' These were probably the children of Mrs. Turnbull's sister. Her husband may have been a son of Gabriel Cunningham, the minister of Dunlop, a noted Covenanter, and a great sufferer during the persecution, who took the chair and preached at the opening of the first General Assembly after the Revolution, in October 1690.

[2] See notes, pp. 381 and 384.

[3] Alexander Abercromby, advocate, second son of Sir Alexander Abercromby, Bart., of Birkenbog, and grandfather of the illustrious Lieut.-General Sir Ralph Abercromby.

[4] Mountquhany originally formed a part of the estates of the earldom of Fife, and was given by Duncan, the last earl of the line of Macduff, to Michael Balfour, his relation, in exchange for the lands of Pittencrieff; a transaction which was

1704 monzie church on heb. 3, 14; and on moonday 14th I went to St. Andrews, where having seen all the colledges, and lodged all night with Mr. Tho. Taylor, on of the regents there and my cousin german,[1] we came next day to Bayly, a place in

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confirmed by King David II. in 1353. Sibbald says that in the seventeenth century the estate was acquired by James Crawford, a cadet of a family of that name in the west country.—*Hist. of Fife*, p. 411. To what family, however, he belonged, I have been unable to ascertain. In a Proclamation of the Privy Council of 12th March 1679, denouncing an alleged attempt to assassinate Johnston, the town major of Edinburgh, by a party of Covenanters, and in which a reward of one thousand merks is offered for their apprehension, along with Turnbull's grandfather and his two sons, an Isobel Crawford is mentioned as having lodged these would-be assassins, and she is designated 'sister to Captain James Crawford.' From the connection subsisting between the two families, there can be little doubt that the latter is the laird of Mountquhany referred to. From the *Session Records* of the parish of Kilmany, we learn that his wife's name was Elizabeth Forrester. On the 7th May 1707, the minutes bear, that in prospect of the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, on the last Sabbath of June that year, after many years of abeyance, 'Elizabeth Forrester, Lady Mountwhanie, spouse to James Crawford of Mountwhanie, did provide the pulpit with a covering, together with a good silk fringe, and other things belonging thereto; as also she did give as much fine linen as served for the use of the table cloaths at the sacrament. The session, out of gratitude to the said Lady, did order the recording of this in the minutes.'

[1] This was almost certainly a son of Turnbull's uncle, James Taylor, the minister of Enniskillen, Ireland, in 1677, of whom a brief notice is given in a note on page 312. From the records of the University of St. Andrews, he appears to have been a Regent or Professor of Philosophy in St. Leonard's College from 1691 till his death in 1711. His name occurs frequently, during this period, in the minutes of Senatus and elsewhere. On the 28th November 1707, 'Mr. Thomas Taylor, professor of Philosophy in St. Leonard's College, having desired the degree of M.D., he was appointed to defend his Thesis before Drs. Wood, Lumsdale, Lamond, Bruce, and Arthur, graduates of the University.' And on the 20th February 1711, Galen's works, in six volumes, folio, are said to have been offered to the library for £2, 10s., stg.—'it and some other books got for a debt due by the late Dr. Tailzeour.' In the *Memoir of the Life of Mr. Thomas Hog*, the famous minister of Kiltearn, published in 1756 by Andrew Stevenson, writer in Edinburgh, and the author of *The History of the Church and State in Scotland*, the following quotation is given from a statement by Mr. James Hog of Carnock, his nephew, with reference to some ministers who had come under the spiritual influence of Thomas Hog:—'The learned and faithful Mr. Thomas Taylor had a most deep, distinct, and long exercise under Mr. Hog's ministry, and in the end got a clear and safe out-gate, and was thereafter an eminent and shining light both in Scotland and Ireland.' This is quite in keeping with what has already been said (note, p. 312) that Taylor's father went to Ireland from the north of Scotland recommended by Thomas Hog. When Thomas Halyburton, the minister of Ceres, and afterwards Professor of

fife, where young monquhany, another cousin german of mine lived; next day we came to Largo to visit Mr. Moncreiff, min^r there;[1] and on Thursday 17th calling att Kircaldy and sieing two other cousins of mine, we lodged all night att orock,[2] where another cousin of mine lived. on Fryday by the way of Queensferry, where I saw my two sisters familys, we arrived at Eden^r, and on moonday y^r aftar, aug. 21, we came safe home to our family, whom we found all well, praise to the name of a holy god. 1704

All the time of my absence, which was six sabbaths, the church of Tinningham was supplyed with sermon except two, on of which the sacrament was att at [*sic*] preston.

Aug. 27*th.*—Lectured on judges 9th, preacht on psa. 119, 57. Mr. shaw min^r att Lesly preacht in the aftarnoon.

Septr. 3.—Lectured on judges 10th, and preacht on ditto.

10*th.*—Lectured on judges 11th; preacht on mat. 22, 36, 37, 38; and in y^e evening on job 14, 1.

10*th.*[3]—Lectured on mat. 3. Mr. Glen min^r at Stitshell preacht all day for me on coll. 2, 10; I preacht in the evening on job 14, 2, 3.

Mr. Glen and his wife came here on Fryday and stayed till next Thursday.

Septr. 24.—Lectured on hoseah 2, 14 to the end. pre. on luke 3, 4, 5, 6; and intimat the sacrament.

Octobr. 1.—Lectured on gen. 35; preacht on luke 3, 4, 5, 6.

5*th.*—Being a nationall thanksgiving for the success of the Queen and her fœderats arms by sea and land this campaign,[4] preacht on 1 sam. 7, 12.

Divinity at St. Andrews, went to the latter in 1693 to prosecute his studies, he says, 'I came under the care of Mr. Thomas Taylor, a man very capable, and very careful of and kind to me.'—Halyburton's *Memoirs*, p. 58.

[1] See note, p. 354.

[2] In the parish of Burntisland, long the property of a family of the same name.

[3] A mistake for 17th.

[4] The great battle of Blenheim, Marlborough's crowning triumph, was fought on the 15th of August. Having previously effected a junction with the Austrian commander, Prince Eugene, and with Louis of Baden, who was at the head of the forces of other German states, the combined armies stormed the Schellenberg, a hill over Donauwörth in Bavaria, on the Upper Danube, on the 2d of July,

1704 8*th.*—Lectured on gen. 35; and preacht on luke 3, 4; being ye day befor ye sacrament.

11*th.*—Wedensday the fast day Mr. Nisbit minr att Enner-weeke and Mr. Brown minr att spot preached.

14*th*, *Saturnday.*—Mr. Finlay minr att prestonkirk and Mr. shaw minr att Lesly preached.

15*th.*—The sacrament day I preached in the fornoon on luke 3, 4; there were seven full tables. Mr. starke minr att stenton preached in the aftarnoon within and Mr. Hary shaw, minr att Cockburnspath without in the aftarnoon.

Moonday, 16*th.*—Mr. Glass minr at aberlady and mr. shaw att Lesly, preached.

It was a sweet gospell day and most pleasant weather. god follow it with a rich and plentyfull blessing.

Saturnday, *Octobr.* 21.—Being the ppara°n day there befor ye sacrament, I preached on Jer. 30, 21, att Whytkirke.

22*d.*—At home, lectured on luke 22, 39, 40, etc.; preached on luke 9, 62.

29*th.*—Lectured on psa. 50; preacht on ditto.

Novr. 5*th.*—Lectured on Judges 12; preacht on psa. 143, 1. mr. Wm. Hamilton pbationar preacht in the aftarnoon.

12*th.*—Lectured on judges 13; preacht on psa. 143, 2, in the fornoon, and in the aftarnoon on Exod. 20, 12.

Twesday, 21.—I went to Edenr, and returned on Thursday 23.

26*th.*—I lectured on judges 15; preacht on psa. 143, 5.

In time of the first sermon I was called on to Lady Christian Lindsey countess of Haddinton dowager,[1] who now, aftar a long sickness, was a dying, and did dye this evening about ten at night: she did during her sickness and at her death give many evidences of ane interest in christ secured and cleared to my great comfort and satisfaction; and was buryed in Tyningham church Thursday, decr. 7th.

Decr. 3.—I preacht in the family all the day on John 19,

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with a loss to the French, their opponents, of 5000 men. And besides other smaller victories, the English fleet under Sir George Rooke made the important capture of Gibraltar, on the 23d of the same month.

[1] See note, p. 387.

41, and in the evening on psa. 31, 15; Mr. Will Hamilton probationar preacht all day in the church. 1704

10*th.*—Preacht on psa. 143, 5, all day.

17*th.*—Fornoon, psa. 143, 6; aftarnoon, Exod. 20, 13.

24*th.*—Fornoon, psa. 143, 7; aftarnoon on ditto.

31.—Fornoon, preached on psa. 143, 7; and in the aftarnoon on the sixth comand.

The weeke befor my son Thomas tooke a slight feavar, but it pleased god it soon passed over.

MASTERTON PAPERS

1660-1719

I

REMARQUES BY FRANCIS MASTERTON, BEING NOTES
OF EVENTS, 1660-1719

II

ADVISE AND MEMORANDUM TO THEM THAT SUCCEDS ME
IN PARKMYLNE, BY FRANCIS MASTERTON, 1699

III

A FEW DESYRES TO MY WYFE IF IT PLEASE GOD SHE
SURVIVE ME, BY FRANCIS MASTERTON, 1699 AND 1702

IV

NOTES BY CHARLES MASTERTON, 1712-1713

V

LAWES FOR REGULATING THE SOCIETIE OF HUSBANDMEN
WITHIN THE SHYRE OF CLACKMANNANE, 1699

Edited, with Pedigree, Introduction and Notes, by

VICTOR A. NOËL PATON, W.S.
F.S.A. Scot.

INTRODUCTION

The ms. of Francis Masterton's *Remarques* is in the form of a small unbound note-book of thirty-two pages, measuring six by three and three-quarter inches. In the first instance, the front cover or first page has been left blank, and the title and writer's name have been inscribed on the second page. The *Remarques* begin on the third page.

An examination of the ms. suggests that no part was written prior to the close of 1699, and that the entries down to that date or the close of 1700 were made practically at one time. The subsequent entries, and the notes regarding the births, deaths, and marriages of members of the Masterton family, written on the first page and below the writer's name on the second, appear to have been added at intervals.

From 'the happie restauratione of King Charles the Second 1660,' referred to in the title, the *Remarques* are carried down to the death of Francis Paton at Stirling, on 14th November 1719, when the writer was over seventy-seven years of age. Were it not that the title contains, in the word 'happie,' an expression of sentiment, these first and last entries would be perfectly typical of both the matter and the manner of the volume, for in it events of every degree of importance are noted with equal brevity and impartiality. The year 1679 affords a good example: 'Bothwel Bridge rebellion of ye whigs and defeat 2 June;[1] my dochter Kathrin born 26 Nov^{r}; Sharp Archbishop of St. Andrew, murther, 29 May.'

The volume is likely to prove more serviceable in supplying such dates as the birth of 'my dochter Kathrin,' or the death of 'Francis Paton,' than such as Bothwell Brigg and the death of the Archbishop. And it is precisely in this that its value lies, for, while there are quaint touches which cannot fail to interest the general reader, the large body of information of the former class which it contains may, at any point, yield a fact or a suggestion of importance to the specialist.

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[1] 22d June.

The careful abstention from expressions of personal sentiment and the brevity of the references to contemporary political events are in themselves suggestive at once of the social conditions of the period and of the character of Francis Masterton. But other documents preserved along with the *Remarques* appear worthy of publication as helping to illustrate both these points even more directly. Among these are two in his own hand entitled 'Adwise and memorandum to them that succeds me in the Parkmilne,' and 'A feu desyres to my wyfe if it please God she survive me, w^{ch} I pray she may long doe it,' a prayer which was not granted, and a third, 'Lawes for regulating the societie of husbandmen within the shyre of Clacmannane.'

The first two papers embody Francis Masterton's wishes as regards the arrangements for his funeral and the distribution of his estate, and convey to his wife and family sage advice for the management of Parkmill, and for the conduct of their affairs generally after his death. From the clean though worn state of these papers they would appear to have been treated with respect and frequently referred to by his successors. The third paper contains the laws of a society proposed to be formed, about the close of the seventeenth century, among the husbandmen of the parishes of Clackmannan and Alloa—at one place divided into three classes, 'the nobleman' (Lord Mar), gentlemen, and farmers or husbandmen—who are to subscribe to a fund for providing relief to honest labourers within these parishes, but only to such as have been diligent labourers and fallen back either by ill crops or by 'inlakeing of their bestial.' Provision is made that no slothful and negligent people shall share in the fund, and that, where possible, security shall be taken for advances, so that, if the receiver's condition be bettered, they may be refunded to the society.

These and also a few notes of family matters, made in another small note-book by Charles Masterton, the son and heir of Francis, are now printed.

A large mass of notes, identifying persons and places referred to in these papers, might be compiled. Annotation of this character is in most cases of extremely doubtful utility to those for whom such documents are printed, and in the case of the *Remarques*, where so many references to obscure persons are condensed into so small a space, would be more of an encumbrance than an assistance. The notes have therefore, for the most part, been confined to the subject of the Masterton family, and have been embodied in the accompanying genealogy.

The published records and various original documents preserved with those already referred to showed that the family was one of considerable antiquity. From these sources, I had framed a genealogy of the family before I observed the genealogies already published by Douglas, Stodart, and Crawford.[1] The accuracy of the earlier pedigrees, as amended by Stodart, is, on the whole, confirmed, but I have been enabled further to augment and correct them by references to the ancient title-deeds of Bad, Parkmill, etc., the lands held at various times by the family, and to other original documents, including those now printed.

Where information is derived from published sources I have thought it unnecessary to do more than supply references, as Mr. Stodart has already noted most of the facts of any apparent interest. Where unpublished documents are founded on, it would have been satisfactory to have given full notes of the documents, but this would have occupied more space than can be devoted to such matter in the present volume, and it has been necessary to make such references general. In most cases I have stated where the documents are now preserved.

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[1] (1) Douglas's *Baronage*, 1798, 'Masterton,' p. 320. (2) *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, vol. iii. new issue, pp. 135 and 142, reprinted privately 1878. (3) Crawford's *Memorials of the Parish of Alloa* (1874). (4) *Scottish Nation*. (5) Stodart's *Scottish Arms*, vol. ii. p. 267.

Crawford and *The Scottish Nation* copied their notices of the family from Douglas, and the late Mr. R. R. Stodart, Lyon Clerk-Depute, published a paper in the *Miscellanea Genealogica* bearing to be a critical examination of the genealogies issued by Douglas and Crawford.

The antiquity of the family is thus stated by Douglas: 'This is a local sirname, like many others of great antiquity in Scotland. The traditional account of their origin is that one of the chief architects at the building of the abbacy of Dunfermline obtained from King Malcolm Canmore the lands of Masterton in Fifeshire, from which he and his posterity assumed their sirname. They were long designed Mastertons of that ilk,' etc.

Stodart adduces the following argument against the acceptance of this tradition. 'The Church of the Holy Trinity and St. Margaret, at Dunfermline, is believed to have been founded soon after the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret; the Abbey probably dates from the reign of their son David.

'Malcolm IV. (1153-65) granted the lands of Ledmacdunegil,[1] afterwards called Masterton, as formerly held by *Magister Ailricus cementarius*, to the Abbey church of Dunfermline. Ailric's designation has perhaps formed the ground of the fable of the architect, and it is evident that the lands not being then called Masterton could not have given a name to their owner.'

With reference to this argument, the habit of continuing old place-names in legal documents after they have been superseded in practice must be kept in view. An example of this is afforded in the case of Parkmill, see p. 460 n.

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[1] Ledmacduuegil, or Lethmachduuegil, see *Dunfermline Register*.

Stodart gives seven generations of de Maystertuns, beginning with Hugo de Villa Magistri, about 1250. In the accompanying genealogy, which may be referred to, the first six of these generations are retained. The possibility of another William, after Duncan and before Symon, is pointed out in a note. But it must be observed that the William, whose lands near Haddington had been forfeited, may have been Duncan's predecessor. Stodart's seventh generation is William Maistertoun, who was on an assize at Dunfermline 1491-2, but no authority is given for connecting him with the de Maistertuns.

Stodart further notes that there is 'a statement which seems to be quite groundless, that William Masterton of that ilk in 1442[1] "made a donation to the Abbey of Dunfermline out of his lands of Masterton *pro salute animæ sue*."' Douglas is responsible for this statement, and, except that the donation is of the whole lands of Masterton, and that the granter is named and designed William de Maistertun, Dominus de Dalis, it is correct. Douglas refers to the Chartulary of Dunfermline as his authority, and to a notarial extract of the donation above mentioned. But the charter does not appear in the printed Register of Dunfermline, and Mr. Stodart therefore rejects the statement. Douglas, however, had no doubt seen, though his description is inaccurate, the existing notarially certified copy made in 1544 of the original charter of 1422, then in the charter-house of the Monastery of Dunfermline—not an extract of a charter in the chartulary. Down to 1419 the Chartulary printed in the *Register of Dunfermline* supplies a consecutive history of the family and of the lands of Masterton; but here there is a blank, for the Chartulary fails to show how the lands passed from the family, and how they came to be again in the hands of the monastery when, in the sixteenth century, they were given off in eighth-parts to various feuars. As will be seen, this copy assists in bridging over if not in filling in the blank.[1]

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[1] Misquoted. *See* Douglas, '1422.'

In his *Scottish Arms* (vol. ii. p. 267), Mr. Stodart notes the Masterton family, and, after mentioning certain of the earlier generations, says, 'Their descendants held Masterton till the sixteenth century.' Unfortunately he does not give any authority for the statement, and the copy charter just mentioned would appear to disprove it.

After the William who granted Masterton to the monastery we have a blank (unless Stodart's seventh generation is accepted) until we find Alexander Maistertoun of Bad or Baid in the lordship of Culross, who had from the Monastery of Culross a charter of Bad in 1544, and from John, Lord Erskine, charters of the lands of Millarwood and Crumlabank in 1547, and of the 'peice' (*petra*) of the lands of Hiltoun called nether fluris in 1651. These lands, held of Lord Erskine and his successors, came to be called Parkmill.

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[1] This copy is written on parchment. The charter is in Latin, and by it William of Masterton, Laird of Dalis, resigns all his lands of Masterton, with the land of Pottarlands of the same, into the hands of William, Abbot of Dunfermline, and dedicates to God, and bestows on the monks of the Church of the Holy Trinity there, all the said lands for the salvation of his own soul and the souls of his predecessors and successors.

It bears to be granted at Dunfermline, in the Chapter Place of the same, about ten o'clock, 3d February 1422, and to have appended the seal of the granter, and, at his entreaties, the seals of these venerable men the Lords David Sten, Laird of Hartschaw, John Malvyn, Laird of Rathe, and William Ramsay, Laird of Balbugy. Below the copy, which is written on parchment, the scribe has added coloured drawings of the seals above mentioned and a notarial docquet, of which the following is a translation:—'This is a true and accurate copy of the principal charter of William of Masterton, under his seal and arms as above appended to the same, sealed in chief with white wax, tinged with red, together with three other seals of the said Lords as aforesaid, extracted from the Charter House of the Monastery of Dunfermline by me, Sir Thomas Malcum, Notary Public, and accurately subscribed, copied, compared, and collated word for word, nothing being either added or taken away which can change its substance or vary its sense, so that full trust may be given to this copy as aforesaid, copied, compared, and collated as to the original, therefore I have confirmed this copy, faithfully written with my own hand, by my sign manual and seal, in witness and testimony of the truth of the premises, being solicited and required by Alexander Masterton, at Dunfermline, the twelfth day of the month of March in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and forty-four, Sir James Thomson, monk and keeper of the charters of the said Monastery, James Murray, and Sir James Coupar, Notary Public, witnesses called and specially solicited to the premises, being present at collating the said charter.' Subscribed, Thomas Malcum.

This document was exhibited in the Heraldry Exhibition held at Edinburgh in 1891, No. 391 in the Catalogue.

The following reasons for connecting this Alexander with the William of 1422 suggest themselves:—(1.) That the extract of the charter granted by the former was given out at the requisition of Alexander Masterton, within a few months of the time when Alexander Masterton of Bad and his wife were infeft in Bad; (2) That the Extract, dated 12th March 1544, is preserved with the Bad Sasine, dated 17th April 1544, and other family title-deeds; (3) That the lands of Dales, by which the granter of the charter is designed, lie in the same district as those of Masterton and not far from Bad; and (4) That the armorial bearings on the seal of William, attached to that charter, are the same reversed as those on the seal of Robert Masterton of Bad, given in Laing's *Seals* as attached to a charter dated 16th January 1588.

The name of Masterton is not uncommon in published records at intermediate dates, but the attempt to graft these names into the family tree has not been successful. The *dominus Johannes de Maistertoun*, who appears in the Cambuskenneth Chartulary of date 1445, was not necessarily then alive, and may have been the predecessor of the William de Maistertun of 1419-1422.

Douglas gives with tolerable accuracy the subsequent generations down to Francis Masterton of Parkmill and Gogar, who was alive shortly before the date of the publication of the *Baronage*, and who would appear to have allowed Douglas access to his muniments.

Up to this point, Crawford, in his *Memorials of Alloa*, follows Douglas, and he goes wrong in his first independent statement, viz., that 'this old family * * became extinct about the end of last century in the person of John Masterton, who died at Leyden in Holland at an advanced age, leaving no issue.' Stodart refers to this statement, and, in trying to supply facts for the completion of the family history, states that John Masterton of Braco, Perth, 'who has been stated to be a son of Francis and Margaret Graeme,' married Anne Amelia Murdoch, who died 1806, and suggests that James, whose daughter, Margaret Seymour, married Captain Theodore Henry Elliot, was the son of John. James was the son of Francis and Margaret. He married a daughter of James Murdoch of the island of Madeira, merchant, his partner in business; and their only child, Margaret Seymour, married Captain Elliot, eldest son of the Right Hon. Hugh Elliot, Governor of Madras, by whom she had no issue.

The old family estate of Parkmill, acquired in 1547, was sold by Francis Masterton in 1763, and the lands are now in the hands of the Earl of Mar and Kellie. The estates subsequently held by the family were successively sold, the last that of Braco in 1843.

Some additional information will be found in the notes to the pedigree.

I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Messrs. Tods, Murray, and Jamieson, W.S., for permission to publish these papers, and for access to relative documents. Among others to whom my thanks are due for most kind assistance are Dr. Dickson of Her Majesty's General Register House, the Rev. Mr. Hallen of Alloa, the Rev. Mr. Thomson Grant of Leven, Mr. J. Horn Stevenson, Advocate, Mr. J. M. Gray of the National Portrait Gallery, and Mr. W. R. Macdonald, also Mr. Main and the other assistant librarians at the Signet Library.

The genealogy of the de Maistertuns and of the Mastertons of Bad and Parkmill above referred to is subjoined. No attempt is made to deal with the other branches of the family, to some of which Stodart refers.

MASTERTON GENEALOGY.

I. 'DE MAISTERTUN.'[1]

I. HUGO DE MAIST'TUN (de Villa Magri). (Registrum de Dunfermelyn, Bannatyne Club, pp. 98 and 215.) Stodart gives the date of Hugo as about 1250. He died before 1272.

II. 1272-1296. WILLIAM DE MAIST'TUN. (Reg. de Dun., pp. 52, 53, 87, 99, 109, 112, 215, 216; Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, Vol. ii. p. 188; Do. (Ragman Roll), p. 201; Laing's *Seals*, Vol. ii. p. 117.)

Arms.—Seal attached to homage deed; device, a lion rampant, a rose in front. *S.* Willi De Maistertun (Calendar of Documents, as above).

III. 1316. DUNCAN DE MAIST'TUN. Reg. de Dun., pp. 235, 236.

Note.—William de Maist'tun. (Calendar of Documents, vol. iii. pp. 340 and 387, where, in Accounts of 1335-36-37, lands near Haddington are described as '*in manu Regis per forisfacturam Willelmi de Maisterton.*' This might be William the predecessor of Duncan, or another, his successor.)

IV. 1339. SYMON DE MAIST'TUN. (Reg. de Dun., p. 260.) Stodart dates Symon 1329-1371.

V. *c.* 1419. JOHN DE MAIST'TUN. (Reg. de Dun. p. 282.) Chartulary of Cambuskenneth, Grampian Club, p. 310, gives Dominus Johannes de Maistertoun (a monk ?), who appears to have predeceased 1445.

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[1] *Masterton, Parish of Dunfermline, County of Fife.*—The tradition regard- the name and early history of this property is referred to in the Introduction.

A charter of confirmation by Malcolm III. to the Monastery of Dunfermline (between 1153 and 1160, but undated) contains a grant of the lands of Ledmacduuegil, which afterwards came to be called Masterton. The transition from one name to another is shown by the charters printed in the *Reg. de Dunfermline.*

William de Masterton, whose ancestors had held these lands for at least five generations, conveyed them to the Monastery of Dunfermline in 1422, as noted in the Introduction. At a later date (1555-83) they appear to have been feued out in small portions (*Reg. de Dun.*, p. 481). The name of William Kent appears among the feuars, and I am informed that, until a recent date, a portion remained in the possession of a family of that name.

The present proprietor of the property bearing the name of Masterton is Henry Beveridge, Esq., merchant in Dunfermline.

VI. 1419-1422. WILLIAM DE MAIST'TUN, 'Dominus de Dalis.'[1] (Reg. de Dun. pp. 281-282; also Notarially certified copy charter mentioned in Introduction, p. 454.)

Arms.—Per fess, gules and argent, in chief a crescent of the second, in base a chevron of the first, impaling, argent, an eagle displayed, sable, beaked and membered gu. Seal appended to charter of 1422, as given on copy referred to in Introduction.

Note.—Stodart mentions a William Masterton who was on an assize at Dunfermline 1491-92, in immediate succession to the foregoing—No. VI. Mastertons appear in Reg. de Dun., Cartulary of Cambuskenneth, Hugh Haliburton's Ledger, Acta Dom. Conc., Acta Auditorum, etc., between 1422 and 1544, but the descent of Alexander Maistertoun of Bad from William de Maist'tun has not been established.

In Douglas's Baronage the blank is bridged by the following:—'Alexander Masterton of that ilk (son of William), who succeeded him and is documented by a charter under the great seal hereafter narrated. He was father of John Masterton, who got a charter under the great seal from King James V., *Johanni Masterton filio et hæredi Alexandri Masterton et Grisillidae Mure spousæ dicti Johannis, etc.*, of the Mains of Bothkennar in Stirlingshire, dated *anno* 1528. By the said Grisel Mure he had a son and heir, Alexander, etc.' Stodart proves this order of succession to be incorrect.

The inventory of the effects of William Bad, in the parish of Culross, made 1 September 1543, is registered in Register of Testaments, Dunblane, 1534-1547, H.M. Gen. Reg. House, Edinburgh. He owed Katherine Masterton 13s. 4d., and his daughter, Jonet Bad, is named as executrix. The will of Jonet Bad, in that parish, who names her son, Mr. William Paterson, one of her executors, is registered in same register (p. 34), 5th March 1552.

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[1] There is a farm of Dales in the parish of Inverkeithing, Fife, near Masterton, probably the Dallis of which William of Masterton was laird.

A charter under the Great Seal (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, p. 765, No. 3558), in favour of John Mowbray of Barnbougle, Knt., dated 27th March 1511, and another to Robert Mowbray (p. 432, No. 1934), dated 10th March 1538-39, include 'Caslane le Dalis' in the barony of Inverkeithing, Fife. Therefore, if these are the lands, they had passed from the Mastertons before 1511. I have failed to trace the earlier charters, which might supply the links between William de Mast'ton Dominus de Dalis and Alexander Maistertoun of Bad. David Mowbray was infeft in the Barony of Inverkeithing in 1467. See Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. ii. p. 237.

II. MAISTERTOUNS OF BAD[1] AND PARKMILN.

I. *c.* 1544-1574. ALEXANDER MAISTERTOUN OF BAD married before 1544, Janet Colston (Costoun, Coustoun). (Register of Privy Council of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 729, and Title-deeds of Bad and Parkmill.)

He had issue :

1. Ranald or Ronald, *v.* below.
2. Margaret, 'Mistress Nurse' to Prince Henry, married James Primrois. (Register of Privy Council, vol. v. p. 200.) Her connection with this family is adopted from Douglas, but an Extract of the Discharge from the Privy Council Register is with the family papers.
3. James (Burgess in Edinburgh [?])—Alexander Masterton of Parkmylne, surety for his son James, 24th October 1574. Register of Privy Council, vol. ii. p. 729, etc.

II. 1570-1609. RANALD (RONALD) MAISTERTOUN OF BAD (who signs 'Rannald'), married Marjorie Bruce, daughter of Robert Bruce of Linmyln, and grand-daughter of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan. (See Title-deeds of Bad and Parkmill, Register of Privy Council, vol. v. p. 605 and 'The Bruces and The Cumyns,' by M. E. Cumming Bruce, 1870). That Ranald and his spouse were alive in 1609 appears from the Contract of Alienation of the lands of Bad mentioned in the note referring to these lands. They had issue:

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[1] *Bad, in the Lordship of Culross and Sheriffdom of Perth.*—Alexander Masterton, who then occupied these lands, received a charter from the Monastery of Culross, dated 16th April 1544. The month is blank in the original charter, but is supplied from the instrument of sasine, dated 17th April 1544. David, Archbishop of St. Andrews, on 4th March of that year appointed a commission, consisting of the Archdean of Whitthorn (Andrew Arnot), the Provost of Trinity College, near Edinburgh (George Clapperton), and James Wilson, Canon of the Church of Dunblane, to inquire whether this grant was for the benefit of the monastery. After two ratifications by these dignitaries, dated 9th and 18th March, we have the charter and sasine above mentioned. Ranald and his spouse, by charter dated 21st December 1599, made over to their son Robert, on his marriage, the lands and the coal therein (of which Ranald had a charter from the monastery on 23d November 1575) and on 6th December 1609 Ranald, with consent of his wife and of his son Robert and his wife, executed a contract of alienation thereof in favour of John Erskine of Little Sauchie.

The information for this note is, through the courtesy of Messrs. Mackenzie and Kermack, W.S., taken from the title-deeds in their possession as agents for John Alistair Erskine Cuninghame, Esq., of Balgownie.

These lands are to be distinguished from the lands of Masterton Baith, which appear in the *Dunfermline Register*, and also from the lands of West Bath, in the parish of Culross.

1. **Robert.** See below, III.
2. **Katherine**, married John Patoun, son to Alexander Patoun, in parish of Mukart, 29th October 1594. (Clackmannan Register.)

III. 1599-1646. ROBERT MAISTERTOUN OF BAD AND PARKMYLNE,[1] married (1599) Agnes Douglass, daughter of the deceased John Douglass of Renniestun in Fife. (Marriage Contract dated 1st December 1599, and Title-deeds of Bad and Parkmill.)

Arms.—'Per pale dexter, an eagle displayed, sinister, per fess, in chief a crescent, in base a chevron (or it may be blazoned, a chevron, and on a chief a crescent; some families of the name certainly carry a chief.)' (Laing's *Seals*, vol. ii. p. 117.)[2]

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[1] Parkmill, consisting of Millarwood and Crumlabank, in the Regality and Barony of Alloa and Sheriffdom of Clackmannan, and that 'peice' (*petra*) of Hilton called the nether floris, in the Barony of Alloa and Sheriffdom of Clackmannan. These lands were originally acquired in 1547 and 1561, respectively, when, according to Francis Masterton, the compiler of the *Remarques*, in his *Adwise and Memorandum*, Alexander Masterton 'gott first ye lands of Parkmiln.' In the Charter of Millarwood of 1547, the lands are described as then occupied by Alexander and he is bound to erect and uphold on them a manor place with 'hale and chalmer keching, baikhous, brewhouse, and freedom to brew and baik and sell (as free ostlair),' and all other tenants in the lands are excluded from the privilege of hostlarie. In 1678 the name of Parkmill first appears in the description of the lands as given in the title-deeds; but in a marriage contract dated in 1599, the lands are briefly referred to as the 'toune and landis of pkmylne,' shewing that the name was in use before it was adopted in the titles. The lands were sold in 1763 by Francis Masterton, with consent of his wife, Margaret Graeme, to James Erskine, Esq., Advocate, and the Right Hon. Lady Francis Erskine his wife, with a destination over to the heirs of the estate of Mar, in whose possession they remain. The existing title-deeds show the transmission of these lands from father to son from 1547 to 1763. The title-deeds from 1547 to Francis Masterton's Sasine of 6th November 1678, are in possession of Messrs. Tods, Murray, and Jamieson, W.S., Edinburgh. The later titles are in the hands of Messrs. J. C. Brodie and Sons, Agents to the Earl of Mar and Kellie, who have most courteously allowed access to them.

[2] Laing gives these bearings as on a seal of Robert Masterton of Bad appended to a charter of 1588. I have failed to find this charter, and cannot confirm Laing's statement. It was not till 1599 that Robert received a charter of Bad from his father. The bearings are the same as those on the drawing of the seal appended to the charter by William to the Monastery of Dunfermline in 1422, except that the sinister and dexter are reversed. This may have been caused by the seal noted by Laing having been cut from that drawing by an unskilled workman.

They had issue :

1. John. See below, iv.
2. Margaret, married Thomas Mitchell, eldest son of Thomas Mitchell in Alloway, 17th July 1638 (Alloa Parish Register).
3. Marjorie, married Andrew Erskine, 4th November 1640 (Alloa Register): they had issue—Thomas, born 2d January 1648 (Alloa Register). She died 1673 (*Remarques*).
4. Bessie, baptized 13th March 1610 (Alloa Register); died 4th November 1704, age ninety-six (*Remarques*).
5. Mary, died 1691, age eighty-three (*Remarques*).

iv. 1632-1664. JOHN MAISTERTOUN of Parkmilne, married 3d October 1637 (Alloa Register) Marie Lindsay, daughter of William Lindsay. She died 14th January 1699, aged eighty-two, see *Remarques*. (Title-deeds of Parkmill.)

They had issue :—

1. John, baptized 4th December 1637 (Alloa Register).
2. Robert, baptized 19th April 1641 (Alloa Register).
3. Francis. See below, v.
4. Marie, baptized 28th October 1643 (Alloa Register).
5. Bessie, baptized 28th August 1648 (Alloa Register).
6. Jean, baptized 19th December 1650 (Alloa Register), died October 1682 (*Remarques*).
7. Christian, baptized 3d April 1653 (Alloa Register), married 7th February 1692, James Muddie in Longkerss. Their child Mary, died 23d September 1696 (*Remarques*).
8. John, baptised 20th February 1655 (Alloa Register).
9. George (in Ferriton), died 20th July 1688 (*Remarques*).

Note.—The *Remarques* notice two sisters of Marie Lindsay, Agnes and Jean, who died 1691 and February 1695, aged eighty and eighty-six respectively.

v. 1642-1719. FRANCIS MAISTERTOUN of Parkmilne, author of the *Remarques*, baptized 26th August 1642 (Alloa Register), married 13th January 1678 (*Remarques* and Alloa Register), Christian Keirie [eldest daughter of John Keirie of Gogar, who died 2d October 1695, and of Christian (not Isobel as given by Stodart and in Scott's *Fasti*) Craigingelt, who is a party to the marriage contract of Francis and Christian, and who died 29th March 1711, aged seventy-eight (*Remarques* and Title-deeds)]. Francis was appointed, by Sir Alexander Hope of Kerse, Heritable Sheriff, to be Sheriff-Depute of Clackmannanshire, 31st May 1665. He was appointed Ensign of 1st Company of Foot in Stirling Castle, 29th April 1689, and was Captain Lieutenant in Lord Elphinstone's company of the Militia of Clackmannan in July 1685. He was also a Commissioner of Supply, 1667-1704. See Stodart.

They had the following issue, who all, except Nos. 13 and 15, appear in the Alloa Register of baptisms as well as in the *Remarques*:—

1. **Marie**, born 16th November 1678.
2. **Kathrine**, born 26th November 1679, married Francis Hegin in Feriton, 24th April 1700, and had issue—(*a*) John, born 20th May 1701; (*b*) second son, born 12th July 1702, and died immediately; (*c*) Christian, born 4th April 1710, her sixth child.
3. **Christian**, born 14th January 1681, died 28th November 1682.
4. **Charles**. See below, vi.
5. **John**, born 22d July 1683 (merchant in Edinburgh, see Stodart), married, 27th February 1711, Kathrine Eedington, and had issue—see notes on cover of *Remarques*—(*a*) Francis, born 2d December 1711, and died 4th May 1713; (*b*) John, born 28th May 1713; (*c*) Janet, born 17th August 1714; (*d*) James, born 9th September 1715, of Newston, Colonel and A.D.C. to Duke of Cumberland at Culloden. (See Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1843, p. 1126, note.) He was M.P. for Stirling Burghs 1768-1774 (Foster's *Members of Parliament—Scotland* 1882): Barrackmaster-General in Scotland (*Scots Mag.* May 1769), and died at his house in Clackmannan, 7th August 1777 (*Scots Mag.* August 1777). See General Disposition and Settlement, etc., recorded Books of Council and Session, 22d August 1777, which contains provisions for his cousin Mrs. Janet Edinton, his nieces Janet Fraser and Janet Lawrie, and his nephews James and Henry Lawrie, the last of whom, captain of the ship *Surat Castle* of India, had a brother John Lawrie, merchant in Glasgow. Arthur Robertson of Inches married a sister of Henry Lawrie, and had a son Masterton Robertson. James's cousin Francis of Parkmill was 'out' in 1745 on the Jacobite side. See below. (*e*) Christian, born 27th September 1717; (*f*) Francis, born 27th September 1718; (*g*) Katherine, married James Lawrie of Burngrange (see Burke's *Landed Gentry* 1843, p. 1126, note).
6. **Francis**, 14th November 1684, died 14th July 1718.
7. **Jean**, born 17th December 1685.
8. **Christian**, born 12th April 1687, died 24th March 1718.
9. **David**, born 17th July 1688.
10. **Robert**, born 4th February 1690, died 9th December 1690.
11. **Jonet**, born 1st October 1691, died 20th August 1700.
12. **James**, born 13th March 1693, died 20th August 1695.
13. **Harie**, born 2d July 1694, died 5th November 1719.
14. **Agnes**, born 26th August 1695, died 14th March 1718.
15. Dead son, born 1st December 1696.

Note.—The *Remarques* notice the following relatives of Christian Keirie. John Craigingelt, Minister of

Aloa, died March 1664, Patrick Craigingelt, died October 1686, and the following relatives of Francis Masterton. Cousins—Jean Robertson, died 1693, Agnes Don, died 11th October 1699, Christian Anderson, Charles Row's wife died 26th December 1699, Ms. Norie in Stirling, died 21st February 1702, Marie Don, died 25th April 1702, Marie Lindsay, John Bauchop's wife, 'my cousin german,' died 17th February 1706; Robert Douglas, near Leslie, died April 1706; Margaret May, relict of James Morieson, Merchant in Perth, died 6th June 1706. A niece—Christian Paton, married Paton in Angus, 17th November 1703. Uncle's wife—Janet Wallace, died 2d April 1708.

VI. 1682-1744. CHARLES MASTERTON OF PARKMILN AND GOGAR, W.S., born 1st August 1682, died April 1744, married 11th August 1713, his cousin Marie Keirie, only surviving daughter of John Keirie of Gogar and Katharine Wright (daughter of Mr. Robert Wright, Minister of Clackmannan, by Mary Craigingelt, whose sister Christian was wife of John Keirie of Gogar and grandmother of Charles Masterton). (Stodart, Scott's Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, *Remarques*, Notes by Charles Masterton, History of Socy. of W.S. and Index of Services.) Marie Keirie died at Parkmill, 16th June 1717. See Notes by Charles Masterton, p. 491.

They had issue (Notes by Charles Masterton):—

1. Francis, born 21st, died 22d February 1714.
2. Kathren, born 10th May 1715; married James Christie, Writer in Stirling. Marriage contract registered (Books of Council and Session), 2d Jany. 1768. Francis Masterton, Esq. of Gogar, is designed in an inventory of papers (1791) brother and representative of the deceased Catharine Masterton, widow of the deceased James Christie, Writer in Stirling.
3. Francis. · See below, VII.
4. John, born 31st May 1717, died 24th June 1717.

Note.—Marie Keirie had a brother Francis. Her mother, Katharine Wright, died 29th March 1711, aged seventy-eight. Her grandfather, Robert Wright, minister at Clackmannan, died 1673. Mr. Robert Wright's wife died 15th January 1711. John Keirie of Gogar and his son John, died 9th and 18th May 1696. Mr. Robert Wright's daughter Kathrin died 30th May 1702 (*Remarques*). For Mary Wright, daughter of Robert Wright, minister of Culross, and for Edward Wright of Kersie, M.D., see Index of Services under 'Masterton.'

VII. 1716-1795. FRANCIS MASTERTON of Parkmill and Gogar,[1] born 2nd April 1716, died 21st January 1795, at Gogar, married 1768, Margaret Graeme, who died at Braco Castle, 1st Nov. 1806 (*Scots Magazine*, Decr. 1806). She was a daughter of James Graeme of Gorthy (also Braco) and Katherine his wife, daughter of Sir William Stirling of Ardoch, Bart., as in her will she refers to her brother General David Graham of Braco. Francis was apprenticed to Charles Farquharson, W.S., 17th June 1735. He was 'out' in 1745, see Rosebery's *Persons concerned in the Rebellion of* 1745, pp. 148, 348. He sold Parkmill 1763. Date of death of Francis given in letter from James Christal, Stirling, to James Masterton at Madeira, dated 29th January 1795. For Margaret Graeme, see Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1843, p. 1126.

They had issue—

1. CHARLES MASTERTON of Auchlandskies,[2] Strathearn, in the parish of Glendovan, Perthshire, Captain 30th Regiment of Foot, predeceased his father June 1789, leaving a natural son Charles. (Index of Services, 'James Masterton, 1st April 1791,' also Title-deeds of Auchlandskies and family papers.)
2. JAMES, see below, VIII.
3. MISS KATHARINE MASTERTON, eldest daughter of Frances Masterton of Gogar, Esq., died at Alloa, 25th February 1775. (*Scots Mag.*, Feby. 1775.)
4. MARY, alive in 1832. (Family Papers.)

VIII. JAMES MASTERTON, Merchant in Madeira, and sometime of

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[1] Gogar, in the parish of Logie and county of Perth.

This property, which had belonged to the Keiries of Gogar, daughters of which house married two successive generations of Mastertons, though in Perthshire, lies within a few miles of Parkmill. It was purchased for Charles Masterton by Mr. Edward Callander, Writer in Edinburgh, who conveyed it to him by disposition, dated 30th October 1727. Charles settled the lands on himself in liferent and his son Francis in fee. James Masterton sold them in 1800-1801, when he purchased Braco.

[2] Auchlandskies Over and Nether in the parish of Glendovan and county of Perth.

Colonel John Irvine of Burleigh conveyed this estate to Colonel David Graeme of Gorthy in 1764, who conveyed it to Captain Henry Graeme, sometime of Hanwell, Middlesex, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of St. Helena, in 1765. His daughter Anne (wife of Sir Andrew Snape Hammond) conveyed it to General David Graeme in 1788, who bequeathed it to Charles Masterton, Captain in the 30th Regiment of Foot, his nephew, in 1789. In 1791 James Masterton was served heir in special in these lands to Charles, his brother, and in the same year he sold them to Thomas Hepburn, Esq. of Colquhollie.

Gogar thereafter of Braco,[1] both in Perthshire, at his father's death was the only surviving son, his elder brother Charles having predeceased. In 1787 he entered into a partnership for three years with Arthur Ahmuty of the island of Madeira, merchant, the firm being Ahmuty, Masterton, & Co. In 1791 he was at Gogar, where he signed a letter recorded (Books of Council and Session) 29th January 1795, appointing his mother his factor in the event of his father's death during his absence. That he was married in 1798 is shown by a letter of 25th November in that year addressed to him at Madeira by Lord Mornington, in which reference is made to Mrs. Masterton. His wife, Anna Amelia Murdoch, who was a daughter of James Murdoch of the island of Madeira (as appears from a memorandum in his own writing), died 16th April 1806 (*Scots Mag.*, May 1806, p. 399). Stodart says, that 'John' Masterton of Braco married Anna Amelia Murdoch. There was no John Masterton of Braco. In January 1799 he granted a commission at Funchall in Madeira, recorded (Books of Council and Session), 25th January 1800, empowering his mother to sell Gogar. On 30th June 1800 he entered into partnership with James Murdoch, mentioned above, Thomas Yuille, then residing in London, and Andrew Wardrop and James Denyer of the island of Madeira, merchants. The firm was Murdoch, Masterton, and Co., and the agreement was for a period of five years. In the following year he was at Braco, which he had just purchased, having about the same time sold Gogar, and in March 1801, considering that his affairs required his going abroad for some time, he granted a commission to the Hon. David Smyth of Methven, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, to procure him infeft in the estate of Braco. He subsequently returned to Scotland and resided at Braco. He was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant of Perthshire in 1807, and died at Braco Castle, 1st April 1836 (*Scotsman* newspaper of 9th April 1836).

They had an only child—

IX. MARGARET SEYMOUR MASTERTON, married (see 'The Courier,' 31st Oct. 1823) 30th October 1823, Theodore Henry Elliot, Captain Royal Engineers, eldest son of the Right Hon. Hugh Elliot, Governor of Madras, by Margaret Jones ('Lewis,'—Foster's *Peerage*), his second wife (Memoir of the Right Hon.

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[1] Braco, in the parish of Muthill and Sheriffdom of Perth, was purchased by James Masterton of Gogar from the trustees under the trust-disposition and settlement of Colonel (General) David Graeme of Gorthy, eldest lawful son of James Graeme of Braco. He conveyed the estate to his son-in-law Major Theodore Henry Elliot, whose trustees, with consent of his widow, sold it in 1843 to George Drummond Stewart, Esq., second son of Sir George Stewart, Bart.

Hugh Elliot by Lady Minto, p. 415). Margaret Seymour Masterton was born before 10th November 1799, as appears from a letter of that date from Hugh Corrie, Edinburgh, to James Masterton, which refers to his wife and 'little one.' Capt. Elliot died in London, 2d April 1842, see confirmation of executor. She died leaving no issue by Capt. Elliot.

I

SOME REMARQUES upon severall things since the Happie restauratione of King CHARLES YE SECOND.[1]

1660

FR. MASTERTONE

Cha., 1 Ag.; John, 22 July; Fr., 14 Nov^{r}; dav., 17 July; Hary, 2 July; mary, 16 nov^{r}; Kathr., 26 Nov^{r}; Jean, 17 de^{r}; Chr., 12 Apr.; nanie, 26 Ag.; dead child, 1 dec.; Kath^{r} was maried to fr. Hegin 24 Ap^{r}; Jo^{n} Hegin, 20 May; Fr., 13 may; V^{m}, 23 may; Chr., 27 may; Ch^{r}, 4 Ap^{r}; Mary was born 10 March 1712; Ka. born att park the 1st Sept^{r} 1713; Janet was born 19 [ ]; Ka. att park the 17 dec^{r} 1716; James was born Ferrytoun 4 June 1718; Charles was married to Marie Keirie 11 Agust 1713; his wife was brought to bed of a son called francis the 21st Feb^{ry} 1714; he dyed a little after being born in the said month; she brought forth her 2d child, called Katie, on the 10th May 1715; she brought forth her 3d child, called Francis, on the 2d April 17[ ].
1716

1660. King Charles 2d Restauratione, 29 May. 1660

~~'61. Marquess Argyle beheaded and some others for Treason.~~

1 Ja^{rij}. EarleMidleton [2] Comissioner to 1st parliat, Glencairn [3] chan^{r}, Crawfurd Thesaurer.[4]

Fr. Broun of Kaverkad dyed.

'62. S^{r} francis Arskine, brother to ye Earle of Mar,[5] dyed unmarried. marq. Argyle and som others beheaded for Treason.[6]

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[1] *On the cover or first page of the MS. is the following note:*—'John was maried on Kathrine Edington the 27th Feb^{ry} 1711; her first Child, called Francis, was born the 2d December 1711; he dyed the 4th May 1713; her second child, called John, born the 28th May 1713; her third child, called Janet, 17th Agust 1714; her fourth child, called James, the 9th Septe^{r} 1715; her 5 Child, called Christian, the 27 Sep. 1717; her sixth child, called Francis, the 27th Sept^{r} 1718.'

[2] John Middleton, created Earl of Middleton, etc., 1660.

[3] William, ninth Earl of Glencairn.

[4] John, tenth Lord Lindsay, created Earl of Crawford-Lindsay, 1644.

[5] John, third Earl of Mar.

[6] Archibald, Marquis of Argyle, beheaded 27th May 1661.

1663 '63. S^{r} Charles Arskine of Ava dyed.

'64. My father dyed 20 Ja^{r}; mr. Jo^{n} Craigingelt, minister at Aloa, dyed martch.

'64. There was a great frost in the end of '63, and continowed till 20 martch '64, upon v^{ch} day ye ploughes went, and others and I curled the same day. Patrick Lindsay, at woodsyd, dyed at michalmess.

'65.

'66. Pentland Hill rebellion by ye whigs, and defeat by general Dalzell and drummond w^{t} ye Kings forces.

'67.

'68. The Countess of Mar, Jean Hay,[1] dyed may, and hir son, John, Earl of Mar, dyed in Agust;[2] old John younger, in Ferritown, dyd; Lady Clackm and hir dochter, m^{s} Helin, dyed in may, and were burried together.

'69. Alloway wood cut and sold for 8500 merks, 5 years cutting; ane excessive tide, 13 nov^{r}, made a great breach at Ferineuk and ouer flowed . . . Coustons barn yaird.

1670. I built Jo^{n} Allans house and Jo^{n} Chrystes.

'71. I went to ye feritown rowme.

'72. Jo^{n} Napier, Lieut to ye kings troup, dyd at sea in ye dutch war; old Kenet dyd Apr., young Kenet de^{r}.[3]

'73. Mr. Rot. vright, minister at clackm., dyed; my aunt marjorie m^{r}ton dyd.

'74. Char., Earle of mar, married to E. panmures dochter[4] in Apr., and gott 50,000 mrks of tocher.

Laird of Clack., S^{r} Harie bruce, dyed martch; Ja. Norie, town clerk of Sterling, dyed.

Da. Bruce of Clackm. married to Tarbets eld dochter.[5]

A great frost '73 and '74.

'75. John, Lord Arskine, born ye 6 Ja^{r}.[6]

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[1] Lady *Christian* Hay, second daughter of Francis, Earl of Errol, wife of John, third Earl of Mar.—Douglas's and Foster's *Peerages*.

[2] John, fourth earl, died September.—Douglas's *Peerages*.

[3] Robert Bruce of Kennet and a son (?). See below (1691 and 1692) for Robert's son David and his son Henry.

[4] The Lady Mary Maule, eldest daughter of George, second Earl of Panmure.

[5] The Lady Margaret M'Kenzie, daughter of George, Earl of Cromartie.

[6] Afterwards sixth Earl of Mar. See marriage of his parents above, 1674.

’76. Mr. Geo. Arskine, only brother to Ch. E. mar, dyed in ye north, and was burried at Alloa 6 July.

’77. I built Alloway miln that summer; Cap^{t} Ro^{t} Bruce of Voodsyd was killd in Flanders; Androw Horn dyd.

’78. I was married to Chr. Keirie, eldest dochter to gogar, the 13 Jarii; she bore marie, hir first child, 16 Nov^{r}.

The Highland road to the west;[1] Grange mastertone dyd.[2]

’79. Bothwel Bridge rebellion of ye whigs and defeat, 2 June;[3] my dochter Kathrin born 26 nov^{r}; Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew, murther, 29 may.[4]

1680. I returned to Parkmiln; my brother Geo. and my mother went to Feritown; Earl of Kincarne[5] and my lord Bruce dyed.

’81. My 3^{d} docter, Christian, born 14 Jar.; Geo. meldrum, Laird of Tillibody,[6] dyed may; Duke Rothess dyed Julij;[7] Jo^{n} Allan, wright, dyd de^{r}.

’82. My 3^{d} dochter, Christian, dyed 28 nov^{r}; Charles, my first son, born 1 Ag.; we built our house and office houses and ye yaird; Duke Lawderdale dyd nov^{r}, in Engl.;[8] my sister Jean dyd Oct. 82.

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[1] This is no doubt a reference to the making or altering of the main road to the west past Parkmill.

[2] On 2d December 1654 John Masterton of Easter Grange, for sums of money paid to him and his creditors by Adam Masterton, his eldest lawful son, infeft the latter in his lands of Easter Grange, in the parish of Culross.—Perth Sasines, series 4, vol. ii. folio 216. In 1662 John Masterton was served heir to his father Adam in these lands. In 1673 an Adam Masterton of Grange registered arms. Stodart identifies him with an Adam Masterton of Grange who, in 1690, appears as tutor of John Philip, nephew and heir of Mr. John Philip, minister of Queensferry. A Masterton of Grange being here noted as dying at an intermediate date—1678—it appears that there were two Adams. The death of the second is noted below, January 1695.

[3] 22d June 1679.

[4] 3d May.—Hill Burton, etc.

[5] Alexander Bruce, second Earl of Kincardine, died 9th July 1680.

[6] George Abercromby of Skeith, ‘as is recorded, purchased the property (Tillibody), March 26th, 1655, from Robert Meldrum, a cadet of the house of Seggie.’—Crawford’s *Memorials of Alloa*. See below (1699) Alexander Keir of Tullibody and Laird of Tillibody.

[7] John, Duke of Rothes, died 27th July 1681.

[8] John, Duke of Lauderdale, died 24th August 1682, in his sixty-seventh year. —Douglas’s and Foster’s *Peerages*.

1683 '83. Rot. miln of newmill dyed Jarii; Laird Quarrell;[1] John, my 2^{d} son, born 22 July; old Jo^{n} Allan, miller, dyd; My Lord Napier[2] dyed in England; Lady mary Arskine dyed; Mr. Rot. Edmonston dyd.

'84. Laird of Airth[3] dyed; Ja. Hamilton; m. montrose;[4] Jo^{n} Sawers, Laird of Keir,[5] old mr. Ed. Wright,[6] dyed; Francis, my 3^{d} son, born 14 nov^{r}; we built a new bean barn; major Geo. Bruce dyed.

'85. King Charles dyed 6 feb^{r}; Duke montmouth invasion in England, Argyles[7] in Scotland, both executed; Jean, my 4 dochter, born 17 de^{r}.

'86. Patrick Craigingelt dyed Oct.; I built our ston bridge, rebuilt Byer and Stables; Earl Panmure dyd;[8] S^{r} George Preston dyed.

'87. Christian, my 5 dochter, born 12 Ap^{r}; I began to build ye ston dyk next to ye wood; My Lady Glencairn[9] dyd feb^{r}.

'88. Prince of Scotland born 10 Jun; David, my 4 son, born 17 July; my brother George dyed 20 July.

Prince and princess of Orange invasion nov^{r} 5.

Ro^{t} Turnbull dyd nov^{r}.

'89. K. V^{m} and Queen mary proclamed at Ed^{r} 13 June; Ch. E. mar dyd 23 may;[10] Otterston Duncan Arskine,[11] Clerk Morison, Laird of polmaise,[12] dyed; Battle of Killicrankie, 27 July, th^{r}. Dundee and pitcur were killed; Battle of Dunkell, 21 Ag.; Cumrie Bruce dyed; Baylie Brown dyd, feb^{r}; Mr.

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[1] Richard (?) Elphingston of Quarrel-Quorrole. Thomas Dundas, after 1720, bought these lands and changed the name to Carronhall.

[2] Archibald, third Lord Napier, died unmarried.

[3] Probably Richard Elphinston of Airth who (see Index of Services) died July 1683. His son Charles was killed in 1699, see below.

[4] James, third Marquis of Montrose, died 25th April 1684.

[5] Sir John Stirling of Keir died March 1684. See Fraser's *Stirlings of Keir.*

[6] Minister of Clackmannan.—Scott's *Fasti.*

[7] Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll, executed 30th June 1685.

[8] George, third Earl of Panmure, died 1st February 1686.

[9] Possibly Lady Jean Erskine, second daughter of John, third Earl of Mar, who married John, eleventh Earl of Glencairn, 5th August 1673.

[10] Charles, Earl of Mar, died 23d April 1689.—Douglas and Foster's *Peerages.*

[11] Duncan Erskine of Otterston.

[12] John Murray, born 1649, married Ann, daughter of Sir Alexander Gibsone of Durie.

Edvard Vright, advocat, dyd in Agust;[1] Tho. Bruce of Clackhall dyd June. 1689

1690. S^r^ Ch. Arskin of Ava, James mitchell dyed; Robert, my 5 son, born 4 feb^r^; He dyed 9 de^r^; Batle of Cromdell, 1 may; Robert Boyd married Jean Keirie, 30 Apr.

'91. My aunt Agnes Lindsay, age 80, my aunt mary masterton, age 83, David Bruce of Kenet,[2] dyed; my 6 dochter born 1 oct.; Jonet, Rot. Boyds wife, dyd 20 may.

'92. Harie Bruce of Kennet[2] was kiled in flanders; Earle of Angus[3] killed th^r^; My sister Christian married to James muddie in Longkerss, 7 feb^r^.

'93. S^r^ Ja. Arskine of Ava, Capt. Ja. murray, polmais brother, were kild in flanders; mathew Hamilton dyed in prison; patrick Burn of Sherdill dyed; James, my 6 son, born 13 martch; Jean Rotson, my cuson, dyd.

'94. Alloway wood sold for 6000 merks, cut 1^st^ Hag.; James Simpson, James Norie, George Spalding, dyed; my 7 son Harie born 2 July; we built the Litle corn kil; Sande maxwel in Kilsyth dyd, oct.

'95. My aunt Jean Lindsay, agd 86, dyed feb^r^; Tho. Smeton dyed martch; James bruce 2 June, James, my 6 son, dyed 20 Agust; Agnes, my 7 dochter, born 26 Ag.; Gogar,[4] my good father, dyed 2 oct.; Laird of Quarrel dyed;[5] Adam Masterton of Grange dyd,[6] Ja^r^: Cropt this year ane bad dry sumer til July, a late harvest, so th^t^ fra zoul and Candl ye pryce a 8 lib. bol. it came ere July al graines to 20 lib. boll.; we rebuilt the malt barn, adding ane other story th^r^to w^t^ a tyle roof; Earle of Buchan dy^d^ Sep^r^;[7] Th^o^ Reid, Belman of Clack, dy^d^ Apr.

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[1] Edward Wright of Newton of Bothkenner. See Retours, 16th December 1695, also below, 1711.

[2] See above, 1672.

[3] James Douglas, styled Earl of Angus, was son and heir of James, second Marquis of Douglas, by first wife, born 1671, raised in 1689 a regiment of 1800 men (26th Foot or Cameronians), killed *s.p.* 3d August 1692 at battle of Steinkirk.

[4] See Genealogy.

[5] Sasine, Michael Elphingston of Quarrel, recorded Stirling 1685. Elphingston of Quarrel buried 24th July 1695. 'Wm. Quarrell's corps went west.'—*The Account Book of Sir John Foulis* [S. H. S., *in preparation*].

[6] Adam Masterton of Grange, see above, 1678.

[7] William Erskine, eighth earl of Buchan, died a prisoner in Stirling Castle, unmarried.

1696 '96. Thomas Horn in parkm. dyd Ja^{r}; Mr. Jo^{n} Keirie of gogar dyed 9 may; John his son, 18 May; Earle of Roxburgh,[1] mary muddie my sisters dochter, dyd 23 Sept^{r}; S^{r} Hugh paterson[2] dyed oct^{r}; my dead son born 1 de^{r}; Cropt 96, a cold bad summer, a rany late harvest, a great frost in August that mutch of ye vitail was frosted, and mutch to shear at Christmas. The bear 12 lib ye boll, meal 10^{lib}, pease and beans 20 mrks ye boll. The pryces fell at Lambass 40 s. boll, meal and malt. mr. Rot. Geddie at Dollar dyd martch 96.

'97. John paton of Bellilisk dyed at London Jarii; Lady Ardoch dyed June;[3] V^{m} Heggin dyed 5 febr^{r}; Da. Horn, Apr; Francis Borthwick dyd mart; major Bruce Lady dyd. The general peace betwixt france and confederates proclaimed. provost Russel dyed martch; Tho. Reid in grein dyd nov^{r}; S^{r} Ch. Haggat of pitfirren, Geo. Muray of pittincreiff, dyed; rebuilt corn barn; mr. Turnbul dyd may; Bear 8^{lib}, meal at candlmass 10 mrk; pease and beans 8^{lib}; fra vhits meal 10^{lib}, pease and bear 12^{lib}.

'98. Jo^{n} Proud dyed Jar.; V^{m} Bruce, old constable in Clackm., dyd Ja^{r}; old V^{m} Alex^{r} in Kennet dyd feb^{r}; John Hervison of Barachne dyd 10 Feb^{r}; Earle of Crawford dyd martch;[4] Lord Reath[5] dyd martch; V^{m} Vightman in gartary 18 Apr.; Tho. inglis, officer of Clackm, dyd 18 may; Earle of Airlie[6] dyd June; Arskine, Laird of Din,[7] dyd may; Jean mayn in All. dyd Agust; Elspet miller, Geo. Coustons wyfe, dyed 30 Ag.; John Shaw of Craighead dyd oct; Laird of Lunde nov^{r}; Baylie Johnston in sterling, nov^{r}; a late rainy harvest, but ye vitail in end all weil won. The bear at mrt. '98, 11^{lib} boll; oat meal and malt at 12^{lib} boll; pease meal 9^{lib};

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[1] Robert, fourth Earl of Roxburghe, died on his travels abroad at Brussels, 13th June 1696, in his nineteenth year.

[2] Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, W.S., father of Sir Hugh noted below (1701).—*History of Society of W.S.*

[3] Probably Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, Bart., first wife of Sir William Stirling, second Knight-Bart. of Ardoch.

[4] William, sixteenth Earl of Crawford and second Earl of Lindsay, died 6th March 1698.

[5] Raith—Alexander Melville, elder son and heir of George, first Earl of Melville, died *s.p.* Lord Raith, buried 1st April 1698.—Foulis' *Accounts*.

[6] James, second Earl of Airlie.

[7] David Erskine of Dun, father of the judge of that name.

Bear meal 8^{lib} boll; Fearm bear in Ja^{ry} betwixt 13 and 14^{lib}; 1698
Pease and beans at 16^{lib} boll th^{r} after.

Jo. Nikel my barbers wife, 23 nov^{r}; Forsyth of Garvel, at Stling, 13 de^{r}; ~~Laird of Airth stabbed at a duel by Laird Achinboy, 29 Apr., at Torwood; at . . . . 30 Ap^{r} next day.~~

'99. S^{r} Tho. nicolson of Tillicutry dyd at Ed^{r} 1 Jarii; my mother dyd 14 Ja^{r}, at 8 in morning, and buried on 16, age 82; Mr. Ro^{t} Ramsay dyd at Ed^{r}, Jary.; Laird of Durie[1] dyd at Ed^{r}, feb^{r}; Mr. paul Gellies wyfe dyd 21 feb^{r}; Jo^{n} Sawers dochter Kath. dyd 22 feb^{r}; David Lindsay 23 martch; mr. V^{m} Lindsay dyed of ye jandies ye 16 Ap^{r}, at 4 in y^{e} morning; Ro^{t} Colvill, wreater at Ed^{r}, dyd 12 may; ~~Ch., Earle of Mar, dyd 23 July '99.~~[2]

Laird of Airth killd at a duel by Laird Achinboy, at Torwood, 29 Apr.;[3] Alex^{r} Keir of Tillibody[4] dyd 29 may; Hary Graham, Hilton, at Ed^{r}, dyd 30 may; S^{r} V^{m} Bruce Kinross his Lady, 30 may; Isobell Bruce, major Bruce daughter, dyd 23 June; Laird Tillibody dyed 29 June;[5] provost dick his eldest son, dyd 26 July; John Hal in Kenet, dyd 28 July; Earle of Southesk[6] dyd 9 Ag.; John Gib and James Finne dyed 10 Ag.; Gilbert Robertson of Vhythouse dyd 1 Sept^{r}; ~~Ch. Earl of Mar dyd Aug.~~[7]

Laird of Breas, minister at Culross,[8] dyed 13 Sept^{r}, on v^{ch} day ther was a great Ecclipse of ye sun betwixt eight and half ten; Jo^{n} moriss, Sande short, two workmen in Alloway, dyd 16 Sept^{r}; Ja. Horn, quarrier at Clackm., dyd 21 Sep^{r}.;

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[1] Probably Sir Alexander Gibson.

[2] Written on margin and deleted. See above, 1689.

[3] Captain William Bruce of Auchinbowie, eldest son of William Bruce of Newton, killed Charles Elphinstone of Airth, a minor, at the house of William Lord Forester, or at a change house near the end of the Torwood, 29th April 1699. See *The Bruces and the Cumyns*, by M. E. Cumming Bruce, pp. 325 and 605, where the indictment of Captain William Bruce for murder is printed.

[4] See above, 1681.

[5] George Abercromby of Tullibody and Skeith. 26th June appears as the date of his death in the copy of the inscription on the monument to his memory at the old church of Tullibody given by Crawford in his *Memorials of Alloa*, p. 161. But see 29th June 1699 in *Turnbull's Diary* in this volume of *Miscellany*. See also 1681 above.

[6] Charles, fourth Earl of Southesk.

[7] Written on margin and deleted.

[8] James Fraser of Brae, minister of Culross. See his *Memoirs* and Beveridge's *Culross and Tulliallan*.

1699 My cosen Agnes don dyd at Sterling, 11 oct.; Tho. Horn at parkn. dyd 16 oct.; James Burn dyd 25 oct.; My Lady Tarbet[1] dyd in ye north oct.; James Scobie, officer in Clack, dyd 28 oct.; V^m^ Henderson, ordinarly called Catel mercat in Clackm., dyd 4 nov^r^; Ro^t^ Reid, ordinarly called Gentle Ro^t^ in Clackm., dyd 5 nov^r^; Jo. dickees wyfe in Carshill, dyd 10 nov^r^; old Jon Hog at Clackm. water mil, dyd 11 nov^r^; old James Henderson, tenant in west Cambus, dyd 12 nov^r^; John Nucoll, m^r^ of a bark, was drouned at Alloway shoar ye 14 nov^r^; M^s^. Edmonstone dyd 15 nov^r^; Humphrey Calhoun of Balhertie dyd at Queensferry ye 14 nov^r^; marjorie Cussing, Andro Henderson his wyfe dyd 24 nov^r^; Jean Vallace, V^m^ Stein relict, dyd 5 de^r^; Androw Henderson, officer at Clackm., dyd 17 de^r^; My Lord Kennedy[2] dyd at Ed^r^ 19 dec^r^; My cousen Christian Anderson, Ch. Row wyfe, dyd at Ed^r^, 26^th^ de^r^. Bear 12^lib^, oat^m^ 10^lib^ 13s^s^. 4d.

1700. Laird Tullibodys[3] young dochter dyd 2 Ja^r^; doctor Birsban dyd at Glasgow, 9 Ja^r^; John Couston dyed at Linmiln, 16 Jar.

A great fire in Ed^r^ brunt all the meal mercat, parliat close, neir to the cross, on Saturday night, 3 feb^r^., till Sundays night.[4]

The old smiths wyfe at Kennet dyd 13 feb^r^; My Lady Crawfurd,[5] ~~my Lady Lothian~~, my Lady Rugland,[6] my Lady Elcho,[7] all dyd feb^r^; James Dempterston his wyfe Jenet Black dyed, 28 feb^{r}. we heard this day th^{t} Francis Allan in parkmiln dyed at Jamaica. Marquess of Dowglass[1] dyd 25 feb^{r}; Helin Sibbat dyd 13 martch; Row of enerallan dyd 19 mar. Ed^{r}; James Davison, called Blalowin, dyd 30 Martch, and Christian Fither ye same day; Mr. Allans son Thomas dyd 9 Ap^{r}; my daughter Kathrin was married to Fr. Heggin in feriton, at Ed^{r}, ye 24th of Ap^{r}.; John Nucoll, cadger in Alloway, dyd 24 may; Kathrin Ramsay in Clacm., dyd 9 June; John Wordie of Torbrex dyed 17 July; Alex^{r} Halway's wyfe in Culross dyd 18 July. 1700

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[1] Anne, daughter of Sir James Sinclair of Mey, Bart., and wife of George Mackenzie, first Viscount Tarbat.

[2] John, Lord Kennedy, served heir to his father John. Service dated 1st April 1701.

[3] See above, 29th June 1699, etc.

[4] Chambers's *Domestic Annals*; Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh.*

[5] The Lady Harriet Seton, only daughter of Charles, Earl of Dunfermline, relict of William, fifth Earl of Wigton, and wife of William, sixteenth Earl of Crawford (Douglas, p. 389); or Emilia, second daughter of James, Lord Down, and wife of John, seventeenth Earl of Crawford, who died 1712, she predeceasing him some years.

[6] Rugland. The Lady Anne Kennedy, only daughter of John, seventh Earl of Cassilis, and wife of John Hamilton, first Earl of Ruglen, Viscount of Riccarton, Lord Hillhouse.

[7] Lady Anne Douglas, eldest daughter of William, first Duke of Queensberry, and wife of David, Lord Elcho, afterwards Earl of Wemyss. Douglas states that, in consequence of her clothes taking fire while she was engaged in secret prayer, 17th February 1700, the Countess of Wemyss (?) was so severely scorched that she expired on the 23d of the same month.

Duke of Glocester, Prince of Denmark, his son dyed.[2]

Mr. Ja. Vright of Kersie dyed ye 11 Agust at 10 foornoon; my 6th daughter Jonet died of ane high collick and a great paine in her bely the 20 Agust be on in ye morning, and was buried, 21 th^{r}of.

My Lord Marsington[3] died suddenly 21 Agust; My sister, Jo^{n} Keirries wyfe, died of ane decay, ye 24 Agust, at 4 afternoon; The Countess of Rothes died Agust[4]; V^{m} Vright, a child, dyed of ane decay ye 24 Sept^{r}; James Burn, Tenant in black grange, dyd 9 october; Ro^{t} Graham in valyfield, died 3 Oct.; Tho. Fathringham dyd 27 nov^{r}; Da. vanan in Sawchie, his wyfe Epe Allan, o^{r} old woman, dyd 27 nov^{r}.

This last year we had an early spring, a cold summer, and a late hervest; Bear fra mrt til 1 Ja^{r} 1701 ten pund bolls; oatmeal on mercat 8 S^{s} ye peck; pease meal 5 S^{s} and 6d. ye peck.

1701. V^{m} paton, grieve at Clackmanan, his daughter dyd 2 Jarii; V^{m} Alex^{r} wyfe, at Stling, dyd 8th Jar; Alex^{r} moriss, old serv^{t} to S^{r} Fr. Arskine, dyed 13 Ja^{r}; John Mitchel, tenant in west field, dyed 9 feb^{r}.

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[1] James, second Marquis of Douglas.

[2] William, Duke of Gloucester, died 30th July 1700. See *Turnbull's Diary*, p. 394 of this *Miscellany*.

[3] Mersington. Alexander Swinton of Swinton, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, died in August 1700. 'On Tuesday last Lord Mersington dined well with a friend in the Merse, and went well to bed, but was found dead before four in the morning, his lady in bed with him, who knew nothing of his dying. A warning stroke. He was a good man, and much respected.'—Letter from James Stewart, Lord Advocate, to Carstairs. Burton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice.*

[4] Margaret, Countess of Rothes in her own right, married Charles, Earl of Haddington, and died 20th August 1700.

1701 Ro^{t}. Russall, son to Baylie Russall in Sterling, dyed 10 feb^{r}; my Lord Kinaird and my Lord Rollo dyd martch; John Paton of Coudon's wyfe, Ana Craig, dyed 7 martch, aged 90 years, Lived 67 years maried w^{t} him; Patrick Graham in Sterling dyed in ye night alon, 13 martch; James dempterston in Townhead of Alloway dyed 15 martch.

old sande donaldson in Clackm dyd 17 mart. My daughter Kathrin brought furth hir first child on Tuesday at nyne in ye foirnoon, the 20 may 1701, and was baptised John, 27 may. Christian flockhart, Jo^{n} Youngers wyfe, dyd 3 June; John Allan in Parkmyln dyd 5 June; Jokeie Main in Alloway dyd 5 June; M^{s}. Edmonston dyed 5 July; Mary Allan Patrick Arthurs wyfe dyd 6 July; Young David Black in Alloa dyd 26 July; M^{r} Tho. Napier dyd Sept^{r}.

King James ye 7th dyed in France ye 3^{d} of September 1701.

Jon Anderson, Sutor in Alloa, dyd 14 Oct.; Clerk Gray in Alloa dyd 18 Oct.; M^{s}. Vylie dyd 7 Nov^{r}; Earle of Murray dyd 31 Oct.;[1] provost Russal his wyfe dyed 7 nov^{r}.

Ane excessive high tyde 18 nov^{r} in ye morning, w^{ch} overflowed all ye feriton and clackm. dykes round Geo. Coustons stacks half an eln. Mr. Villiamson minister at Tulliallan dyd at Ed^{r} 20 nov^{r};[2] David Kippen at Kennet dyd 26 nov^{r}; The laird of west quarter[3] dyd at Ed^{r} 27 nov^{r}; John Toshock, violar at Alloa, dyed 8 dece^{r}; John Youngar in Feritown dyed 20 de^{r}; M^{s}. Weir Helin Bruce dyd at Leith 20 dece^{r}; Laird of Bannockburn[4] dyed 21 de^{r}; doctor Johnstone his wyfe dyed at Stling ye 31 dece^{r}. Bear at 5 and 6^{lib} ye boll meal at 5$^{lib\ lib}$. Bear and malt at 7 mrks 5 lib ye dearest, g^{d} meal as before 1 martch.

1702. Geo Coustons young son dyd 7 Jarii; V^{m} Andersone daughter Christian dyd 12 Jar; old Rot nuccoll, post of Alloway, dyd 17 Jarii; The Countess of Leiven[5] and ye Lady menstrie dyd Jar; Jenet Anderson relict of David Horn dyd 2 feb^{r}; malcom Alex^{r} Baxter in Alloa dyd 13 feb^{r}; M^{s}. Norie my cussing in sterling died 21 feb^{r}, at 9 in ye morning; S^{r} V^{m}

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[1] Alexander, fourth Earl of Moray, died 1st November 1700.—Douglas and Foster. His predecessor died 1653, and his successor 1735.

[2] 19th November.—Scott's *Fasti*.

[3] Sir James Livingston of West Quarter.

[4] Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, Bart., W.S., son of Sir Hugh noted above (1696).—*History of Society of W.S.*

[5] Catherine, Countess of Leven.

Stirling of Ardoch dyd 19 feb^{r}; Powhouse Rollo his Lady 22 1702
feb^{r}; John Paton of Cowdon dyd 4 martch; King V^{m} dyed 8 Martch.

Clackm Trows [*sic*] blue down 25 martch; Jo^{n} Horn in menstrie dyd 26 martch; Mr. M^{c}Gill my son Jo^{ns} mr. dyd at E^{r} 2 Apr; S^{r} John Shaw of Greenock dyd at Ed^{r} sudenly ye of Aprill; a daughter of my Lord Elphinston dyd 23 Apr; Marie don my cussing dyd 25 Apr; The Countess of Kincardin[1] dyd 28 Ap^{r}; Patrick Arthur in Alloway dyd 30 Apr; Geo Couston in feritown dyd 21 may; Kathrin Vright mr. Rot daughter dyd 30 May; Mr. Jo^{n} Forrester minister at Sterling dyd 5 June; Epe Chryste at parkmiln dyd 1 July; my daughter Kathrin was delivered of hir 2^{d} son who dyd imediatly at ye birth the 12 July; The Viscount of Strathallan[2] dyed at Ed^{r} ye 19 July; The Laird of Touch[3] dyd 23 July; the Lady murraye dyd 29 July; V^{m} Caddel in dumblane dyd 2 Ag; Ro^{t} melin in sawchie age 96 dyd 9 Ag; Ms. finlason in Alloway dyd 12 Sep^{r}; Richie Hegs young sone dyed 17 Oct^{r}; Ensinge Trayls wife dyed 19 Octo^{r}; James Cromee skipper at Craigward died suddenly in ye night the 2 nov^{r}; Old John main aged 98 in Cambuss dyd 3 dece^{r}.

Capt John Bell who was in france w^{t} King James in his return to Scotland for his health dyed in Holand in nov^{r}; Lady Kersie dyed at Ed^{r} ye 8 dece^{r} and was buried in Alloway 11 dece^{r}; Ro^{t} Ferguson's son Charles dyed 11 de^{r}. The Bear betwixt m^{rt} and Candle^{m} betwixt 9 and 10 mrk; The meal 10 mrk and 7 lib pease and beans 7 lib.

1703. The Earle of Eglinton[4] dyd in Engl. Jar. Old Jo^{n} Anderson in blackgrange dyed 27 Ja^{r}; Jonet melvin dyd 11 feb^{r}; Clerk Gray daughter 26 feb^{r}; S^{r} John Erskine of Bagonie[5] dyd at Ed^{r} martch; Fr. Craich brother dyed 4 Ap^{r}; Jo^{n} Fergus in Res-

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[1] Veronica Van Arsan, daughter of 'Corneille Van Somelsdyk, Lord of Somelsdyk,' wife of Alexander Bruce, second Earl of Kincardine, died 28th April 1701, aged sixty-eight.—*The Bruces and the Cumyns.*

[2] William, Viscount Strathallan.

[3] James Seton of Touch and Tillibody.

[4] Alexander, eighth Earl of Eglinton, died at London 1701, and Alexander, ninth earl, died March 1729.—Fraser's *Montgomeries Earls of Eglinton.*

[5] Balgownie.

1703 selloch 2^{d} wyfe dyed 9 Ap^{r}; The Earl of Mar [1] was maried to ye Viscount of Duplin his daughter at London 6 Ap^{r}; old Jo^{n} M^{c}Greger dyd 17 Ap^{r}; old Jo^{n} Harroer at Hirsmiston dyd 20 Ap^{r}; Rot. Hunter oursman at Sawchie dyd 21 Apr.; Marquess of Athol dyd 4 May; [2] John Steivnsone provost of Stirling dyed 19 May; old James Harlaw my Lords gardiner dyd 29 May; Old John Reid dyd at Abercorn 5 June; The old Countess of panmure 78 years dyd 30 July. [3] A great shour of snow on ye hils ye 27 Agust in ye night.

Jo^{n} Bucham [*sic*] in Alloa dyd 9 Sep^{r}; Jo^{n} Callendar in Kincairn dyed 10 Sep^{r}; Rot. Bruce in Linmiln dyed 18 Septe^{r}; Duke of Argyle [4] dyd at Newcastle 22 Sep^{r}; Mr. Robins wyfe in Ava dyd 5 october; Rot. Millar in Sawchie dyd 10 oct; The Laird of Stow dyd ye beginning of october; provost dick his wyfe dyed 20 oct; Mary Lindsay relict of Duncan Erskine dyed 23 oct; George Nairn merchant in Sterling dyd 26 oct; George Smith Tenant in Tilligart dyd 28 oct; David Webster coachman dyd 1 nov^{r}; Euphan Ramsay relict of old Ja. Bruce dyd 10 nov^{r}; Tho. Turnbull in Clackm. his wyfe dyed 13 nov^{r}; S^{r} V^{m} Preston of Valyfield dyed 14 Nov^{r}. My neece Christian Paton was maried the 17 nov^{r} to   Paton in Anguss. John Thomson in Wester Cambus dyed 18 nov^{r}; The Earle of Glencairn dyed 17 nov^{r}; [5] John Mitchel wyfe Glasier in Allwa dyd 2 de^{r}. a cold spring, a dry summer, a very good harvest tho something late. The bear betwixt Christm. and Candlemass 5 and six pund; The meal 6 lib and 10 merks.

1704. Baylie morison at Stling dyed 11 Ja^{r}; The Laird of Sands dyd suddenlie 18 Ja^{r}; [6] M^{s} Vright, aged 74, dyd at Ed^{r}

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[1] John, sixth Earl of Mar, married, first, Lady Margaret Hay, eldest daughter of Thomas, sixth Earl of Kinnoul, first Viscount Duplin, 16th April 1703.—Foster. Douglas gives 6th April.

[2] John, first Marquis of Athole, died 6th May 1703.—Douglas.

[3] The Lady Jean Campbell, daughter of John, Earl of Loudon, wife of George, second Earl of Panmure. See above, 1674.

[4] Archibald, first Duke of Argyle, died 25th September 1703.—Douglas's *Peerage*.

[5] John, Earl of Glencairn, died 14th December 1703.—Index of Services.

[6] Sands. In 1666 Lord Kincardine disponed Sands to George Wilson of Kirktown and Alexander Wilson his son (then a minor). Kirktown is a farm near Culross. Alexander Wilson died in 1704, and was succeeded by his brother, George Wilson, a bailie of Culross. The estate then rapidly changed hands twice, George Gordon, advocate, and Thomas Thomson holding it in

24 Ja^r^ and buried ther; Tho Glen in gatesyd of Aloa dyed 30 Ja^r^; Androw mackee in monteath dyd 1 feb^r^; My Lord Aberuchall on of ye Lords of Session dyd at Ed^r^ 16 feb^r^;[1] The Laird of Gargunock dyd sudenly in his own house 18 feb^r^; Geo. bruce Grieve his son dyd 28 feb^r^; Capt Dempster of Pitliver dyd suddenly at Resyth 29 feb^r^; old V^m^ Alex^r^ my old man in feritown dyed 9 martch; old Ephie Ramsay relict of ye deceast W^m^ Duthie dyd 17 mart; Francis Alex^r^ in Kings meadow dyd 25 martch; Rot. Stupart in ye wind of Tillibody dyd 26 martch; James Stupart his elder brother in Tillibody dyed 6 April; Alex^r^ Steinson capt of Ed^r^ Toun guard dyd th^r^ 15 Ap My^r^; Lady Forester dyd at Letham 17th Ap^r^; M^s^ Smeton dyed 7 May; Mr. Alex^r^ Bruce of Garlit dyd in Ireland 1 May. My daughter brought furth hir thrid child ye 27 may at on in the morning and christned Christian ye 30 may in clackm church. old John Scotland in black Salin dyd 31 may; Baylie John Haliday in Culross dyed 4 June; Ross, Archbishop of St Andrews, dyd at Ed^r^ 12 June.[2] 1704

Tho. Kirk merch. in Alloa dyd 27 July; Francis Kirk in Alloa dyd 28 July; Kennets brother Lieutenant Charles[3] was killed by a canon bal of namure ye . . . ; Charles Sympson, a child of Ja. Sympson in Sawchie, dyed ye 14 Agust. My Lord Erskine was born at Ed^r^ on Sunday betwixt 10 and 11 at night ye 27 Agust called John.[4] Margt. M^c^Grugar, Tho. Benies wyfe, dyd 21 Sep^r^.; Marg^t^ Christie, Jo^n^ Chrystees daughter, dyd 24 Sep^r^; The Laird of Blairhall[5] yo^r^ dyd in fife, Sep^r^; old Jo^n^ Shorts wyfe at ye grean of Clackm. dyd 24 oct. sudenlie; The Laird of Bedlay[6] dyd sudenly 8 oct; old John dickee tenant in ye bowhouse of sauchie dyed sudenly ye 19 oct; my old aunt

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succession till 1754, when the latter sold it to James Johnston, Esq., of Middle Grange, also a bailie of Culross, in whose family the estate remains.

[1] Sir Colin Campbell of Aberuchil.

[2] Arthur Ross, died 13th June 1704.

[3] Bruce. See above, 1672.

[4] John, Lord Erskine, second son of John, sixth Earl of Mar, and Lady Margaret Hay, died 2d December 1704. See below.

[5] Thomas Bruce, fourth Baron of Blairhall, married Jean, daughter of Sir James Henderson of Fordel. Their eldest son married Jane Leslie, daughter of Lord Lindores, by whom an only daughter, who married Dugald Stewart of Bute. Thomas's younger brother, Sir Alexander, succeeded, but left no heirs-male—line extinct.—*The Bruces and the Cumyns.*

[6] Roberton of Bedley.

1704 Bessie m^{r}ton aged 96 dyed at parm. 4 nov^{r}; my Lord Erskine dyed ye 2^{d} dece^{r} at 11 at night ; Christian Christee, Hugh Alex^{r} wyfe, dyed 6 dece^{r}; S^{r} Jo^{n} Bell provost of Glasgow dyd 7 de^{r}; My Lord Whytlaw[1] dyd at Ed^{r} ye 13 de^{r}; Collonel M^{c}Gill dyd sudenly at Ed^{r} 15 de^{r}; Ja Don dyd 22 der ; Jon Simpson, a child of Ja Simpsons, dyed 30 de^{r}; . . . ferguson, daughter to Rot. ferguson, dyed 31 der. This last year a good summer and harvest ; The victuall fra Vhits to Sep^{r} 10 merks, now ye bear at 6 lib, pease 4 lib, meal 8 merks.

1705. Marjorie Smeiton in Alloa dyd 7 Jar. ; old James simpson wyfe, Agnes may, dyd 9 Jarii. ; Earle of Errol dyd ; Baylie Russall in Sterling his wyfe dyed 12 Ja^{r}. ; The Earle of Erroll[2] dyd ye begining of Ja^{r}. ; Tho. Moriss, waker in Cambuss, his wyfe dyed 28 Jar. ; M^{s}. Elisabeth paterson, daughter of ye Archbisop,[3] dyd at Ed^{r}. 10 martch ; old Thomas Thomson in grange, aged 88, dyd 24 mart ; Jon Hunter, son to Rot. Hunter, dyed 26 mart. ; Mr. Duchar, his young son James dyd 2 Apr. ; Tho. Norie, wreater in Stling, dyd 13 may of ane decay ; S^{r} James Hackett of Pitfiran dyd by a fall from his horse near to his own house may ; My Lord Fesdo,[4] a Lord of Session, dyed suddenly 9 June ; old Adam Primrose in Geilehome dyed 18 June ; Jo^{n} Stein in Grange dyd 19 June ; Helin Dickee in Sauchie dyd 11 July ; John Law in Cambus dyd sudenly by a fall from his horse 12 July ; John Smeton dyd 10 August ; Earle of March[5] and generall Ramsay[6] dyd both suddenly at Ed^{r}. ye 9 Sep^{r}. ; Ro^{t}. Ker in Alloa dyd 7 oct. Aloa's hill all snow this 1 oct. Blind Laird of Grange dyd at home suddenly 14 oct. ; Major John Neilson dyd at Ed^{r}. 29 Oct. The Lady Kinnaird,[7] aged 84, dyd 31 oct. My Lord Forrester dyed nov^{r}. ; Mr. Carmichall of bamblee

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[1] Sir William Hamilton of Whitelaw, Justice-Clerk, died 14th December 1704.—*Senators of the College of Justice.*

[2] John, Earl of Errol, died 30th December 1704.—Douglas's *Peerage.*

[3] See her father's death below, 1708.

[4] Sir Jas. Falconer of Phesdo, died June 10, 1706, Brown's *Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars Churchyard.* The inscription on the monument is illegible.

[5] Lord William Douglas, second son of William, first Duke of Queensberry, was created Earl of March 20th April 1697.—Douglas's *Peerage.*

[6] General George Ramsay of Carriden, Commander in Scotland.

[7] Possibly widow of Sir George Kinnaird of Inchture, knighted in 1661, and died December 1689.

dyed at falkland ye 20 oct. ; V^{m}. Paton, skipper in Alloa, his 1705
wyfe mary Erskine dyd 6 nov^{r}.

Earle of Kincardine dyed 10 nov^{r}. ;[1] Jo^{n} Fergus in Reselloch dyed 14 nov^{r} ; Jo^{n} Reid, Clackm., servt., dyd 24 nov^{r}.

1706. Tillibodys[2] 2d daughter dyd 11 Ja^{r}. ; M^{s}. Elphingston in Craighead dyed 12 Ja^{r}. ; Ro^{t}. Bruce in Linmiln, his relict dyd 19 Ja^{r}. ; V^{m}. Clerk daughter in perkmiln dyd 21 Jar. ; patrick nuccoll in birkhillend dyd 6 feb^{r}. ; Mary Lindsay, Jo^{n} bachops wyfe, my cuss. german, dyed 17 feb^{r}. our mukell corn kill was brunt w^{t} 7 bols of our oats 25 feb^{r}. The Laird of Stramree, Ro^{t}. Douglass, neir Leslie, my cussing, dyd ye begining Ap^{r} ; Baylie Jervey in Sterling dyd sudenly by a fall fra his horse in Torwood ; Mr. Robin, minister at Ava,[3] his wyfe dyed in childbirth 14 Apr. ; Rot. Moriss in Bowhouse his daughter dyd 23 Apr. ; provost Vatson of dumbartoun ; Lady M^{s}. Kathrin Bruce, aged 81 years, dyed at Clackm. 7 may 1706. The Laird of Sawchie dyd at Stling ye 13 may, and was buried in his own Isle at Clackmanan. My daughter Kathrin brought furth her 4 child ye 13 may be on in ye morning, and was christind francis in Alloa church 17 may. My cussing Margaret May, relict of Ja. Morisone, mer^{d} in pearth, dyed 6 June ; John Sawers in Alloa dyed 8 July ; Jo^{n} Hadden of Myrtown dyd 21 July ; Earle of Hoom dyed 22 July at Ed^{r}.[4]

V^{m}. Tait, carpentar in Alloa, dyd 20 Sep^{r}. My Lady Elphinston[5] dyd 6 oct. ; John dempterston, Townhead in Alloa, dyed 12 oct. My Lady Mar brought furth hir 2d son, my Lord Erskine, at Ed^{r}. ye 3d nov^{r}. Sunday, betwixt 10 and 11 in ye day, and immediatly christned Thomas.[6] John Anderson, vrighter, dyd at Alloa ye 21 de^{r}. ; The Laird of Herbershire[7] dyd at Powhouse 22 de^{r}.

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[1] Alexander Bruce, third Earl of Kincardine, died unmarried, November 1705.—Sharpe's *Peerage*.

[2] See above, 29th June 1699.

[3] Henry Robin.—Scott's *Fasti*.

[4] Charles, sixth Earl of Home.

[5] Anne Burnet, daughter of Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, married, first, Alexander, seventh Lord Elphinstone, but had no issue by him ; she married, second, Patrick, third Lord Elibank, and was mother of Alexander, fourth Lord Elibank.

[6] Thomas, Lord Erskine, son of John, sixth Earl of Mar, and Lady Margaret Hay, was deprived of the family titles by his father's attainder.

[7] George Stirling of Herbertshire.

1707 1707.—Dickee, tenant in Garland, dyd 7 Ja^{r}.; The Earle of Stair dyd at Ed^{r}. suddenly ye 8 Ja^{r}.;[1] The Dutchess of Atholl dyed att Hamiltone the 3d Jary. 1707.[2] Jonet Stein in ferritown, relict of ye deceist V^{m}. Heggin ther, dyed 3 feb^{r}. The last year fra martch 1706 till candlemass last excessive raines for ye most part Gartstank clackm. damhead broke out decer. and several houses fell down w^{t} ye raines. The meal at 3 lib. 6s. 8d.; The bear ye dearest 4 lib. 6s. 8d.

Androw Stein in Craigtoun pans his daughter Jean dyd 9 feb^{r}.; Robert Keirie dyed of a decay at Ed^{r}. ye 9 martch, and was buried ther; Old John Arthurs wyfe dyd 20 martch; The Countess of Mar[3] dyed of ane decay at Duplin ye 25 of Apr. being friday at 3 in ye morning, and was buried at Alloa in the yle on Thursday ye 8 May *at night*; James mitchell at Ava miln dyd 29 Apr. 91 officers killed, 240 prisoners. L. Collonel Mr. Harrie Erskine[4] was killed in Spain at ye batle of Almanza 14 Apr. old style; V^{m}. miln maltman in Alloa dyd by a fall fra his horse ye 6 June; Kathrin Lindsay, spouse to Ro^{t}. dickee in Alloa, dyed 24 June; M^{s}. Hare, aged 78, dyed at Ed^{r}. 2 July; Marjorie Thomson, wyfe to Tho. Broun in feriton, dyd 20 Sept^{r}.

1708. George Bruce his wyfe in west field dyd 5 Ja^{r}. 1708; Tho. Anderson of Haltoun dyd 8 feb^{r}.; margt. Logan, midwyfe in Elphinston, dyd 8 feb^{r}.; old Jo^{n} Short, smith, dyd 11 feb^{r}.; Isobell dempterston, at ye toun head of Alloa, dyd ye same day; Janet Wallace, my uncles wyfe, dyd the 2d of Aprile; John Arthur in Alloa dyd 11 Apr.; John Burn at Gartmorn dyed 28th Aprile; Adam primrose wife in Gelum dyed 30th Aprile. My daughter Kath brought furth hir 5 child on sunday at one in ye morning ye 23 of may, and baptised ye 1 of June, villiam in Clackman. Baylie Baird in Ed^{r}. dyd 11 July; Jo^{n} Paterson, coaliar in Colyland, was kild in ye heugh by ye fall of ye roof ye 2 Agust; Jean Black Tho. Arthur's wyfe, dyd 19 Ag.; V^{m}. his son ye same day;

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[1] John, second Viscount, first Earl of Stair.

[2] The Lady Catherine Hamilton, daughter of William and Anne, Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, and first wife of second Duke of Athole.

[3] Lady Margaret Hay. See above, 1703.

[4] Son of Charles, fifth Earl of Mar.

old Jo^{n} Craich dyd 23 Ag.; David Bruce Clackmanans son dyd 29 Ag. of a feaver; Gogar dyd at Utrect in Holland 19 Oct.; Chr. Hegin dyd at Parkm. 17 nov^{r}. at 3 afternoon, aged 3 years and an half; The Archbishop of Glasgow[1] dyed at Ed^{r}. 9 Dec^{r}. at one in the morning, and was buried in the Abbey Church. Bear betwixt 7 and 8^{lib}, meal 10 mrks. In march 8^{lib}, Beans 7^{lib}, meal and beans thereafter 10^{lib}.

1709. David dow, my tenant, dyd 15 Ja^{r}.; Jean Keirie dyd at Ed^{r}. of a decay 19 Ja^{r}. at 2 in ye morning 1709; old Wm. Lindsays wife dyed ye 22 Janry. 1709. I got my wreasted foot 24 Ja^{r}. Janet Demperstone, aged 80 yeirs, old clark morise relict, dyed 14th Febry.; Charles Row of Enerallan[2] dyd at Ed^{r}. 5 martch; John Edmonstone att the vally of stirling dyed March; S^{r} william Patersone dyed at Leith 29 Sept.; John Mackenzie, skipper in Aloa, and his son William, John Morise, and a boy were all drowned at Pearth 5 October. Bear at Christim 8 and 9^{lib} boll, meal 8^{lib}.

1710. Mr. Graham, minister of dunferm., dyd 15 Ja^{r}. 1710; James Haroer at Linmiln dyd 21 Ja^{r}.; S^{r} W^{m}. Bruce of Kinross dyd at Ed^{r}. Jar. 1; John Futhie dyd at Ed^{r}. 29 Jar.; Archbald duncan in Tilligart dyd i feb^{r}.; old Doctor Steinson dyed February ye 9th. My daughter brought furth hir 6 child ye 4th April at half four, and was christned in Clack. church Christian. Geo. dempsterston at ye water mill dyed 19 Apr.; Tobias Bachop,[3] masson in Alloa, dyed 26 Aprile; patrick Lindsayes wife in Hiltone dyed 14th Aprile; The Laird of Aberlady[4] dyed att Ed^{r}. the 27th Aprile; Tho. Macky dyed 14th may; Bellielisk his daughter Katharine dyed the 27th July; E. of Lauderdale dyed at Ed^{r}. 12 Aug. 1710;[5] Robert Fyfe dyed at Ed^{r}. 16 Aug. 1710; William Taylor, officer in aloa, dyed 25 August; Jean Anderson in parkmiln dyd 14 sep^{r}.; John Gibson in Alloa dyd 20 Sep^{r}. of a rit [*sic*] in his finger,

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[1] John Paterson.

[2] In 1709 Hugh Row of Innerallan served heir to his father Charles Row of Innerallan.

[3] See Crawford's *Memorials of Alloa*, pp. 69 and 70.

[4] Andrew Fletcher of Aberlady.

[5] John, fifth Earl of Lauderdale, died 13th August 1710. Index of Services. Douglas gives 30th August.

1710 and infected the whole arm; My Lord Tillicultrie[1] dyd 1st; oct^{r}. M^{s}. Buchanan dyd at Ed^{r}. 9 de^{r}. of a feaver.

1711. Mr. Ro^{t} vright his wyf dyd at Ed^{r} 15 Jarj.; Hugh Row dyed at Ed^{r} 8 feb^{r}; old John Hog in Ortchard dyed 1 feb^{r}.; The Laird of Kinnaird, aged 82, dyed 18 feb^{r}.;[2] Alex^{r}. Hog, skipper in Aloa, his wife dyed 13 feb^{r}. prices of meal since martinmass last 7^{lib} p. boll, bear 18^{lib}, oats betwixt 6 and 7^{lib}, peas and beans the same, malt 8^{lib}.

The Laird of Newton, aged 84, dyed 18 feb^{r} at Falkirk.[3] My sone John was maried at Ed^{r} on Kat. Eedington 27 feb^{r}; Janet Anderson, spouse to Thomas Red in Clack. dyed 10 march; S^{r} Jo^{n} Bruce of Kinros dyed at Glasgow the 19th march; M^{rs} Keirie, aged 78, dyed att parkmilne the 29th march at 10 acloak day; The Countes of mar dyed at Stirling Castle 8th Apr. at 11 forenoon; Christian Heigin dyed at ferrytown 9th April at 6 aclock night; Countes of Weems[4] and Kingkardine dyed April; The Dauphine of France and the Emperor dyed Aprile; Jo^{n} Andersone, Craighead, dyed 17th May. My son Jon^{s} wife bar her son 2d Dec^{r} 1711, and was baptised Francis on the 3d. clark morise died ye 31 dec^{r}.

1712.—Christian Smitton dyed 10th Aprile; The young Lady poufoulis[5] dyed 18th Aprile; Jas. Allan, miller, dyed 12 August; My old Lady Mar in the north dyed in July. The water of over and Black Devons very great; it was in our summer house 24th Sept^{r}. Jon Chrystie dyed 9th Oct^{r}; D^{k}. Hamiltone murdred by Mr. M^{c}Kairtney after he had kill^{d} Lord Moahn att a duel the 15 nov^{r}.; The Laird of Clackmannan[6] dyed the 21st nov^{r} aged 63; Tho. Whyt, wright in Clack., dyed the 24th Dec^{r}.

Bailly Erskine dyed the 23d April 1713; F^{r} masterton, Jon^{s} son, dyed 4th may; Jo^{n} his 2d son was born 28 may; Charles son John was born 31 May 1717; my good Daughter dyed 16 June 1717 ; The Child dyed 24 June 1717 ; my Daug^{r} Agnes Dyed y^{e} 14 March 1718 ; my Daug^{r} Christian dyed ye 24 March 1718. 1717

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[1] Sir Robert Stewart of Tillicoultry, Bart., one of the Senators of the College of Justice, second son of Sir James Stewart of Beith, Bart.

[2] Alexander Bruce of Kinnaird.—*The Bruces and the Cumyns*, pp. 362, 363.

[3] John Wright. See above, 1689.

[4] Mary, elder daughter of Sir John Robinson, Bart., of Farningwood, Northants, second wife of David, fourth Earl of Wemyss.

[5] Bruce of Powfoulis.

[6] Either David Bruce or his brother John.

Francis my son dyed at Ed^{r}. the 14th July 1718 ; Jon Kirk in Alloa dyed Septr. 1719 ; Jon Donaldsone in Alloa dyd Octo^{r} ; my sone Harie dyed here nov^{r} 5th ; Ch. Erskine Arc. Alcorn's wife dyed 9 Nov^{r} ; Margret Steen in Gubber dyed 14 nov^{r} ; Fr. patone dyed att Stirline 14 Nov^{r}.

II

ADWISE AND MEMORANDUM to them that succeds me in y^e^ Parkmilne, how to order it, and ye milne if it continow in ther possession. Ye 23 de^{re} 1695.

Imp. Rise timeouslie as occasion serves and before you go^{e} abroad, Bliss ye Lord for ye mercies of ye night and beg his assistance through ye day. Then read two chapters in ye old and on in ye new Testament evry day. Then look to yo^{r} barns and stable and Byer in ye winter season and see yo^{r} horse weil dicht, ye goods rightly meated and ye corns weil and clean threshin, then goe to ye miln . . .[1] see what she hes been doing and what she is to grind all day. This doe morning and evning and always keep a good servt at Alloway, and a good lass at home for y^{t} effect, and goe als seldom abroad as you can, and seldom to ye tavern, and keep always good companie and stay not late at it, and ere you goe to bed conveene yo^{r} familie and pray never forgett yo^{r} dutie to God morning and evning in yo^{r} closett.

2. Be obedient to yo^{r} mother, dutifull to yo^{r} friends, and loving to yo^{r} brethren and sisteers, discreet to ye people in ye town and uthers yo^{r} neighbors, and yo^{r} servants hold them in awe of you and be not over familiar w^{t}thm.

3. Have ane high esteem of ye Earle of Mar and his familie, and be not witness to th^{r} prejudice. Be always redy to ryde or waite on him at all occasiones, especialie when desyred. For we have ever lived by th^{r} favor for since Alex^{r} Mastertone gott first ye lands of park miln we have always had ye miln free,[2] but now we pay 200 merks yearly, and if it shall happen that they alter ye farm throf give 600 merks for both ye milnes before a stranger gett it, for they are worth yearly 60 bols oat meal, 80 bols malt . . .[1] whyt or th^{r} about. never

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[1] Worn away in original.

[2] In the original charter the mill is reserved by the superior.

sett them, for that will discover ye rent, and always keep th^{m} in good order. Having always milnstons lying besyd th^{m} a year or they be needed, also wheels, axtrees, and other necessars provyd thm always in tyme as ye millars will show you either to buy thm or get thm fra any gentleman as often I have done. In ye summer cause always ye damheads, milnleads, brigs, and ways to ye miln be mended, for if neglected a year they will ruine, and ten tyme ye price will not mend thm.

4. Keep ye land in thrids as it is now, it is all limmed, except ye floors;[1] keep always 2 work horse and 2 mares for ye plough, and a better on for yo^{r} self, and when ye wood is for pastorage keep 6 milk cows w^{t} th^{r} followers, if you gett grass fra my Lord, if not you must keep but 3 or four, w^{ch} w^{t} ye 5 horses will eat all our own grass, wth labour as presently it is, two wards in grass and on Labored three years. Look to ye planting and be ay setting on q^{r} it needs. for ye arn above the dam head, sell them to any who will give ye pryce you sett upon thm by ye advyce of any who knows best, when they are ye bigness of axletrees and trams, for cutt wood young and it grows ye better. ye calfward and ducathauch timber will serve yor self. as for ye ash and oak, cut thm when needed, and hen ye stocks throf by a bitt vyce dyk. For yor middens, delve always a rig in ye spring, weil mucket on evry peece q^{r} ye beans will be, and sow thm w^{t} ye rest so you loss nothing. Buy always muck in Alloway for ye Cumla bank, and lay it down q^{r} we lay it presently 16^{d} ye load, and lead it to ye Sandyholl in summer, and evry summer if you can carry on ye head dyk w . . .[2] I have begun and let it not fall down. Lead home ye coals in summer befor harvest, and mend any houses th^{t} needs. you must always keep a good ploughman 20^{lib} and his bunteth yearly; a barnman 16^{lib}, and a goadman 10^{lib}. It is but some more fiall, for a litle boy will eat als mutch as any of these and not work ye half. yor women serv^{ts} what yor wyfe thinks fitt, w^{ch} w^{t} 6 days Shearing of evry house will timeously cut down yor cornes. Iff non of yor serv^{ts} can big ye stacks on in ye town built always mine. . . .[2] be not over hasty but by advice of yo^{r} friends marry in

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[1] *The Nether floris*, see p. 460 n. 1.

[2] Worn away in original.

ane honest religious good family, be hir portion what it will, but a good lass is not ye worse of money, but never lett money be your principall concern. and when you have gotten on, love, respect, and provyde for hir; be not givn to delicates but convenient food and rayment, th^{r}withall be content as blissed be God, we have been befor you. Experience will teach you more, and better I hope; and I desyre for Gods sake and yor own good not to quite yo^{r} imployment, for after yor apprentship continow in yor m^{r} chamber. every session, and take a chamber with any other young man, and dyet at cheap ordinars as others does, and you will both be learning yo^{r} airt and getting mony to keep yor self. yor mother will help you in caise you want, and when you are fitt for it Then enter wreater to ye signet, you will not want imployment, and ever observe Ch. Row directiones y^{r} about, and you will be at home in ye vacance. And ever keep good company, and be not w^{t}drawn by debosht comerads to mutch drinking, whoring, or gaming. but above all Fear God and keep ye Sabbath day, For this is a very ungodly Generation.

Fr. Mastertone.

22 July 1699.

And when it pleased God to remove yo^{r} mother by death w^{ch} will be a sad death to you all. If you can gett a Tack of ye milns for six or eight hundreth mrks yearly you may do it. But never quyt yo^{r} imployment for it; you may sett them att advantage, for deir or cheap year they ar still worth ane thousand mrks. and set ye land for two chalder bear, on chalder meal at least. and oblidge ye tenant to keep ane horse sumer and winter for yor coming and going. Or if yor family stay at home in sumer session you may oblidge ye tenant to keep ane cow. God almighty enable you and you all to serve him aright, and I pray for Gods blissing to you all. My blissing I leave you all. Fare weil now and evermore.

Fr. Mastertone.

III

A FEW DESYRES too my Wyfe if it please God she survive me, w^{ch} I pray she may Long doe it. 16th July '99.

1. I desyre the old chamber to be rebuilt and sklated. The tennants will bring th^{m} home. It will cost about 300^{lib} Scotts. The valnutt tree will spoil the house, so it must be cutt. you will gett for it fra Leith people 40 or 50^{lib}.

2. Cause lead along ye ston dyk at parkhead what is not built. Let it all be fyve quarters high. The pryce of y^{e} rood you will find in my new pocket book, and doe it as you can gett it done. The feriton and other neighbors will lead ye stones fra ye wood as they have done before to ye rest.

3. Iff I be surprised by death, bring home ye bairnes to my buriall and then Lett them return to ther masters.

Let me be kept but on night; for I will have no share cloath, and non invited but the Gentlemen of this shyre and my neir friends and my honest neighbors, without any hand bell, and those that comes, Let them have ale and aquavita to the full, and claret and sack if there be any. I desyre you to doe nothing for me, but what I wold do my self for you. . . .[1] see evry wise body does so.

FR. MASTERTONE.

4. Cause Jo. Sawers advertise all Alloway Toun; Jo. Chryste to clackmanan; a Lad to ye barony of Alloway, and a Lyne to Ja. Simpson for Sauchie people; a Lad to Feriton and Kenet; a Lad to Linmiln and ye tenants th^{r}about; Long kerss will advertise Tillibody folk; My sons must invite all ye place, mr. Turnbull, mr. Allan.

Give to Riche Hog, babees to evry poor, and two s^{s} scots to evry on of o^{r} own poor, and I shall spend no more.

Give Jo. main 40 s^{s} peece for ye grave and ringing ye kirk-bell.

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[1] Worn away in the original.

The mort-cloath and ye kirkbell pryces are known.

Cause ye bairns bring home w^{t} th^{m} blackcloath, kreps, and stokens and gloves.

As for ye land you may sett it, you may gett two chalder bear and a chalder oat meal, ane cow and ane horse grass and fodder in winter, and they may have ye use of ye horse in a throng. They may have da. Horns house, our stable and byre. The litle stable will serve you. and they must lead home yo^{r} coals, and help to Lead dovats when need is to ye town houses.

Lastly. Gett ane thousand mrks for feritown conform to ye last Tack, if the bargain doe not hold you know of. Gods blissing be with you now and evermore. Amen. Farewell.

Fr. Mastertone.

you know that Kathrens tocher is payd by the ferritown room. And now lastly I desyre you to distribute amongst ye bairnes what you can purchase als equallie as you can, for they are all our own without any partialiti. you know mary, christan, and nanie hes some thing left th^{m} be others, and Kathrin is satisfied, but this and all other things I refer to yo^{r}self. I know you will mynd the representative of yo^{rs},

Fr. Mastertone.

13 Martch 1702.

IV

NOTES BY CHARLES MASTERTON.

CHARLES Mastertone and Marie Keirie were maried in Mr. John Buchannans house att Edin^{r}, by Mr. Robert Wright, minister att Culros, her uncle, upon the 11th of August 1713. He was born on the 1st August 1682, and she was born on the 24th May 1685.

She brought forth her first sone in the sixth month, on the 21st Feb^{r}y 1714, betwixt 10 and 11 at night, and was instantly christned Francis by Mr. Robert Wright: he dyed the next morning betwixt 3 and 4 acloak, and was buried in the Grayfiars at Edin^{r}.

She brought forth her second child, being a daughter, on the 10th May 1715, att two acloak in the morning, and was christned Kathren at six acloak that night, att Ed^{r}, by Mr. Robert Wright.

She brought forth her third child, being a sone, att Edin^{r}, on the 2^{d} Aprile 1716, att two acloak in the morning, and was christned Francis at five acloak that morning by Mr.
Young, minister (Mr. Moubrays neighbour in a meeting house att the Back of Bels wynd). His uncle Francis Mastertone and Thomas Tait God fathers.

She brought forth her fourth child, being a son, at parkmilne, the 31st May 1717, at 11 acloak att night, and was christned the nixt day, 1st June 1717, John, att 10 acloak forenoon, by Mr. Harie Nisbet, minister, helper to Mr. John Skinner att Bothkenner, and dyed the 24th June 1717.

Marie Keirie, my Dear wife, dyed at Parkmilne of a decay on the 16th June 1717, and was buried in Alloa Church on the 19th day. She dyed att 3 acloak in the morning after six or seven months of sore sicknes and trouble, but bore it with admirable patience and resignatione, and dyed with a great dale of ease and calmnes, being sensible to her last moments, and to the great satisfactione of her friends about her in full assurance of *Heaven*.

V

Lawes for regulating the societie of husbandmen within the shyre of Clackmannane.

1°. That everie full plough in the kerss and dryfield may pay presently four punds scotts, and ane pund ten shilling yeirlie therefter for the space of three years, and yeirlie efter the said three years as the societie shall think fitt.

2°. That everie husband man who intends to enter into the said societie, the [that] he come into William Morisone to list himself and subscryve for his money, reserving alwayes power to the managers to determine whether they shall be lyable for full plough or half plough or under, betwixt and the twentie third day of Jarii nixt to come, Certiefieing such as shall not come in betwixt and that day that they shall not be receaved thereefter, nor have any benefite therof whatever ther necesitie may be, to the efect the money may be payed in and lent out again Candlemes if thought fitt.

3°. It is thought fitt that no pairt of the money to be given in shall be destribute to indigent persones for the space of three years efter the second day of february nixt to come, except upon some extraordinary occasion, as the samen shall be determined by the managers.

4°. It is thought fitt at the expyreing of the saids years the said money or any pairt therof is only to be destribute to such who have been diligent Labourers, and fallen back either by ill cropts or inlakeing of ther bestiall. And that slothful and negligent people shall have no pairt nor share therin.

5°. It is thought fitt that whatsoever money shall be thought fitt to be lent out to any indigent persone for the tyme that ther be all securitie taken therfor that the persone receauer therof is capable to give, the efect th^{t} if his condition shall happen to be bettered, that the samen may refounded and called for by the managers and thesauror at ther discretion.

6°. It is thought fitt that whatsoever gentleman shall enter into the sd societie and subscryve and contribute as above, That he shall have libertie to condescend upon an Indigent persone who shall be supplied in the terms above prescribed, The said Indigent persone living alwayes within the parishes of Clackmanan And Aloa or either of them.

7°. It is thought fitt that albeit the designe of this societie is onlie for such honest labourers as live within the two parishes above named, yet if any of the east and west granges belonging to the Earle of Mar will enter to the said societie and subject themselves to the lawes above and efter mentioned, that they shall be admitted at the discretion of the managers.

8°. That every persone warned personallie by the officer to any meeting heirefter to be appoynted and not compeiring shall be Lyable in the penalties followeing (viz.), The nobleman in three punds scotts, each gentleman in fourtie shilling, and each farmer or husbandman in twentie shilling, to be disposed of as the manager[s] shall think fitt, Declaring alwayes that the samen shall be exacted without Defalcation.

9°. That the Earl of Mar and his successors be præses alwayes in this societie when present.

Dorso.—*Lawes for Husbandrie*, 1699.

ACCOMPT

OF EXPENSES IN EDINBURGH

BY ALEXANDER ROSE

SON OF THE LAIRD OF KILRAVOCK

1715

Edited, from the Original Document
with Introduction, by
A. H. MILLAR, F.S.A. SCOT.

INTRODUCTION

Though the Accompt here printed is not in itself historical, it is interesting from the number of notable persons whose names are mentioned, as well as for the light it throws upon customs now obsolete. There is no name attached to the document, but it was found amongst some of the papers of the Roses of Kilravock, and was written by Alexander Rose, son of Hugh Rose of Kilravock, who attained the rank of Colonel of Dragoons. There are references in the Accompt to his brother William, and also to another brother John, afterwards a physician in Ireland. The precise business which Alexander Rose had in Edinburgh in 1715 is not shown by the Accompt. It seems to have been both commercial and military. There is one very notable fact disclosed by this paper. On more than one occasion Alexander Rose visited Lord Gordon at his house in Leith. This nobleman was Alexander, afterwards second Duke of Gordon, who was deeply implicated in the Rebellion of 1715. It is curious to find Rose, afterwards a Hanoverian officer, in close communication with Captain John Menzies of Comrie, Robert Monro, afterwards the famous commander Sir Robert Monro of Foulis, and Captain Gorrie, yet on visiting terms with Lord Gordon at the same time. Lord Gordon succeeded his father as second Duke of Gordon in December 1716, and died in 1728. Captain John Menzies of Comrie was the second son of Sir Alexander Menzies of that Ilk, first baronet. He was married to Ann, daughter of Lord Neil

Campbell of Ardmaddie, second son of the Marquess of Argyll, and his youngest daughter, Mary, was married to John Gorrie, Commissary of Ross. Robert Monro was the son of Sir Robert Monro, fifth baronet of Foulis and Sheriff of Ross and Cromarty. He greatly distinguished himself at Fontenoy, and was slain at the battle of Falkirk in 1746. His son, Sir Henry Monro, was married to Anne, daughter of Hugh Rose of Kilravock. George Monro of Culrain or Culcairn, whose name also appears in the Accompt, was the younger brother of Sir Robert, and rose to the rank of Captain in the Hanoverian army. The circumstances of his murder are thus related in the *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii. p. 394 :—'1746. On the 31st of August, as Capt. Geo. Monro of Culcairn, with about 4 or 500 men under his command, composed of Monroes, Rosses, Macleods, etc., were on a march near Locharkaig, in Lochiel's country in Lochaber, a woman having come asking for Culcairn, he stepped aside to speak with her, and, in a few minutes after her departure, was shot dead from behind a bush. The woman, and one Cameron, the supposed murderer, are apprehended.' Colin Kirk, who is mentioned several times in the Accompt, was a Writer to the Signet. His name appears amongst those who purchased portions of the forfeited estates from the York Buildings Company.

The Accompt throws some light on the customs of the period. The first entry quoted refers to the buying of a candlestick, snuffers, snuff-box, and a shovel, and a few lines further down the curious item appears—'P^{d} for Brandy at buying of the Candlesticks.' This recalls the old-fashioned 'gill-stowp bargains,' which were very usual, especially when a dispute arose between buyer and seller as to the price of an article. The frequent result of such contentions was that the parties decided to 'tak a pint an' 'gree.' Another obsolete custom is shown in the 'wages to Corbett's lass,' a payment over and above the charge for board and lodging. The licence allowed to debtors who took sanctuary in Holyrood Abbey is indirectly exhibited by the ale and brandy purchased there by Rose when visiting Shipland. The cost of 'helping' the young laird's watch; the expense of taking his cloak out of pawn; the money lost at cards; the donation at the kirk door; the gratuity to the piper on the Kinghorn boat; and the expense of living in Edinburgh in 1715, are all items of interest. The Accompt may be taken as throwing additional light upon the history of the Roses of Kilravock, and may be taken in conjunction with the outline of that family given by Cosmo Innes in his *Sketches of Early Scotch History and Social Progress.*

ACCOMPT OF EXPENSIS AT EDINBURGH. MARCH 1715

	p^{d} twixt the 5th of febry and the 23d day of that moneth as pr. particular accompt. In all	j27	00	6
	Summa of this page amounts to	30	9	4
		£157	9	10
23d feby. 1715.	pd to Wm. Pringle for 2 Candlesticks, Snuffers, and Snuff box, and a Sewall, in all,	2	18	0
	pd for aill y^{t} day in Corbatts and in the Parl. Close w^{t} J. English,	0	6	6
	pd for 12 pair of Milled Stockings, at 3ss. 10d. is,	2	6	0
	pd for Brandy at buying of the Candlesticks,	0	4	0
	pd in Mr. Drysdale's house for meat and Drink,	0	7	6
	Given to Mr. Boyd of Charity,	0	6	0
	Lost at Cards y^{t} night in Mr. M^{c}Donald's,	3	3	6
		9	11	6
24th do.	pd for aill in Corbatts yesternight and this morning,	0	2	0
	pd to John Davidson, litster on Wm. Rose acc^{t},	13	13	0
	pd w^{t} William Baillie in the Parlia^{t} Close,	0	5	0
	for snuff in the Coffee House,	0	1	0

	for aill wt Ja. Ross and oyrs,	0	2	0
	Given my Brothr John in Corbatts	0	1	0
	yt night for aill at the Cards in McDonald's,	× 0	2	0
	lent yt day and ye day befor to Wm. Ross, messgr,	j	4	0
	lent to James Innes, waiter, as marked oyr wayes,	3	0	0
		18	10	0
25th do.	pd. for paper and Bread,	0	j	8
	to aill in Dun. ffarqrson's 3ss., and in Corbatts, 2ss., is,	0	5	0
		0	6	8
26th do.	pd in Corbatts and in Tho. Hall's yt day and night, in all,	0	6	6
	Given to J— my Brothr,	j	10	0
	pd for washing my Linnings,	0	4	6
		2	01	0
	Spent these 4 dayes,	30	9	4
	32			
27th, Sunday.	pd in all that day, wt 2d. lent to Ja. Innes,	0	8	8
28th	pd yt morning in Wm. Pringle's and for my dinner,	0	5	6
	pd for aill wt W. Rose and Rob. Monro,	0	2	0
	pd in the Parlt Close wt Colin Kirk, Comry, and oyrs,	0	5	10
	pd more wt Comry and oyrs in D. ffarqrson's,	0	6	6
		j	8	6
March 1st	pd in Corbatts, 1 sh.,	0	j	0
	pd in Capt Gorrie's at Leith, wt Culrain, Lieut. Rose, and oyrs,	0	13	0

	pd in Lord Gordon's y^r, and for Tobaco in Hall's,	0	2	0
	for aill in Corbatts y^t night 4ss., w^t pypes, etc.,	0	4	0
		j	0	0
2nd	pd for stampt paper, 2 sheets qr. of Wm. Cuming, merch^t, wisht one,	0	13	0
	for aill in James W^{m}son's Cellar,	0	j	0
	pd in Tho. Hall's,	0	1	6
	pd in 2 sea^{ll} places with Comry and oy^{rs},	0	15	6
	pd yt night in Corbatts,	0	1	0
		j	12	0
3d do.	for helping my watch and for a Christell yrto,	0	18	0
	for Brandy and aill w^t Shipland in the Abbay,	j	10	6
	for Snuff and Wyn w^t Colin Kirk, and for Bread,	j	j	2
	pd w^t Mr. Edie and a Lady in Hall's,	j	15	0
	pd for 17 nights quarters in Corbatts, and for aill y^r,	0	19	0
		6	3	8
4th do.	For 6 sheets of stampt paper pd.,	2	0	6
	for snuff and paper, 3 sheets, 2ss., waifer and twist,	0	4	0
	To aill in Mr. Halls w^t a Lady, Eady and Comry,	j	19	0
		4	3	6
	Summa of this page, being 6 dayes spending, is,	14	6	0
1715 5th March.	pd for wyne w^t Com^{sr} Small and Mr. Brody,	0	10	0
	pd for relieving my Cloak Impignorat be my broth^r Wm.,	0j	00	0

	pd in Corbatts and in ffarq^{r}sons,	00	6	0
	pd in Mr. Halls w^{t} Wm. Rose at parting,	0	7	0
	W^{t} Comry and oy^{rs} at Leith,	0	16	0
	To a Cady for carrying my wallize to Leith,	0	4	6
	to wages to Corbatts lass,	0	6	8
		3	10	2
6th do.	pd for my dyet in Naughtlye and at the Kirk door,	0	4	6
	pd for aill in Corbatts y^{t} night,	0	j	0
		0	5	6
7th do.	pd at Leith for helping my watch,	0	4	0
	more y^{r} in Lord Gordon's house,	0	10	0
	I payed to Wm. Cuming, merch^{t}, on Shipland's accompt 5th do., and retired from him my bill of 74 lib., 13ss. 4d. pd yr.for in full a 5 pound Note and a guinyea, being	72	18	0
	To crossing to Kinghorne, and to a blind pyper y^{r},	0	4	6
	Summa,	£73	16	6
	Summa of all this page, being 3 dayes spending, is,	£77	12	2

77	12	2
30	9	4
14	6	0
25	8	0
94	4	6
7	8	0
48	1	0
297	9	0

Summa of all my spending twixt this three pages and the oy^{r} 2 papers is, 297 9 0

PAPERS ABOUT THE REBELLIONS OF

1715 and 1745

I

A JOURNALL OF SEVERALL OCCURRENCES IN 1715,

by PETER CLARKE.

II

EIGHT LETTERS BY WILLIAM NICOLSON, D.D.,

Bishop of Carlisle, to the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK,
1716

III

LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF JOHN CAMPBELL

an Edinburgh Banker in 1745

Edited, from the Original Manuscripts,
with Introduction and Notes, by
HENRY PATON, M.A.

INTRODUCTION

The Jacobite rebellions in Scotland in 1715 and 1745 still retain an interest and even a fascination for many readers of history. Much has been written, especially about the '45, which was organised and led by Prince Charlie in person, but any details regarding either of these important episodes in the life of Scotland can never be unwelcome. The three following short contributions to the subject, two relating to the less known insurrection of 1715, and the third to that of 1745, may therefore possess some interest.

I

The first is a journal of some of the proceedings of what may be called the English division of the Rebel army in 1715, being that portion of the insurrectionary force which operated in the north of England, and which, by a remarkable coincidence, met its fate at Preston in Lancashire on the very day the battle of Sherrifmuir was fought, and Inverness Castle was retaken by the friends of the Hanoverian dynasty in Scotland.

John, eleventh Earl of Mar, had collected a considerable army in the Highlands of Scotland in the interests of the Chevalier, and was making his way southwards when he was threatened by a force under the Duke of Argyll on behalf of King George. To create a diversion he sent a party of Highlanders under Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum across the Firth of Forth, who were also to form a nucleus for the gathering of the Jacobites in the southern counties. Having, in spite of several English gunboats, made the passage of the Forth and landed near Cockenzie, Mackintosh threatened an attack upon Edinburgh, and entrenched himself in Leith. But he was immediately obliged, by the arrival of a part of Argyll's army, to retire into East Lothian.

Already a body of Jacobites had taken the field in Northumberland under the leadership of Thomas Foster, M.P. for that county, whose principal supporter was the Earl of Derwentwater. From them Mackintosh now received an invitation to join forces at Kelso, and he resolved to comply with the request. Crossing the Lammermoor Hills by Longformacus, and proclaiming the Pretender at Duns, he reached Kelso on 22d October, where Foster awaited him. Of the Scottish Lowland Lords, however, only Kenmure, Winton, and Carnwath cast in their lot with the Earl of Mar's enterprise.

From Kelso the united rebel force was obliged to march on the 27th, owing to the arrival on the opposite side of the Tweed of an English army under General Carpenter. Proceeding by Jedburgh, Hawick, and Langholm, it entered England on 1st November. Our journalist fell in with the expedition on the following day, and thenceforth presents us with a diurnal of its proceedings with apparently the fidelity of an eye-witness. He records the incidents of the marches from Penrith to Appleby, thence to Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale, and Lancaster; the conduct of the Highlanders and officers at these places and on the way, and the names and ultimate fortunes of the very few who joined them. He also notes the march to the fatal town of Preston, and in a short additional postscript to his narrative gives a very brief account of the fighting there. He notes the incident of the erasing of the name of 'Queen Anne' and the 'Princess Sophia,' from the Common Prayer Book used in the church at Lancaster, and the substituting for these in a print-like script of the words 'King James' and the 'King's mother.' This he says was done by Mr. Paul, a clergyman of the Church of England, who, according to Patten's account, joined the rebels here; but who, according to our journalist, came with the Earl of Derwentwater. Patten also relates a similar freak perpetrated by 'one Mr. Guin, who went into the churches on their way and scratched out his Majesty King George's name and placed the Pretender's so nicely that it resembled print very much and the alteration could scarce be perceived.'[1] But as he relates this of Mr. Guin before and when they came to Kirkby Lonsdale, there is not necessarily any discrepancy in our journalist saying that Mr. Paul did the same at Lancaster.

The narrative is written in the form of a letter, and Peter Clarke, the writer, describes himself as clerk to Mr. Craikenthorp, attorney at law in Penrith. He had been but one month in this service when the rebels came. He pays just tribute to the mild behaviour of the Highlanders and the rest of the rebel army towards the inhabitants of the districts and towns through which they passed, and, indeed, contrasts it somewhat strongly with the conduct of King George's troops towards the loyal inhabitants of Preston.

The Manuscript Narrative is a thin quarto of sixteen closely written pages in the Laing Collection of Manuscripts in the University Library of Edinburgh, and from a note on the MS. by the late Mr. David Laing it would appear that he purchased it at the sale of the library of Mr. George Chalmers. After it had been put in type it was discovered to have been already printed by Dr. S. H. Ware, in vol. v. of the Publications of the Chetham Society. But as the text is there broken up into numerous short sections, and interspersed with narrative and comments by the editor, rendering it difficult to extricate Peter Clarke's own story, it has been thought well to reprint from the original in continuous form this narrative, which deals with so important an event in Scottish history.

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[1] *History of the Late Rebellion*, p. 87.

II

The second of these three contributions to the history of the Rebellions is a series of eight letters written by William Nicolson, D.D., Bishop of Carlisle, the author of the *Historical Library*, and other works, who afterwards became Bishop of Derry in Ireland, and had just been appointed Archbishop of Cashel when he died. From internal evidence it appears they were written to Sir William Dawes, who was Archbishop of York from 1713 to 1724. The letters deal chiefly with the trial of the Scottish prisoners taken at and after the battle of Sheriffmuir, which was fought on 13th November 1715.

It having been considered inexpedient by the Court to try the prisoners in Scotland, Carlisle was selected as the English town nearest to Scotland, and to the friends of the prisoners, and a Commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued for the trial to several English judges, Barons Tracy, Price, and Scrope, with Chief Baron Smith of Scotland, to whom were also joined the local justices. With their proceedings the letters are for the most part engaged, and as no detailed account of these appears to have been published hitherto they are of the greater interest. The change of venue was indeed resented in Scotland as an infringement of the Union, and eminent legal advice was tendered to the prisoners not to plead. But other counsels prevailed, and as the judges were disposed to clemency all went well. Of sixty-six prisoners carried to Carlisle, Peter Rae informs us that thirty-four were liberated before being brought to trial, and of the rest, who all pleaded guilty, twenty-four were sentenced to death, but no day was ever fixed for their execution, and the others were never sentenced at all. He further tells us that one of those liberated, John Paton of Grandhome in Aberdeenshire, was so impressed with the clemency showed to them that he 'made a famous speech in praise and commendation of his Majesty, King George's mercifull disposition, which, he said, he had oftentimes heard of, but now felt, to his utmost joy and gratitude; and that eye had not seen nor ear heard the like before, but that he and others were living witnesses thereof; which he said for himself, and he thought all the rest would assent to it; wishing his Majesty and his royal issue long life and that he might ever be the darling of his people.'[1]

The original letters are in the British Museum. A selection of Bishop Nicolson's Correspondence was published in 1809, by John Nicols, in two volumes 8vo, and is most interesting and useful for the period over which the letters extend, 1683-1727. But those now printed are not included in that work.

III

The third instalment relates to the rebellion of 1745, and consists of extracts from the business diary of an Edinburgh banker, during the period of Prince Charlie's stay in that town. Mr. John Campbell, who kept the diary, was connected with the family of Breadalbane. He was first a writer in Edinburgh, and was appointed in 1732 Assistant Secretary of the Royal Bank of Scotland there. Two years later he became second cashier, and in July 1745 was advanced to the position of principal cashier of the Bank, which he held till his death in 1777.

The extracts from the Diary begin on 14th September, the day after Prince Charlie's army had passed the Forth at the Fords of Frew, and when but two days' march now lay between it and the capital. All was alarm, and that day and the next saw the valuables and money of the Bank transferred to the Castle for safety. And just in time, as on the 16th the Highlanders were at the gates, and the town clamouring for surrender. For two days the valour of volunteers and troopers had been the hope and admiration of the citizens, but it oozed away, without a blow, as the Highlanders drew near, and while the troopers ignominiously fled in the 'Canter o' Coltbrig,' the volunteers made haste to disarm and place themselves in the position of non-combatants. A nominal resistance was offered by the gates being kept shut, but by daylight on the 17th the town was in the hands of the Rebels.

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[1] *History of the Late Rebellion*, p. 382.

To avoid the Castle guns, Prince Charlie led his army round to Duddingston, and disposing the main body in the valleys below Arthur's Seat, he took possession of Holyrood Palace and established his Court there. With the exception of the two days during which he was absent at the battle of Prestonpans (fought on 21st September) the Prince made Holyrood his residence till the end of October.

During this time frequent demands were made upon Mr. Campbell for money, which were generally complied with after consultation with such of the directors of the Bank as were available. This obliged him to make visits both to the Castle and to Holyrood. He had numerous meetings with Mr. John Murray of Broughton, the Prince's Secretary, and others at the Prince's Court, and some of these appear to have been of an agreeable and social character. By the 1st of November the last of the Highlanders had left Edinburgh, and a fortnight later regular troops having been drafted in, the Bank doors were re-opened and business resumed. With the retransporting of the Bank property from the Castle on the 23d Mr. Campbell's concern with the Rebellion terminates.

These extracts also give some interesting information about the habits of the time. They were made and printed for private circulation in 1881. But as only twenty copies in all were printed they are practically as unknown as if they had remained in their original manuscript form. The Council therefore decided to avail themselves of the kind permission accorded to them by the Royal Bank of Scotland to reprint the narrative for the benefit of the members of the Society.

I.

A JOURNALL of Severall Occurrences from 2d November 1715, in the Insurrection (began in Scotland) and concluded at Preston in Lancashire, on November 14, MDCCXV., kept by Peter Clarke.

Sir,—On Wednesday the second day of November one thousand seaven hundred and fifteen, the then high sherriff of Cumberland assembled the *posse comitatus* on Penrith Fell, Viscount Loynsdale being there as commander of the malitia of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, who were assembled at the place aforesaid for prevention of rebelion and riots. The Lord Bishop of Carlisle[1] and his daughter were there. By the strictest observation the numbers were twenty-five thousand men,[2] but very few of them had any regular armes. At 11 o'clock in the forenoon of the same day the high sherriff and the two lords received a true account that the Earl of Derwentwater, together with his army, were within 6 miles of Penrith. Vpon the recept of this news the said high sherriff and the said 2 lords, the *posse comitatus* and the malitia fled, leaving most of their armes vpon the said fell. There is no doubt had the men stood their ground the said Earl and his men (as it hath since beene acknowledged by diverse of them) wood have retreated. About 3 aclock in the afternoon on the same day the said Earl, together with his army, in number about one thousand seaven hundred, entred the said towne of Penrith, where they proclaimed their king by

2d November 1715. Posse comitatus on Penrith Fell.

Number 25,000.

The Posse comitatus runs away.

2d November 1715. Earl Derwentwater's men, 1700, entred Penrith.

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[1] William Nicolson, author of the *Historical Library*.

[2] Patten says their number was 14,000, and indicates that it may have been slightly less, though not much.

the name and title of James the 3d of England and Ireland, and 8th of Scotland. In this towne they received what excise was due to the crowne and gave receipts for the same. A small party were sent to Lowther Hall[1] to search for Lord Loynsdale, but not finding him there (for he was gone into Yorkshire), they made bold to take provision for themselves and their horses, such as the Hall aforded. There were only at that time two old woomen in the said Hall who received no bodily damage. But provision being scarce in the said towne, Penrith, they marched betimes next morning for Apleby. The gentlemen paid their quarters of for what they called for in both these townes, but the commonality paid litle or nothing, neither was there any person that received any bodily damage in either of the said townes. If they found any armes they tooke them without paying the owners for them. Only one man[2] joyned them in their march from Penrith to Apleby. In this towne they made the same proclamation as they had done in the former, and received the excise. The weather at this time for some days before was rainey. They marched out of this towne betimes on Saturday morning, being the 5th of November, in order for Kendall. In this days march none joyned them (excepting one, Mr. Francis Thornburrow), son of Mr. William Thornburrow of Selfet Hall neare Kendall. His father sent one of his servant men to wait vpon his son because he was in scarlet cloathes, and stile of Captain Thornburrow.[3]

3d November marched to Apleby.

5th November marched to Kendall.

About 12 a'clock of the same day 6 quartermasters came into the towne of Kendall, and about 2 aclock in the afternoone Brigadeer Mackintoss and his men came both a horseback, having both plads on their targets hanging on their backs, either of them a sord by his side, as also either a gun and a case of pistols. The said Brigadeere looked with a grim countenance. He and his man lodged at Alderman Lowrys, a private house in Highgate Street in this towne. About one houre after came in the horsemen, and the footmen at the latter end. It rained very hard here this day, and had for several days before, so that the horse and the footmen did not draw their swords, nor shew their collours, neither did any drums beat. Onely six highlands bagpipes played. They marched to the cold-stone or the cross, and read the same proclamation twice over in English, and the reader of it spoke very good English without any mixture of Scotish tongue. I had for about one month lived and was clerke to Mr. Craikenthorp, attorney at Law, and as a spectator I went to heare the proclamation read, which I believe was in print, and began after this manner, viz^{t}., Whereas George Elector of Brunswick has vsurped and taken vpon him the stile of the king of these realms, etc. Another clause in it I tooke particular notice of which was this, viz^{t}.,—Did imedietly after his said fathers decease become our only and lawful leige. At the end of the proclamation they gave a great shout. A quaker who stood next to me not puting of his hat at the end of the said ceremony, a highlander thurst a halbert at him, but it fortunatly went between me and him, so that it did neither of vs any damage. So they dispersed.

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[1] The seat of Viscount Lonsdale.

[2] 'This man stole a horse about one houre before he joyned them, and diserted from them the next day; and at August Asizes 1716 was found guilty, and executed at Apleby for stealing the said horse.'

[3] 'Mr. Thornburrow was taken at Preston, and brought to Wigan, and hapned to see two other prisoners there bribe the centinel, so they made escape. And one houre after he tould the centinel what he saw. So the centinel let him make his escape in woomen's cloaths.'

In this towne the Earl Derwentwater and his servant lodged at Mr. Fletcher's, the signe of the White Lyon in Strickland Gate, the other lords at Mr. Thomas Pawlandsons who was at that time the mayor of that towne, and kept the signe of Kings Armes in the street above named. Thomas Foster Esquire, then stiled Generall Foster, lodged at Alderman Simpsons, a private house in the said street. They compeled the belman here to go and give notice to the tanners and inkeepers to come and pay what excise was due to the crown or else they that denyed should be plundred by Jack the highlander. They received of the inkeepers and tanners here the summe of eighty pounds and some od shillings, and gave receipts to each person. About six o'clock this night the mayor was taken into custody for not telling where the malitia armes were hid (the said mayor was a leivetenent in the malitia), but next morning Mr. Crosby, the minister of this towne, went to Earl Derwentwater and Thomas Foster and got the mayor discharged out of custody. Madam Belingham (who was godmother to Thomas Foster), and tabled in Mr. Simpsons house, wood not admitt her said godson to see her, and he going vpstairs for that intent, she met him on the stairs, gave him two or three boxes on the eare, and called him a rebel and a popish toole, which he tooke patiently. They made the gunsmiths here work very hard all night and a Sunday morning likewise, for little or no pay. In the house where I lived two Northumberland gentlemen, stiled captains, lodged, who behaved themselves very civily. Some malitious persons had falsely reported that the malitia armes were in the church, and on Sunday morning some of the highlanders broke into the church in expectation of finding armes there. They also went into the vestry in the church. The plate and ornaments belonging to the said church were in the vestry; but finding no armes there returned without taking any of the plate.

In this towne the horse gentlemen paid their quarters, but the foot highlanders paid little or nothing: and about 8 a clock this morning the foot marched out, no drums beating nor collours flying, only the bagpipers playing. Most of the horsemen waited at Foster's quarters. I stood close to Mr. Simpson's doore and the six lords, Brigadeere Mackintosh and Thomas Foster had their hats in their hands. The Brigadeere looked still with a grim countenance, but the lords, Foster, and most of the other horsemen were dishartened and full of sorrow. About 9 aclock the same morning they marched out of the towne (but not in ranks), a jorniman weaver joyned them here. They marched this day to Kirkby Loynsdale. The horsemen quartered there, and the footmen went to the adjacent vilages and houses. In Kirkby Loynsdale they made the same proclamation, and received what excise was due. Esquire Carus and his two sons Thomas and Christopher, all papists, who lived at Hatton Hall, joyned them at this towne. It was this Carus[1] that first brought them word that the towne of Lancaster had left of making any preparations for a defence; so they marched for Lancaster next morning, and as they came by

6th November. They marched to Kirkby Loynsdale.

7th November. They marched for Lancaster.

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[1] 'Carus, the father, dyed at Liverpool, the day before he shood had his tryall. Christopher found guilty at Liverpool, and Thomas pleaded the King's pardon.'

Hornby Castle, whose owner is Francis Chart[er]is, they made bold to call to see if he was there, but not finding him there they took provisions for themselves and their horses. It was about 1 a clock in the afternoon on Monday when they came into Lancaster, where they found that the inhabitants of that towne had taken vp the pavement of the bridge, and the side of the north arch of Lancaster brige. This towne wood have opposed the Earl Derwentwater and his man, and for that purpose the inhabitants intended to fetch the 6 guns belonging to the merchants there, which were at Sunderland in a ship called the Robert, if Sir Henry Houghton, colonel of the malitia, and who was at Preston with his men, had come to Lancaster. They came into this town with swords drawn, drums beating and collours flying, and in their ranks with the bagpipes also playing. They went streight to the market place and made the same proclamation as before. A little after this, one Christopher Hopkins, a stationer, was by the order of Thomas Foster, taken into custody, and put prisoner on the guard, for taking account of the number of them. The folowing esquires who lived some few miles from this towne joyned them here, (viz^{t}.), Hodgson of Leighton Hall, John Dalton of Thurnham Hall, John Tyldesley of the Lodge—Butler of Rathliffe[1]—Hilton,[2] who lived near Cartnell. All these attended with their servant men, joyned them as abovesaid (and were stiled captains). Onely two inhabitants of this towne, who were papists, joyned themselves (to witt) Edmund Gartside, a barber, and the other man, whose name I have forgot, was a joyner. These last two men[3] (were stiled quartermasters). In this towne in the evening they received from the inkeepers what excise was due, but it did not amount but to a very little.

Also this night a great consultation was held here whether or no the prisoners in this castle shood be set at liberty, and at first it was vnanimously agreed that the debtors as well as those vpon the Crown side shood all be released from their imprisonment; but vpon a second consideration that onely those vpon the Crown side shoold be set at liberty, which accordingly was done. Amongst those released were the colonel and captain of the Mob of Manchester, whose names I have forgott. These two men were at Lancaster at the August Assizes before found guilty of rioting at Manchester, and sentenced to stand in the pilory at Lancaster (which accordingly they did). Also they were to continue in Lancaster prison for some years. I was at Lancaster and saw them stand in the pilory there, which was vpon a Saturday, being the market day there, about a weeke after the said assizes, but no person was alowed to fling anything at them. The said colonel and captain joyned and listed themselves with the said Earl Derwentwater. They still kept their former titles.[1]

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[1] Tyldesley acquitted at London; Hodgson, Dalton, and Butler found guilty there.

[2] 'Hilton made his escape at Preston, but now has the benefitt of the King's pardon.'

[3] These 2 made their escape at Preston, but now have the benefitt of the King's pardon.

This night 6 highlanders (who were apointed searchers for armes) by threats compeled Mr. Parkinson, the then mayor of this towne to goe along with them from house to house to search for armes. At every house they demanded armes which if the owner of them did not deliver Jack the highlander was to plunder him. They got very few small armes here, but those as they tooke they did not pay for. During their continuance in this towne the gunsmiths here were well employed in cleaning guns and pistols, and received pay for their work. Some small armes were taken from the minister of this towne, whose name is James Fenton. The shopkeepers here had little or no gunpowder; only one whose name is Samuel Satherwaite, and he thought it properer to bestow a barrell of gunpowder in the towns well raither than sell it.

Next morning, which was on Tuesday the 8th, by the order of the said Thomas Foster, a proclamation was issued, in which a reward of Thirty pounds for any person who could take Ralph Fairbrother, an inhabitant of this towne, who was gone post haste with Christopher Hopkins account of the number of the said Earl Derwentwaters men to Generall Carpenter at Newcastle. Also this day commissioners were apointed to examine the books belonging to the Custom house here, but found nothing due to the Crown, only a part of a large quantity of brandy (which the Custom house officers had some days before seized, being run from the Isle of Man), the said officers had made vse of a small part of it, and the new comissioners took possession of the remainder, part of which they drank in this towne, and the rest they carryed away in a cart towards Garstang, but they made an end of it before they came to that towne. Also at Lancaster on the said 8th day a detachment were sent to Sunderland to bring vp the said 6 ship guns, which accordingly they did. At 10 aclock this morning, by the order of Mr. Paul, a minister of the Church of England[1] (and who had joyned with the said Earl Derwentwater) a little bell hanging on the east end of Lancaster church was ringed to warne people to come to prayers, and while the said bell was a ringing Mr. Paul tooke the common prayerbooke (which the minister of Lancaster comonly made vse of), and in the prayer for the Queen Mr. Paul razed out the name (Queen Anne) and writ (King James), and [in] the prayer for the royall family he razed out the name of the (Princess Sophia) and writ the (King's Mother). The said words are writ with such a nicety that many takes them to have been printed. Abundance of persons went this day to this church, and the said Mr. Paul read the vsuall prayers, only instead of praying for King George prayed for his new Majesty by the name of King James, and instead of George, prince of Wales, he prayed thus (to bless the king's mother and all the royall family). The minister of Lancaster does not make vse of that book now, but has laid it by in the vestry. This afternoone the gentlemen soldiers dressed and trimmed themselves vp in their best cloathes for to drink a dish of tea with the laydys of this towne. The laydys also here apeared in their best riging, and had their tea tables richly furnished for to entertain their new suitors.

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[1] 'The colonel and captain made their escape at Preston, but the day after the colonel was taken, found guilty of high treason at Liverpool, and executed at Manchester, and his head put vp there.'

8th November. Mr. Paul read prayers in Lancaster Church.

This afternoone a new postmaster was apointed, and when the post came in the new postmaster seized the bag of leters, and amongst them found a bill which the generall postmaster had ordered the postmaster of this town to pay, which was fifty pounds. The new postmaster. . . . This evening a discourse about religion hapned between the minister of this towne and two Romish priests. During the continuance of the Earl Derwentwaters men in this towne no inhabitant received any bodily damage. The gentleman paid of their commons here, but very sorrowfull to part with their new loves. The commonalty paid little or nothing here.

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[1] Executed for high treason at London.

9th November. Foot march to Garstang, and horse to Preston.

Next morning being Wednesday 9th both horse and footmen marcht out of this towne carrying along with them the said six ship guns and some of the brandy, and their prisoner, Christopher Hopkins. Him they tooke about two miles and so dismissed him. The horse came to Preston this night, but the foot lodged at Garstang and other countrey houses. One Mr. Monkcaster,[1] a protestant, who was Attorney at law (who lived in Gartstang) joyned them there. Severall poore papists joyned them also here. Here also they received what excise was due. Next day came also the footmen into Preston where the same proclamation was made here as in former towns. They also received what excise was due here. Esquire Townley,[2] a papist, joyned them here, and Mr. Shuttleworth [3] who lived in Preston, as also did aboundance of Roman Catholicks. The laydys in this towne, Preston, are so very beautyfull and so richly atired that the gentlemen soldiers from Wednesday to Saturday minded nothing but courting and feasting. The day last mencioned, about one a clock in the afternoon, Generall Wills with his men came vp to Rible bridge, and from thence proceeded to Preston. Generall Carpenter and his men came to that towne on Sunday morning, and on Monday morning the Earl Derwentwater surrendered the said towne, and he and all his men that were in that towne made prisoners of war.

It may be expected that I should here give account of the two generalls Carpenter and Wills proceedings, and of the defence that the Earl Derwentwater and his men made, as also of the number that were on both sides killed and wounded. But for some reasons I shall omitt it, and only take notice that after the said two generalls men had taken whole possession of the said towne of Preston, they with force and armes broke open doers and locks of chambers and clossetts, and the moneys, plate, goods, and chatles of most of the inhabitants of that towne (who were and still are good subjects to his Majestie's King Georges government), contrary to the will of the owners of the said goods, felonyously did steal, take, and carry away contrary to his said Majestie's peace, crowne, and dignity, and also contrary to the laws of the nation in that case made and provided.—I am, Sir, Your humble servant,

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[1] 'Monkaster found guilty of high treason at Liverpool, and executed at Preston.'

[2] 'He was tryed at London and found not guilty.'

[3] 'Mr. Shutleworth executed at Preston, and his head put vp there.'

Peter Clarke.

(*Postscript in same handwriting.*)

Upon Saturday the 12th November 1715, about 11 a clock in the forenoone, the Earl Derwentwater ordered 300 horsemen to go to Rible bridge to oppose Generall Wills passage over it. But about one houre after Generall Wills and his men came into Walton in Ledale, neare vnto the said Rible bridge, the said Earl Derwentwaters men retired into Preston, and there they made a trensh and a baracade over against the Church in Church gate Preston, and there placed two of the ship guns charged with small bullets; and at the out ends of this towne they made trences. About 2 a clock this afternoone 200 of Generall Wills men entred the Churchgate Street, and the Highlanders firing out of the cellers and windows, in 10 minuits time kiled 120 of them. The Highlanders also fired the said 2 ship guns, but the bullets flew vpon the houses, so that no execution was done thereby. A little time after this a party was sent to burne the houses and barnes where the Highlanders wer at the entrance of the said Church gate Street, and accordingly severall houses and barnes were burnt, and so forced the Highlanders to move vp further into this towne. At this time the wind was north, which if it had been south, the judicious are of opinion that most of this towne would have been burnt. About 4 a clock the same day 300 men were commanded to enter the back Street called the back Ween in Preston, and accordingly they made an attempt. But the Highlanders placing themselves vnder gardens, walls, hedges, and dickes kiled the captain and about 140 of his men. Night now aproching, Generall Wills men camped round this towne, and also burnt severall houses and barnes att the north end of it. Also this night severall of the Earl Derwentwaters men made their escape out of this towne. Also about 10 a clock next morning Generall Carpenter and his men came vp and camped round this towne, but did not burne neither house or barnes. Some few men on both sides were kiled this forenoone; but in the afternoone a cessiation of armes were agreed on by both sides, and next morning the Earl Derwentwater and his men surrendered, and were made prisoners of war. By the strictest observacion of the number of Earl Derwentwaters men that were there kiled were 18 or 19, and of Generalls Carpenter and Wills men two hundred and seaventy.

II.

EIGHT LETTERS by WILLIAM NICOLSON, D.D., Bishop of Carlisle, to SIR WILLIAM DAWES, Archbishop of York, 1716.

CARLISLE, December the 8th, 1716.

YESTERDAY the judges open'd their commission here, three of them (and about eight or ten of the neighbouring Justices of the Peace who were join'd with them), being present in court.

Baron Price,[1] being seiz'd with a fit of the gout, kept his chamber. Mr. Justice Tracy[2] gave a short, but very handsome charge, wherein he set forth the contents of the Act of Parliament that supported the tryals of the prisoners brought hither from Edinburgh, with the legality and reasonableness whereof all the judges of England were so well satisfy'd, that every one of them had (in their turns) sat on the tryals of Scotchmen (and their conviction) in Middlesex, Surrey, etc. He observed that the government had now pitch'd on Carlisle, as being the nearest to the friends of those that were to be arraign'd; so that no just complaint could be made of their witnesses being at a great distance, etc. There was also, he said, a special regard had to the loyalty of this county; where, if anywhere, honest juries might be hoped for on this occasion.

Thus far we have pretty well answer'd those kind hopes. Three bills were immediately prefer'd against twelve of the prisoners; and *billa vera* found against eleven of them. The twelfth was one Mr. Maul, chamberlaine (or steward) to the

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[1] Sir Robert Price, Baron of the Exchequer, afterwards a justice of the Common Pleas.

[2] Sir Robert Tracy, justice of the Common Pleas.

Earl of Panmure,[1] against whom no peremptory, but a little hearsay evidence (which amounted to nothing), was produced; and indeed nothing less than *ignoramus* seem'd to be expected by the manager for the king, so that the putting the matter on such an experiment looks mystical.

Both judges and sollicitor-general[2] gives fair encouragement to plead guilty, and I hope a great many will venture upon what they understand to be a parole of honour in the government. The only scruple is, that conviction forfeits their estates; and some of them, unwilling to live without their lairdships, seem resolved (on that score) to run the risque of neck and all. What they have heard of the hanging of three or four at Preston (this last summer), after they had been thus prevail'd with to condemn themselves, sticks in the gizzards of several.

Neither of our temporal lords in the commission (Earl of Carlile[3] and Lord Lonsdale[4]) are in the country. The former has indeed liv'd long in Yorkshire; but his friends here hop'd that (on this occasion) his lordship would have countenanc'd them with his presence. The later left us just as the judges were upon the confines of the county.

One of the knights of our shire (Mr. James Lowther) was summon'd as fore-man of the grand jury, and 'twas the general expectation that he would greedily have accepted the office; but, instead of that, he insisted on his privilege of parliament, and threaten'd the sherif with a complaint above, if he should dare to return him in court. Hereupon he was struck out of the list, and tho' he's in the commissions with the judges, keeps at home. These things bring (or increase) a load on those that are present.

The court is just now (at eleven) going to arraign those against whom bills are found; and 'tis hop'd that most of them will plead guilty. More of this by the next.

The weather is terribly cold. A great snow has kept back our last night's post, not yet come in.

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[1] James, fourth Earl, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Sheriffmuir, but succeeded in escaping to France.

[2] Sir John Fortescue Aland, afterwards Lord Fortescue.

[3] Charles Howard, third Earl of Carlisle.

[4] Henry Lowther, third Viscount Lonsdale.

Carlisle, December 10th, 1716.

My good Lord,—I am going home this morning, upon promise to return on Saturday, when the tryals of our prisoners first begin. The grand jury goes on without any rub, finding indictments against a round dozen ev'ry day. We doubt whether the petit jurors will equally answer expectation, since the sherif (tho' there was no manner of occasion for it) has blended so many dissenters with the church-men, as will endanger an untoward fermentation.

Last Saturday night on of the clergy-men in town, whom I had appointed to read prayers at the Castle, acquainted me that some of the prisoners (against whom bills of indictment were found) desir'd to receive the sacrament yesterday, which he demurr'd to 'til he had my orders in the matter. I wish'd him to return to them forthwith, and to make those demands which were requisite for their satisfying him of the state of their faith, and withall to let them know (tho' I was far from ensnaring any of them into a needless hazard of their lives or fortunes, yet) I hop'd that, as they had join'd in prayer for King George, as many of them as were truely conscious of their guilt, would sincerely repent of their rebellion against him; I wish'd him also to hint, that confession would be the most likely way of obtaining mercy both from God and the king.

He brought me thanks from them all, and assurances from some (who have no estate to forfeit), that they will throw themselves entirely upon his majesty's mercy, by pleading guilty. The landed lairds hop'd that I would give them leave to endeavour their exculpation (as they call'd it), to preserve a livelyhood to themselves and families; protesting that, if the government seiz'd all they had, they 'd as soon be hang'd as be starv'd. What reply can one make to these miserable creatures?

Last night I was visited by the two sollicitors-general (of England and Scotland) and Mr. Carter,[1] the king's counsel.

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[1] Sir Lawrence Carter, M.P. for Leicester and Beeralston between 1698 and 1715. He became Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales in 1717, King's Sergeant in 1724, and was knighted, and in 1726 succeeded Baron Price as a Judge in Exchequer. He died at Leicester, unmarried, in 1745.

Whilst they were with me, Mr. Kettleby (counsel for the prisoners) brought me compliments from a friend in your neighbourhood.

By some hints that were given amongst these combatants on both sides, I guess we shall have a plea against the jurisdiction of the court, or rather a protestation against the tenour of their commission, as violating the fundamental articles of the Treaty of Union. I never yet heard of a court that fail'd in asserting its own jurisdiction; and 'twould be an extraordinary sight to have four wise men return hence with a report, that (having open'd their bag *a de secretis* at Carlisle), they found nothing but a pig in the poke.

I am not able to write one word more, if indeed I could tell what. My fingers are very much numm'd. Let me only request your communicating the inclos'd list to my Lord of Canterbury,[1] with the humble duty of your lordship's entirely affectionate brother,

W. CARLIOL.

P.S.—I have, since the writing of this, receiv'd your letter. Whether our Bishop of Bangor will accept of a western translation, he can best tell; tho' (some say) he has lately written a book in Cornish, no English-man being able to understand it.

DECEMBER 13TH, 1716.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I gave your grace a sort of a journal of the two first day's work of our Lords of Session at Carlisle; and I hop'd to have been as full handed every post. But the giving of copies of the several indictments to the parties concern'd a week before their respective tryals obliges the judges to direct the prosecutions to be brought on more slowly than they were at the beginning. This expedient is also necessary for the keeping the jurors themselves in daily employment. So that the King's sollicitors fee'd these men with bills as our farmer's fodder their cattle this hard weather, in small quantities, that the stock of provisions may last the longer.

Yesterday they brought in ignoramus on a bill against Mr. Burnet; a kinsman of the late Bishop of Sarum's, and one that some time sojourn'd in his family. This unhappy man (as thousands more) was swept away with the high tides of rebellion in his neighbourhood; and surrender'd himself at the first opportunity to some of the King's officers.

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[1] William Wake, formerly Bishop of Lincoln.

One of these was produced as evidence against him. But he could only say that this gentleman was said to be one of those that fell into the hands of a party under his command; tho' he could not positively swear that he was so; nor did he remember whether he was taken, or came in voluntarily. Whether the managers for the King will desire that this gentleman may continue a while longer in custody (as Mr. Maul, in the same condition) 'til more prompt witnesses can be had, or he 'l shortly be discharg'd, I can't tell. His countrymen generally give him a fair character.

Others daily plead guilty; begging in order thereunto to be forthwith arraign'd. Two of these were told by the Chief Baron Smith[1] (with the austerity of a Roman Senator) that —— They who threw themselves upon the Kings mercy would probably find mercy; and that they that insisted on justice would as probably have justice for their lot. Notwithstanding all which caution, 'tis yet confidently believ'd, that the counsel for the prisoners will (on Saturday next) offer a plea against the jurisdiction, or legal establishment of the court, which may happen to provoke. Another crotchet is talk'd of, —— The challenging the arraies of all our juries (Grand and Petit) as return'd by an improper officer, because, forsooth, our present sherif is collector of the King's customs at Whitehaven. What law there is for support of such a plea I know not. That the same person may be employ'd in several trusts is certainly agreeable to ancient and modern practice in his Majesties court of St. James's. And I see no reason why the like prerogative should not hold good for pluralities of the same nature in the country.

I design (God willing) to attend the debates of that day; and your Grace shall have the result of them. It will be impracticable, I doubt, to send it by that day's post; or perhaps anything else.

We have here the deepest snow (most of it fallen the last night) that has been seen in many years. This, considering the slender produce of hay, which the last summer afforded us, will make it difficult to provide for that great additional number of horses, which are continually pouring in from all corners of the island. If we can stand this shock, nothing will occasion despair in your Grace's most obedient and oblig'd servant,

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[1] John Smith, Chief Baron of Exchequer in Scotland.

W. CARLIOL.

CARLISLE, DECEMBER 15TH, 1716.

THE Scotch advocates, who are assign'd counsel for the prisoners, have all along threatned the court with (what they call a declinatour) a plea of demurrer to the jurisdiction. But 'tis hop'd that this morning, the first (and only) opportunity they have of putting such a design in execution, the matter will be dropp'd. To this purpose the judges adjourn'd from Thursday to this day; and both that evening and yesterday conferences have been had betwixt the King's sollicitors and them. What is ageed on (if anything) I have not yet learn'd; but may perhaps learn before the post goes out, early enough to give an account in the end of this paper.

Amongst the gentlemen that have pleaded guilty, there's one Mr. Murray (of Auchterlase, whose brother attempted to corrupt the guard), much commended for a modest speech at the bar; which concluded with words to this purpose, —— That tho' he had reason enough to believe that a jury might acquit him, he had rather lived under the comfort of the King's mercy than the load of a guilty conscience.

Sir Thomas Calder[1] (a young baronet who has given in the same plea) declar'd that he never had any aversion to the present Government, but being a vassal to the Marquis of Huntley, he thought himself oblig'd to follow the fortunes of his lands-lord; of which he now most heartily repents; and threw himself entirely at the feet of his liege sovereign King George.

The other of chief note are Colonel Urquart,[2] and Mr. Carnegie of Finhaven,[1] who are both nearly related to the D. of Montrose, by whose good advice 'tis suppos'd they came thus early into these hopeful measures.

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[1] Second baronet of Muirtoune, in Morayshire.

[2] Probably Alexander Urquhart of Newhall.

On Thursday the Grand Jury brought in a third *ignoramus* for want of sufficient evidence on a bill against one Mr. Spance. And 'tis said, that not only in this, and in that on Mr. Burnet's bill, but in most of their other verdicts, they have been entirely unanimous. I am sure they have thus far acted to the satisfaction of the judges. I heartily wish the Petit Juries may deserve the like approbation; and I hope they will. However, 'tis a comfort to see so many laying hold of (their only anchor of hope) the King's mercy, and the appearance there is of others reaching at it.

The declinatour is declin'd. The prisoners thus far strive who shall be foremost in pleading guilty. Eleven have this day put in that plea, and no appearance yet of any one man's standing his tryal, saving one Mr. M'Kenzie of Frazerdale, whose story (as it has been given to me) is too long to report. So that, upon the whole, our judges are like to have much shorter work than they expected.

John Ross (the Bishop of Edinburgh's son) came this moment to the Bar; and desir'd a present arraignment, pleaded guilty, and made so handsome an application to the court, that his case is sure of being favourably represented.

Rose, December 17, 1716.

My very good Lord,—My Saturday's postscript was written in such haste that I had not time to acquaint your Grace that the honour of your letter came to my hand when I was with Mr. Justice Tracy, who had acquainted me with a like application in favour of the Bishop of Edinburgh's son, made to himself by the Earl of Caernarvon.[1] Two such advocates were soon agreed to be worth a whole threeve of them from the North; and thereupon I had leave to send for the young fellow forthwith to the Bar; where he presently appeared, desired to be immediately arraing'd, and (that being granted) pleaded guilty. This he did in so becoming a manner, and so good an appearance of a true penitent heart, that the judge promised to represent his case favourably to his Majesty, whose mercy he confidently relies on. I had never seen the young man's face before, but was not a little pleased with his modest behaviour.

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[1] James Carnegie of Finhaven, a grandson of David, second Earl of Northesk. He was at the battle of Sheriffmuir; and in one of the ballads is represented as showing as much earnestness in flight as the rest—

'Save the laird o' Finhaven, who swore to be even
Wi' any general or peer o' them a', man.

In 1728 he was tried for killing the Earl of Strathmore, at Forfar, by a sword-thrust in a drunken bout. But as the blow had been intended for another companion who had grossly insulted him, the earl's death was considered accidental, and he was acquitted.

The Scottish Counsel are very impatient for want of an opportunity to open their portmanteaus, wherein they are said to have brought many and large volumes of records, for the ascertaining of the legal privileges and immunities of the ancient kingdom. Several of them open very loud on this occasion. But the most obstreperous is reported to be one Mr. Graham,[2] a person of great learning and eminence. He is the King's Judge of the Admiralty in Edinburgh, and (in the warmth of his zeal) has procured leave to be of counsel for the prisoners, on purpose to dispute this point, which he declares he'l maintain to the hazard of his very life, as well as his fortunes. The judges seem to hope that they shall be able to ward off this argument. And indeed the Sollicitor-General and the rest of our English counsel, on the Crown side, appear as loath to engage in it.

Mr. Mackenzie of Frazerdale[3] (against whom an indictment was found by the Grand Jury on Saturday last) seems to be the likeliest person to bring on the debate. This gentleman's case has been so variously represented that (without a formal tryal) no body can tell what to make of it. Some stoutly affirm, as himself does, that he never bore arms in the Pretender's camp, that he was carried prisoner into Perth, and thence made his escape before the battle of Dumblain. Others say that (upon a family disgust) he did freakishly join the rebels at first; but saw his error pretty early, and stole off to the Duke of Athol. His Grace strongly avows his just claim to remission, or rather an acquittal, and has sent Lord James, now Lord Tullibardin,[1] to sollicit his cause. On the other hand, Lord Lovat has seiz'd the life rent of his estate, and will probably be desirous to continue in possession.

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[1] James Brydges, afterwards Duke of Chandos.

[2] James Graham, afterwards Dean of the Faculty of Advocates. He was ancestor of the family of Graham of Airth Castle in Stirlingshire.

[3] Formerly Alexander Mackenzie of Prestonhall. He married, in 1702, the heiress of Lovat, and assumed the name of Fraser, changing Lovat into Fraserdale, of which he had the liferent. This, however, he lost on his attainder for his part in the rebellion. He and his son Hugh had a long and keen contest with the famous Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, as to the title of Lovat.

I have inclos'd a list of all that had bills found against them by the Grand Jury, when I came away on Saturday in the evening; to which I believe I may add Brigadier Campel, a bill being prefer'd against him that day. This unfortunate man was in no engagement, and had not been four days in Scotland, when he was taken in one of the Western Islands. He has been in foreign service (under the Czar, the Venetians, etc.) from his youth; and I dare parole for him, if the Government sends him back to the Adriatick Coast, he'l never petition for another return into his native country.—I am, your Grace's most obedient servant, W. CARLIOL.

ROSE, December 20th, 1716.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—By the last post I told your Grace that if the Scotch Advocates did produce their declinatour, I had hopes of hearing what they had to offer on that head. It has happen'd otherwise. For, upon Monday last, they surpriz'd the Court (with their arguments) in favour of one Mr. William Hay, whose name your Grace will find in the list of the indicted. I am promis'd a copy of their pleadings in form. Till that comes, be pleas'd to take such an account of 'em as I have had from some present.

1*st*. They began with protestations that on the Treaty of Union the realm of Scotland was a right ancient and independant kingdom, and that accordingly its Commissioners treated (on the square and level) with those of England. That the stipulations therein were mutual and inviolable, as (by the law of nations) they ought to be. In the course of this preliminary article they did great honour to the Bishop of Carlisle, in frequently citing his Preface to the *Border Laws*, etc.

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[1] Afterwards second Duke of Athole.

2. They observed that in their Justiciary Courts, which were established by the foresaid Treaty, the subjects of Scotland were indulg'd a list of the witnesses that were to be produc'd against them, as well as several other privileges of value, which they are here debar'd of.

3. By their *Habeas Corpus Act*, no Scotch man could be carry'd out of that kingdom without his own consent, which was to be solemnly recorded.

4. That the Act of Parliament for speedy tryals, etc. (whereon the jurisdiction of the present Court is found), was never intended to reach North Britain. This they thought plainly appear'd from its preamble, wherein the chief reason for its being enacted is said to arise from its being inconvenient to the publick justice of the nation *that the judges should remain so long in the said counties as will be necessary for the trying of the said offenders*, whereas, said they, it had been much more convenient for the publick justice of the Scottish nation (as well as for the judges themselves) that these gentlemen should have been try'd at Edinburgh rather than at Carlisle.

5. This Act pretends not to direct the tryal of any persons whatever, saving only such as shall be *apprehended and committed to prison on or before the 23rd of January* 1716. Now, according to the calculation of the *Kirk of Scotland* (which no man will deny stands most firmly ratify'd by the Act of Union), that day was over before any of the prisoners were either committed or apprehended, and indeed before the Act itself was in being.

These were the objections which were offerd. The *third* is said to have weighed most with one of the judges. And yet (with great submission) it appears to me to be a very light one, if we consider that their Act of Habeus Corpus pass'd in 1701; and therefore (*quoad hoc*) must be repeal'd by the 23rd Article of Union.

The *fourth*, in my poor opinion, is all that is worth the considering; especially since (which was observ'd by the counsel) no mention is made of stewartries, but only of counties and shires. But, since the letter of the law is capable of another construction, and our judges have already constru'd it otherwise, both in Middlesex and Surrey, it could not reasonably be hop'd that this could stagger them now.

Neither they, nor their Sollicitor General thought fit to make any reply; but the prisoner was allow'd to consider, whether he'd insist on his demurrer 'til the morning: when he withdrew it, and pleaded guilty.

I do not think that any one of them will stand a tryal. They seem unanimously to long and pray for the King's happy return; hoping that he will thereupon spread his royal mantle of mercy over them all. I cannot help saying Amen to the whole prayer.

Our judges, under the rose, hope to finish their whole work this week; or at least before Christmas Day, and think of returning southward about this day sennight, or Wednesday next. They, and Lord James Murray, etc., have threatned to dine with me to day. But, perhaps, the change of the weather (tho' they have nothing to do at Carlisle before to morrow) may possibly prevent their coming. However, a fair competency of powder'd beef and cabbage is provided for them by your Grace's most obedient servant,

W. Carliol.

Rose, December 22nd, 1716.

My very good Lord,—After so long a tale as your Grace had from me by the last post, no great matters will be expected by this. For the diversion of the counsel there was yesterday another plea argu'd. Mr. Trullock, by his advocates, challeng'd the array of the Petit Jury, as return'd by an incompetent officer. The substance of the plea was:—The Sherif is a servant (a collector of customs) under his Majesty; and therefore incapable of returning a jury in any cause wherein the King is plaintif. The Statute of Lincoln (9 Ed. 2) and other laws were quoted. The King's counsel answer'd amongst other arguments, that the Sherif of a county was the most proper collector of all the King's revenues within his bayliwick; and that, therefore, this was far from being a reasonable and legal objection. They also observed, that the

Sherifs employment (as customes) was held by deputation from the commissioners, and not immediately from the King; that it was an insignification trifle, of £10 salary, etc.

In short, the court over-rul'd the plea; and culprit was appointed to abide his tryal (if he thought fit, as 'tis believ'd he will not) on Wednesday next. No Pettit Jury yet empanell'd.

For want of matter from Oyer and Terminer, give me leave (my good Lord) to open my heart, much oppress'd, to your Grace on another subject. I have this week, at a very improper season, gotten my brother of B——s book[1] in answer to the pleaders of schism, etc. I am, to morrow, by God's leave, to hold an ordination; And there are several passages in this book that exceedingly perplex me. I have no quarrel with the man about his justifying of the deprivation of bishops; nor shall I insist on his calling the *succession of prelates from the apostolical times* a trifle. But — shall our people be taught that they are not to expect any of *God's graces, benedictions, or absolutions from any hands but his own?* Must I believe that the commission given by our Saviour, *Whosesoever sins* etc., refer'd to *something extraordinary and supernatural in the Apostles for the propagation of the Gospel only at the first; and not to anything in the ordinary settl'd condition of the Church.* How then shall I dare to use the same form of words, in the *ordaining of an ordinary presbyter?*

Again, must I (my Lord) agree that the human engines (as he calls 'em) of bennidictions, absolutions and excommunications *have nothing to do with the favour or anger of God?*

Nothing of this kind is allow'd by him to *be authoritative.* I do therefore beg of your Grace to let me know what sort of *authority* it was that your predecessor[2] (at my consecration) committed to me, with a charge that I should use it not to destruction but to salvation; and what was that *Spirit of Power* that was then given me?

The reading of this book, my Lord, has more (a thousand times) disquieted my thoughts than all the clutter we have had with our prisoners. It may be (and I pray God it may be) that I do not fathom the author's meaning;—That all he says is reconcileable to the doctrine of our establish'd Church; and that the fault of his not being understood, is wholy my own. I do earnestly, once more, wish this may be the true state of the case; And am ever, my good Lord, your Grace's most obedient Servant,

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[1] Probably Benjamin Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, whose writings on the Church question gave rise to much debate, especially to what is known as the Bangorian Controversy in the following year.

[2] Archbishop John Sharp.

W. Carliol.

Rose, December 24th, 1716.

My very good Lord,—Since the last post nothing has come from Carlisle worth the reporting, save what happen'd on Saturday, too late for me to mention. The judges were pleas'd to dismiss the Grand Jury, with very obliging acknowledgements of the faithful discharge of their trust, so that no more of the prisoners are like to have any bills prefer'd against them, tho' near thirty are as yet untouched.

Two gentlemen of the name of Stuart were the last against whom any bill was found, and Mr. Sollicitor acquainted the Court, that (tho' these were hurried hither with their companions yet) they were so far from bringing any guilt along with them, that he should think himself oblig'd to sue for a recompence from the Government for their good services. They are said to have been sent out by the Duke of Athol to hinder several from joyning in the rebellion; and to have done it effectually; but were not, it seems, in a condition to set their matters in a fair light 'til they were brought as far south as Carlisle. Here we live in a clear air.

December 27th.

My Lord,—The foregoing page was just finished on Monday last, when I was surpris'd with a visit from the two Sollicitors General (of England and Scotland) and all the King's counsel; who having that day at their own disposal, very kindly disposed it in dining with me. At their return in the evening they found that Brigadier Campbel (whom they thought the most likely person to stand his tryal) had slipp'd thro' the gaolers fingers, and was gone off. I was much encourag'd to hope that this Gentleman would plead guilty. His flight, and the manner of it, is ye a mystery; but his keeper is shrewdly suspected to have been privy to the plot.

All the four judges have had copies of Master Douglas's case, and are inclineable enough to give credit to its contents. The man's misfortune was great in his unmannerly receipt of the transcript of his indictment at the Bar; which was taken to be the effect of a peculiar stubborness, and his being harden'd in his iniquity. But they are, I believe, convinced that the awkwardness of his mien (on that occasion) did not proceed from any want of a proper sense of his condition. I cannot well apprehend that above a Couple will be executed.

To shew your Grace how sedulous our northern Jacobites are to keep up their sinking cause in spight of all justice and gibbetts, I have inclosed another of the Edinburgh libels that are scatter'd amongst our people, to move their hearts to tender compassions, and traiterous conspiracies.

Your Grace is so sure of my obeying your summons, whenever my attendance is necessary, that I do humbly hope that you will grant me as long a dispensation for staying at home as can conveniently, at least, be afforded. I am far from being in right keeping for an immediate journey with the judges. I want to be recruited in some particulars wherein they abound. 'Tis very probable they may leave us to-morrow, for I am just now told that their Petit Jury (by Judge Tracy's special direction) brought in the only person they have to try not guilty. I expect the particulars of this report every minute; and (if they are worth it) they'l be dispatch'd to my Lord of Lincoln by your Grace's ever obedient servant,

W. CARLIOL.

III.

LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF JOHN CAMPBELL, an Edinburgh Banker in 1745.

Saturday, 14 September 1745.

On news of the Highland army's approach, all the effects of the Bank were packt up, and partly transported to the Castle this night, per memorandum apart.

Sunday, 15th.

The rest of the Bank effects transported to the Castle.

Monday, 16th September.

Received a letter from Lord Justice Clerk[1] desiring me to let him have £100. A Highland gentleman of Earl Loudoun's regiment deliverd me this letter in the Castle of Edinburgh, on which I came down for my keys, met the Justice Clerk on the street, desired me to give the money to his Lady with whom he was to leave bank notes or draft on his cash account for the value; went back to the Castle, took the money in half guineas out of my balance chest there, returnd to Edinburgh, deliverd the £100 to Lady Milnton[2] in her own house but got no value, nor have I seen the Justice Clerk since. Highland army near Edinburgh per Courant. I dined with Coulterallars.[3] Saw the Dragoons run off along the north side of Edinburgh.[4] The town in a consternation all day. Volunteers arms deliverd in to the Castle on allarm of the fire-bell in the evening. Deputation of the Magistracy sent out to Bellsmilns to capitulate with the Prince as to the surrender of the town, without effect.

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[1] Andrew Fletcher of Milton.

[2] Elizabeth Kinloch (of Gilmerton), his wife.

[3] Mr. Robert Menzies of Coulterallers, Writer to the Signet.

[4] This was the incident known as the Canter of Coltbridge.

Tuesday, 17 September.

Edinburgh taken by the Highland army; 1200 Men sent in early in the morning. Numbers of Highlanders crowd in to town all the day long. Sundry proclamations over the Cross. Prince enters Holyroodhouse. His army encamps in the King's park.

Wednesday, 18th September.

Mercury published an account of taking of Edinburgh and proceedings of the army for some days preceeding.

Thursday, 19 September.

Highland army decamped from Dudingston late at night.

Friday, 20th September.

Highland army march towards Tranent and ly on their arms all night thereabouts. General Cope gets in to a fastness[1] below to the north of them towards the sea.

Saturday, 21 September.

Battle of Gladsmuir or Tranent fought wherin the Highlanders routed General Cope.

Notified per Express* *Jock	to Lord Monzie[2] Auchalader[3] Lord Glenorchy[4]
Do. per post to	Lady Glenorchy[5] Mr Mathias

Had a letter from G. Innes calling me up to the Castle about sundrys and went, and gave out some money out of my balance per memorandum left in the chest.

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[1] Preston Tower.

[2] Patrick Campbell of Monzie, a lord of Session.

[3] John Campbell of Auchalader.

[4] John Campbell, afterwards third Earl of Breadalbane.

[5] Arabella Pershall, his Countess.

Sunday, 22d September.

No sermon in the Churches.

Monday, 23 September.

Mercury published giving an account of the battle and Journal of the Army from 27th August to this date. It likewise contains serious reflections theron. Directors proposd to burn notes in the Castle and sent me there to obtain access for them.

Tuesday, 24.

Courant published an imperfect account of the battle. A message from G. I.[1] signifying the directors would have access to the Castle when they pleased, but they delay'd cancelling the notes for some time.

Wednesday, 25 September.

Received £200 Silver from A. Brown's son. Earl B.[2] drew on me to D^{u} Dun[can] Cam[pbell] for a guinea which I paid him per receipt. Had a message from G. I. for money and went up to the Castle, saw him and his wife and did some business there. Mercury published containing 3 sundry proclamations by the Prince.

Thursday, 26 September 1745.

I was calld upon by Mr. J. Philp to go to the Castle. Went with him. Saw General Guest. Gave General Guest 50lb. in half guineas out of my balance on Lord Justice Clerks draught which I lodg'd in chest in the Castle. Chang'd £5 note to Mr. David Lyon in the Castle and gave him gold for same out of my balance having lodg'd that note in the chest. On my return from the Castle din'd at home *solus*. Called a meeting of directors at 3 oclock and Messrs. Hamilton, Shairp and Philp met, and were of opinion they could not without a quorum order out the money wanted by G. I. and read and approvd of a letter I wrote to him to that effect. Got a letter from St. Germains[3] by his servant telling of his bad usage by the Highlanders. In consequence of which I wrote to Mr. J.

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[1] George Innes.

[2] Earl of Breadalbane.

[3] St. Germains was a seat of the Seton family in East Lothian.

Murray at Earl Breadalbane's to get a protection and pass. To call at Mr. J. Murray tomorrow's morning about St. Germain's protection and pass.

Friday, 27th.

Went to the Abbey to see Earl Breadalbane who told me the Prince was visiting him last night. Saw Mr. J. Murray who told me he would send up the protection for S^{t} Germans and pass, as soon as obtaind. Saw Mr. Philp about cash for G. I. but he did not incline to grant warrant. Call'd to see if Mr. Coutts was come home to try if he would concurr but was not. Call'd at the Chancery and got up Earl Breadalbanes patent of honour which lay there to be recorded in terms of the Interlocutor of the Lords of Session, it having been neglected at passing the same in 1681. But delay'd taking out the Extract, and in case I was not to take it out at all, am to pay for the writing. Told Mr. Philp that Provost Coutts was not come to town. Dined at home, J. C., Supervisor, with me. Got a letter from Auchalader desiring to get him a suit of cloaths which I bespoke at James Stirlings. Mercury published with a proclamation about the Banks, and rectifying some articles formerly published as to the battle, also publishing the Act of Regency and Manifesto. Saw Mr. Trotter who told me he has Provost Coutt's Bank-key. Got a protection for the estate, houses and effects of St. Germain's and allowance for passing and repassing about his lawfull affairs, and gave Mr. Murrays servant 2s. 6d. Bespoke a frize coat for my self at James Stirlings, and orderd Niccol to make it.

Saturday, 28 September.

Dispatched St. Germain's servant home with the protection. Sent to Mr. Trotter for Provost Coutts Bank-key which I got seald. Advis'd Messrs. Hamilton and Philp that I had got the key, and they have appointed ½ past ten to go to the Castle to settle with G. Innes. I sent to the accomptant and tellers to attend. We all went up to the Castle gate, but could not get access. G. I. was insulted by the officer of the Guard. Wrote to Auchalader telling I had bespoke his cloths and sent him last Mercury by the man who came in with the clerk's son, and sent him at the same time a pound Bohea tea at 9 shillings from James Stirlings. Took leave of Captain M'Nab, he being to sett out by 6 next morning to Perth with the rest of the officers who are prisoners. Took leave of Ensign Allan Campbell, prisoner.

Sunday, 29 September.

No sermon in churches. Din'd at home, D. B.[1] with me. Mr. James Veitch calld upon us and went together to John's Coffee house. In the evening G. Innes calld upon me, he having come down from the Castle the night before.

Monday, 30 September.

Had a Message from E. B. to dine with him, but can't comply because of the consternation the town is in, the Castle having threatned to fire if the Highland guard at the Weigh-house was not removd. Got home 6 new shirts and paid Margaret Jack for cambrick and making £1. 10. therof £1. formerly lodg'd with Betty for buying the cambrick. Inhabitants met in new Church to consult on a letter they had received from General Guest threatning that unless the communication between the City and Castle was opened they would fire upon the City. Deputies therupon sent from the City of Edinburgh to the Prince with General Guests letter; to which the Prince gave an answer which is now printed. On this answer hostilities from the Castle suspended for 6 days. Numbers of the inhabitants movd their families and effects out of town all this day. The City being somewhat calm'd, about 1 oClock I went down to the Abbey where all was quiet, dined with E. B. and Mr. Murray. Return'd at 3 in a chair, came home. Went to the Coffee house, there staid till the evening that I came home for all the night. Sent messages to Lord Monzie and Lord Tinwalds Servants to pacify them as to their fears and to several other families of my acquaintance.

Tuesday, 1 October 1745.

Had a verbal message from Provost Coutts now at Allanbank, per his friend, Mr. Coutts, about Bank affairs. Between

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[1] David Baillie.

6 and 7 oclock at night a protest was then taken against me, as Cashier of the Royal Bank, by John Murray of Broughton Esq. as Secretary to the Prince, for payment of £857 Royal Bank Notes (which he exhibited), in the current coin of the kingdom, and on failyure therof within 48 hours, that the estates and effects of the directors and managers should be distress'd for the same. I answer'd that by reason of the commotion in the countrey, the effects of the Bank were lately carried up to the Castle, for the security of all concern'd, for as the directors acted, in a manner, as factors for their constituents, the proprietors, it was judg'd reasonable, and what every body in their circumstances had done, to secure the effects of the Company, that none might be sufferers in the issue: and matters were in that situation at present that there was no access to the Castle at any rate, for that Mr. Jo. Hamilton and Mr. John Philp, two of the directors, had essayed to get in on Saturday last with the accomptant and tellers and myself in order to do business, but that access was refused, tho' they continued at the gate for about an hour. Duply'd by Mr. Murray that he would in name of the Prince grant a pass and protection *for going to the gate*, and that he hoped the Governor would give admittance. But whether he did or not, if the payment was not made, the order should be put in execution, after elapse of the time limited; and thereupon took instruments in the hands of William M'Kewan, notary publick, in presence of Mr. Peter Smith, brother to deceast David Smith of Methven, and Purves, Writer to the Signet; and thereafter a schedule of the protest was sent to me by Mr. M'Kewan the notar, but not sign'd. Immediately on Mr. Murray's taking the above protest I waited upon Mr. Jo. Hamilton and Mr. Philp, the only two directors in town, at Mrs. Clerks, vintner, there shewed them the schedule, and what I have before here marked down, and after reasoning theron agreed to try to get into the Castle to morrow, and orderd Mr. Shairp, the only other director about the town, to be summond for that purpose, to meet with them at my house by 9 in the morning, that this affair might be further concerted, and if possible money might be got out for answering the demand. And to prepare the way to the gate, a pass

and protection was to be obtain'd from the Prince, or from Mr. Murray, as Secretary, for the directors and officers of the Bank to go that length to try if the Governor would give admittance. Mean time that a letter be prepared to be sent to General Guest for notification, to be first transmitted to Mr. Murray for his perusall to prevent all mistakes, and another to the absent directors to acquaint them with this event, that the directors present might be justified at the hands of their constituents. Wrote to Lady G[lenorchy] and sent her the Courant of this date, containing copy letters to the Royal Burrows, to Collectors of the Land Tax of all the shires in Scotland, and to the Collectors and Comptrollers of the Customs; and the Princes answer to the deputation from City of Edinburgh about the message from the Castle, that unless the communication with the town was opend they would fire upon it.

Wednesday, 2d October.

Messrs. Hamilton, Shairp, and Philp met at my house at 9 oclock agreable to appointment. Read over the Letters prepared to be sent to General Guest and Mr. Murray. Indicted a meeting of ordinary and extraordinary directors to meet at my house at 12 oclock, for which purpose I made up and signd printed notes for

Mr. Hathorn and Mr. William Forbes,
Mr. William Grant,
Baillie Mansfield, and Mr. Keir.

All which notes were executed by Peter Campbell, officer, who reported that only the first two were in town, and they came, and when present with the above three ordinary directors they all agreed to the measure proposd. Accordingly Mr. David Baillie was sent to the Abbey with these two letters which I signd and seald, and these he deliverd to Mr. Murray, who return'd General Guest's letter, and added that there was to be a further demand upon the Bank, the particulars whereof he would acquaint me of as soon as possible. The directors adjourn'd to dine at Mrs. Clerks to consider further of these affairs; but first read and approv'd of the draught of a letter to be dispatch'd to the absent directors to notify these resolutions to them. 2 oClock. Dispatched James Lyon, porter, to the Castle with my letter to General Guest, under safeguard from Lochiel per white flagg. Had a letter from St. Germans, which I answered, thanking him for his kind invitation to me to go to his house to shun the calamity threatned against the City of Edinburgh from the Castle. Sent Lady Dunstaffnage by her boy 20 shillings in silver, and thank'd her for her kind invitation to stay at her house during these troubles. While at dinner at Mrs. Clerks about 3 oclock afternoon, Mr. Peter Smith, brother to Methven, calld me to another room and notified to me as Cashier that the Prince had a further demand of current specie from the Royal Bank for the sum of £2307 sterling of their notes, which he as Attorney for his highness required payment of within 48 hours, under the penaltys contained in Mr. Murray of Broughtons former protest of yesterdays date, and exhibited the Bank notes, in presence of W. Mackewan, notary publick, before these witnesses Writer to the Signet, and This further demand I immediatly notified to the directors present in the next room, viz^{t}. Messrs. Hamilton, Shairp, Philp, Hathorn, and Forbes. After reasoning some time theron, they agreed to comply with this demand, as well as the former, if access could be got to the Castle. Some time after this, James Lyon, the porter, returned, and brought back the letter for General Guest open, his excellency having read the same, but did not incline to give a written answer, not having a lawyer to advise with, but added that if the directors had come in a private manner, they might dispose of their own as they wou'd. After talking over this matter a little Mr. Peter Smith calld me again, and presented a pass to the Castle for the three ordinary directors and my self, which pass was only to last and continue to this night at 10 oclock. I expostulated with him upon the impossibility of the thing, but he said that all excuses was in vain, for that a gentleman, who understood the business of banking, was with the Prince, when the pass was agranting, who said that there was no difficulty in the thing, for that all the gold and silver must be in baggs of certain sums, and therefore that it was an easy matter, and required no great time to execute this affair, and so the Prince was positive to grant no longer indulgence. Hereupon Mr. Smith left me and I return'd to the directors and reported what past, and being now towards evening, they found the measure proposd by the pass impracticable, so adjourned to my house to drink coffee, and further to deliberate of the affair. Bespoke a pott of coffee at Muirhead's. The directors talk'd over this exigency fully, and then resolv'd that a letter should be written by me to Mr. Murray of Broughton, desiring that the pass should be renewd for to morrow, when they would try to get access to the Castle and bring down the cash, and that the new pass should comprehend not only the three ordinary directors containd in the former, viz^{t}. Messrs. Hamilton, Shairp, and Philp and my self, but likewise William Mitchell, accomptant, and Alexander Innes, teller. Accordingly I wrote a letter in these terms, which was read to and approvd of by the meeting, and being copied over fair by David Baillie (who had formerly transcribed the other letters to General Guest and Mr. Murray of Broughton in the forenoon), the same was sign'd by me, as the other letters were, in presence of and by appointment of the meeting. On this the directors dismiss'd, and twas resolv'd that the three ordinary directors, accomptant, and A. Innes, teller, should meet at my house tomorrow between 8 and 9 in the morning. But before the meeting was over, A. Innes, teller, was calld upon, to know if his brother, George, was in the Castle, who told he was not, on which he was dispatched to his house, to know if he had lodg'd the keys of the Castle vault, where the Bank repositories were lodg'd, with his wife, and if he had, to bring them, which accordingly he deliverd to me in a seald parcell, which I opened in presence of the directors, and then kept the keys, George Innes having gone in to the countrey some days agoe, as his wife told his brother. Mr. David Baillie got the charge of delivering the letter to Mr. Murray of Broughton, after sealing, but after all search for him, he could not be found in town or abbey, on which Mr. Baillie and I concerted that I should call for Lochiel[1] in Mrs. Clerks, and tell him of the case, who brought me Mr. Smith who, with others, were in company with him, and in Lochiel's presence I deliverd the letter to Mr. Smith, who took burden to get and send me the answer this night. I then parted with these two gentlemen, all this discourse with them having past in the passage to Mrs. Clerks great room, and afterwards I went to John's Coffeehouse, where David Baillie waited me, to whom I told all that past, and then came home between 7 and 8 oclock. A little before parting with the directors I received a large packet from Lord Glenorchy per Jock, dated from Taymouth, 29 September, with letters inclosed

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[1] Donald Cameron of Lochiel.. He escaped to France after Culloden.

for Lady Glenorchy
Lady Harriet C.
Philip Yorke, Esq.
} all to be dispatched by to morrow's post.

I likewise received letter from Lord Monzie of the 29th September from Taymouth; also a letter from Auchalader same date from Taymouth, and one from his son John same date from Taymouth; all to be answered. Carwhins bill on me to Provost Fisher for 37 lb., dated 7 September @ 8 days date, was produced by George Chalmer, merchant in Leith, he having refused payment some days agoe in Bank notes of any kind. Between 10 and 11 at night a servant came to me with the pass to and from the Castle, which is limited between 8 in the morning and 3 afternoon to morrow.

Thursday, 3d October 1745.

About 7 this morning I wrote a letter to General Guest in the Castle acquainting him that Messrs. Jo. Hamilton, Alexander Shairp, and John Philip, directors of the Royal Bank, William Mitchel, accomptant, A. Innes, teller, and my self, as cashier, intended to go up to the Castle upon Bank business, therfore that he would please to give the proper orders to the Captain of the Guard to give us admittance upon our displaying a white flagg. This letter I sent up with James Lyon, porter, who us'd likewise a white napkin for his signall, and he reported we should be admitted. About 8 oclock the five gentlemen above nam'd met at my house, and after breakfast we proceeded on our expedition. This side of the Weigh house I calld for the Captain of the Highland guard (one M^r^ Cameron) to whom I shewd our pass, and after his reading the same, he calld for one of his men to go through all the centinells posted between that and the Reservoir to give them due notice, and after waiting about a quarter of an hour, the Captain desired us to proceed, for that all was safe before us. He kept the pass in his Custody to be deliverd to the next captain when he was relieved off guard. I then hoisted my white flag and ushered the rest of the gentlemen, saluting the centinells with it as we past, and as we approached the Castle gate wav'd it often. At last the centinells there calld to us to come forward, and on our arrival at the bridge, telling who we were, 'twas lett down; the Captain received us in between the bridge and the gate, where he compard our names with my letter to General Guest which he had in his hand. On our arrival at General Guest's lodgings (which is the Governors new house) the directors and I went in, told him our errand in general was to get into the Royal Bank depositories to do some business, and General Preston having come in at that instant, he was likewise told the same. After some short conversation we left the two Generalls, and proceeded to the place where all the Bank things are lodg'd, and executed the affairs we came about, according to particular memorandums and minutes therof apart. During our continuance in the Castle which was from about 9 till near three oclock, there was closs firing from thence upon the Gardner's house at Livingston's yeards, occupied by R. Taylor, the shoemaker, at the head of a party of volunteers for the prince, to stop the communication thereabouts with the Castle, and one Watson, a soldier, was so couragious as to go down over the Castle wall upon a rope, fire upon the Gardners house, kill some of the volunteers there, carried off a firelock or two from them, sett the house in fire, return'd with these firelocks by his rope into the Castle, where he was received with loud huzzas for his valour. On his return the garrison was preparing for a sally, but as the men were a drawing up we got liberty from General Guest to go out again, and Captain Robert Mirry escorted us to the gate, where I again rais'd my white flagg, and with my friends return'd to town in safety, landed at my house from whence we adjournd to dine at Mrs. Clerks, vintner. No sooner were we sett down in Mrs. Clerks than we were inform'd that upon the sally from the Castle, Taylor and some of his men were taken and carried thither prisoners, leaving others dead on the spott, their house being sett on fire, the rest of the party having made their escape. Before I went to dinner I waited upon John Murray of Broughton, Esq., and told him I was come from the directors to acquaint him that they were ready to exchange current coin for their notes, in terms and in consequence of the two several demands made upon the Bank by way of protests and certification, on which he appointed six oclock at night to receive the money at my house, which I reported to the directors in Mrs. Clerks. After dinner I came down to make all ready and to keep the appointment, having packd up the gold in baggs to the net amount of the demands, being £3164.—About 7 oclock in place of Mr. Murrays coming himself, he sent one Mr Andrew Lumisdean (son to Wm. Lumisdean, writer, in Edinburgh), his depute secretary, who had with him the Bank notes. I told him the money was ready on the table, but that I hop'd he had the two protests duely discharg'd. He told me he had not, that they were of no moment, as they were never extended. On this we sent for Wm. M'Kewan, the notary, who acknowledged they were not drawn up, but tho' they were 'twas to Mr. Murray and not to me he was to deliver them; nor would Mr. Lumisdean promise to get them discharg'd, not knowing Mr. Murray's mind on that head. Being difficulted in this particular, and having no directors at hand to advise with, it was agreed, and Mr. M'Kewan promis'd faithfully to make out the protests against to morrow's morning to be deliverd to Mr. Murray, in case he should think proper to deliver them to the Bank. Hereupon I calld up A. Innes, teller, to compt over the Notes, and that being done, the gold was likewise told over, first by Mr. Innes, then by Mr. Mackewan, and last of all by Mr. Lumisdean, who put it up in several baggs, and these again in one large bag seald, which he caus'd carry up to his chair, and so we parted about eleven oclock at night, having drunk one bottle of wine during our business. Thereafter I lodged notes in their proper place in Bank. The net sum paid was 3076lb., Mr. Lumsdean having disposed of £88 of the notes some other way. The Castle continued firing on the Highland guards at the Weigh house. When in the Castle today I deliverd two letters to General Guest, the charge of which I had from John M'Farlane, Writer to the Signet.

Friday, 4th October 1745.

Mr. Alexander Shairp calld upon me with a letter from Mr. M'Culloch to the overseers of the Linnen Manufactory signifying the distress the work people were in for want of silver coin, and desired I might assist him. The Castle has continued firing most of this day and night on some of the uppermost houses on the Castlehill, where the Highland guards shelterd themselves, fired one of them, and some people kill'd near the Weigh house. Had a message from J. G.[1] Secretary, by his servant who left him at Alnwick, desiring me to look at some papers his servant was to get in his scritore and to be sent to him. He accordingly brought the papers, but without inspection I seald them up with his and my own seal to ly at my house till further orders least they might be taken from the servant on the road, as he was robbd in the morning, and wrote to Mr. Graham accordingly, and desired him to send directions about his furniture, etc., as James's Court where he lives is much expos'd to the firing of the Castle.

Saturday, 5th October 1745.

Waited upon Mr. Murray of Broughton: desired from him the protests taken by him against the Royal Bank. He scroupled, as he saw no occasion for them. I added as one principal reason for my asking them was that the repositories were broke open when there was not a Court of Directors present, therefore in justification of all concerned 'twas necessary to have them. He then gave his deputy, Mr. Lumsdean, orders to cause the notary extend them, and on my return to town I sent Mr. Mackewan a message to that purpose. Niccol, the taylor, brought me my freeze coat, and I paid his account. Answerd a letter of St. German's this forenoon. Constant fireing from the Castle. Blocade taken off the Castle this night by the Prince per printed notification to the inhabitants.

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[1] Apparently J. Graham.

Sunday, 6th October 1745.

No sermon in the churches. Sent the Earl of Breadalbane the key of his little cabinet which lay by me seald since he fell ill, I say sent it seald to his lordship by his servant Allick. I was not abroad all this day.

Monday, 7th October.

I wrote to Auchallader telling I could not get his cloaths out of his taylors hands. Paid Jock 10 shillings, which with 6 shillings formerly is in full for going last time to Breadalbane, having gone the length of Tyndrom, and on his return 8 miles above Stirling, and besides freighting a yole in going, and got nothing while he continued in the countrey.

Tuesday, 8th October.

Calld for Lochiel about the letters deliverd me by Mr. John M'Farlane to General Guest, about Fassiefern's[1] imprisonment at Fort William, but miss'd Lochiel. Went to the Coffee house and read the news. On my way home met the accomptant and Robert Selkrig, teller, who came alongs, and I got the latter to sort all the Royal Bank notes I had got from Mr. Lumisdean in order to be ready for cancelling, and that being done lodged these notes back in their proper place. Dined at home *solus.* Had a message from Lochiel about the letters to General Guest, but could give him no answer other than that I deliverd them to the General as directed. Evening spent in making further progress in my minutes of Bank affairs.

Wednesday, 9 October 1745.

Waited upon Provost Coutts at his own house this morning, having sent me a message he was come to town. Went to John's Coffeehouse. Sent for William M'Kewan, notary, about Bank protests. On his coming, shewd me the protests duely sign'd, and inclosed them in a letter which was sent by my servant Allick, to Mr. Andrew Lumisdean at the Abbey, who promised to return them to me discharged very soon. Came home before dinner, and was calld upon by a servant of Sir Ch. Gs.[2] with whom I went to Pleasants and got two letters from Lady

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[1] John Cameron of Fassifern.

[2] Not identified.

G[lenorchy]. Din'd at home *solus.* Lord Monzies house-maid calld at me for money to maintain her, and I gave her 10 shillings.

Thursday, 10th October 1745.

Went to the Coffeehouse. George Gordon calld upon me and told of the French ship landed at Montrose. Saw a letter of Lord Lovat's, about his Clan, etc., rising. Went to the Abbey and calld at Mr. Lumisdean for the two protests against the Royal Bank, who promised to send them to me to Earl Breadalbanes. Dined with Earl Breadalbane, Miss Boswell, Peggy Skene, and J[ohn] Murray. After dinner sent to Mr. Lumisdean for the Bank protests, which he sent me discharg'd. Earl Breadalbane gave me a letter and pass for his son to go to England, also a pass to John M'Diarmid to be sent with these to Taymouth. Sent letter to Lord M[onzie], and sent him Mercury of the 9th about Glenco, and discharging any members to go to parliament.

Friday, 11th October 1745.

Barclay, the taylor, brought me home Auchalader's cloaths.

Saturday, 12th October.

Sent to Lady Glenorchy the Prince's Declaration of the 10th addresst to all his fathers subjects.

Sunday, 13th October.

No sermon in churches. Dined with Earl Breadalbane, Taymouth, and Mr. John Murray. Came home in the evening.

Monday, 14th October 1745.

A meeting of directors. Present, Messrs. Shairp, Coutts, and Hamilton. Cancelld parcells of notes, vizt.

what I received from Broughton, ...	3076
what received from General Guest part of my balance, ...	600
	3676
more part of do. 20 shilling notes, . . .	1800

Calld a meeting of directors, ordinary and extraordinary; present, Messrs. Hamilton, Shairp, Coutts, Hathorn, Forbes, and Mansfield. Dined at Mrs. Clerks and talkd over sundry Bank business. Message per Bailie Mansfield to General Guest for admittance about Bank business to the Castle—agreed to. Meeting indicted for 9 to morrow. Officers of the Bank came to me and I notified same. Had 1 bottle of wine. Supp'd at Mr. Ronald Crawford's with sundrys.

Tuesday, 15th October 1745.

Coulterallers calld for loan of 6 guineas, which I gave him on bill. Went to the Castle with Provost Coutts, David Baillie, accomptant, and his clerk, Ewart, and three tellers about Bank business, having notified our intention to General Guest, by a letter which I wrote to him per Bailie Mansfield. Before we went up had another crave for half crown contribution on Bank house amounting to £8 : 2 : 6, which the directors agreed to pay, so Bailie Mansfield was to advance it in my absence, and I to repay him. Provost Coutts and I waited upon Generalls Guest and Preston in the Castle. Then enterd upon our business in the vault, viz^{t}.—Settled and balancd the state of the cash since 11 September. All the Bank notes cancell'd. The tellers orderd to take down from the Castle all their balances. All the notes formerly torn and not burnt, but laid up in the directors old chest under lock, were this day burnt. All the bills on 60 days, not formerly brought down, were deliverd to David Baillie, his receipt or the Secretarys having formerly stood for the same. All the foreign bills, and those from P. Murdoch, etc. taken down by Robert Selkrig, in order to be lookt into. On our coming from the Castle dined with Mr. Coutts, D. Baillie and George Chalmers at Lucky Clerks, paid bill, 7 shillings. Went after dinner to the Castle with Mr. Coutts and D. Baillie, and saw all the business finished. Came home, Provost Coutts and D. Baillie with me, where the keys, seal, and vouchers were seald up with Mr. Coutts's seall. Answered Lady Glenorchy's letters of 8 and 10, but sent her nothing enclosed, she having forbid to send any more newspapers. Got a letter from Duncan Campbell. Answered letter of Lady Dunstaffnage's[1] and sent her a guinea by her servant enclos'd.

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[1] Wife of Neil Campbell of Dunstaffnage.

Wednesday, 16th October 1745.

Went to the Coffee house. Din'd *solus*. William Dow deliverd me a letter from Lady Glenorchy, dat'd 8, and another for Lord Glenorchy, both per express, but had been stopt on the road.

Thursday, 17th October.

Went to the Coffee house. Dined *solus*. Sent Auchalader Mercurys of 9 and 11, 14 and 16. Sent him his new friese cloaths. Answered Lady Glenorchy's of the 8th and 12. Told her all was well, quiet here, frequent reinforcements, ship landed at Montrose, one of distinction from thence lodges in Abbey.

Friday, 18 October 1745.

Robert Selkrig came to sort notes, which he finished. Messrs. Hamilton and Coutts mett and cancelled the same, per signd Inventary, agreable to which I'm to have credite in part of my balance, amounting to £6539. They afterwards came down to my house, where we had a glass of wine. A meeting of directors appointed against Monday at 10 o'clock.

Saturday, 19 October 1745.

Dined with Earl Breadalbane and Mr. John Murray at Abbey. Deliverd up all receipts I had from Finlay Murray for money advanced him for Earl Breadalbane. Returnd in a chair. Was calld upon after my return from the Abbey by one of Lord Tinwalds house-maids to tell that a son of Rollo of Powhouse was searching for arms at that lodging and at Lord Monzies, on which I went immediatly down, found him and his possie at Lord Tinwalds searching every corner, but he found nothing, he had a Highlander guarding the door with a drawn sword, from whom with difficulty I got access. Lord Monzies house-maid told me, they had taken two small swords out of Lord Monzie's per receipt, which she deliverd to me. Wrote to Lord Monzie under Lieut. James Campbell's cover, and acquainted him of the above search.

Sunday, 20 October 1745.

No sermon. Had a message from Earl Breadalbane to dine with him, but made my excuse.

Monday, 21 October 1745.

Messrs. Hamilton, Coutts, Shairp, and Philip mett at the Bank according to appointment. Went through the forreign bills, and gave sign'd directions concerning the same. Deliverd to David Baillie all the 60 day bills upon receipt in order to protest and registrat them before expiry, his and the Secretary's receipts standing already for the former parcells in his hands. Patrick Smyth, brother to Methven, made a demand in the Prince's name, for payment of £1819 Royal Bank notes in current coin between and Wednesday at 12 oclock, and took instruments therupon in hands of Watson, notary, before Andrew Porteous of Burnfoot and Andrew Swan, indwellers in Edinburgh, witnesses. This demand was immediatly notified to the directors, sitting in the Bank office, who orderd that the same should be comply'd with. Dined with Earl Breadalbane, Messrs. William and John Murray at the Abbey. Waited on Broughton that he might appoint an hour for geting payment of Mr. Smith's demand, and he nam'd about five this evening. Broughton according to appointment sent his deputy, Mr. Lumisdean, with the Royal Bank notes, which Robert Selkrig received off his hand, and then told over the gold to him, amounting to £1819, which he seald up in his bags and carried away with him. Had a bottle of wine. I got up the protest taken against the Bank from Mr. Lumisdean discharg'd by Mr. Murray of Broughton, and as Swan, one of the witnesses, could not be had to sign the same, Mr. Lumisdean is to send him to me to morrow for that purpose.

Tuesday, 22d October 1745.

Had a letter from St. Germans, which I answered. Dined at D. Anderson's with D. Baillie.

Wednesday, 23d October 1745.

Received payment of Mr. Jo. Philp payment of the £8 he owd me. Gave him £10 in silver out of the Bank balance per draught on Bank of £18, in which is included the above £8. Call'd at John M'Kenzie, writer, about Earl Eglintones bills in Bank, and Bond of Corroborate he was to grant for the largest —Mr. M'Kenzie not being in town, his clerk, Mr. Gray, told me the bond was sign'd, and would be deliverd up on Mr. M'Kenzies return to town next week. And for the bills a letter might be written to Earl Eglintone to the care of the postmaster of Irvine. Dind at home *solus*.

Thursday, 24th October.

A further demand was this morning early made by Mr. Lumisdean in name of the Prince for the sum of £1117 to be paid in current coin in exchange for notes. The foregoing demand I immediatly notified to Messrs. Hamilton and Philp, who came to the Bank at a call, who agreed to comply, and Mr. Lumisdean has appointed 6 at night for receiving the money. Had a message from the Old Bank desiring to exchange all our notes in their hands, and in as far as they were short of what we had of theirs would give cash to make up the balance. Mr. Lumisdean came and got £1117 in gold for Royal Bank notes. George Stirling calld this night and supp'd with me. Indicted a meeting of directors to morrow at 12 oclock about the message from the Old Bank, etc.

Friday, 25th October 1745.

Paid M'Diarmid 9 shillings, which, with 6 shillings formerly, completes his last journey to Breadalbane. A. Innes, senior, breakfasted with me. The accomptant calld at me. Had a letter to Lady Veronica Campbell's burial. Directors met and resolv'd to exchange 4000 £ notes with Old Bank to morrow. Had a message from Old Bank by Messrs. Fairholm and Spence to exchange the notes within the Castle, which I told them could not be comply'd with, as the notes we had of theirs were brought from thence.—Had a bottle wine at my house with them.

Saturday, 26th October 1745.

Mungo Roro calld at me and breakfasted. George Stirling came and took leave. Mr. Spence calld to tell that the Old Bank directors had agreed to exchange the 4000lb. notes at Mr. Fairholm's house at 2 oclock, which I notified to Mr.

Selkrig that he might attend. Mr. Kinloch's servant-maid came to acquaint me that her masters house at Bruntfield Links was robbd and pillaged last night by 15 Highlanders and 2 women, but knew none of their names. I beged of Mungo Roro to get all the information he could, and if possible to recover the goods that the rogues might be punished, which he undertook so far as lay in his power. Mr. Kinloch's maid is to endeavour to bring me further information. D. Baillie dined with me. Exchang'd £4000 notes with the Old Bank. While at dinner Mr. Lumisden sent me a message he was to call in the afternoon, accordingly at 3 oclock he came and protested £417 Royal Bank notes, and having afterwards called I gave him £400 in gold, with which he was satisfied, having restricted his demand to that sum. Had a letter from Auchalader, who is a dying, dated 22d. Earl Breadalbane calld upon me to the Abbey, went down in a chair, suppd with his lordship and Mr. John Murray. Returnd in a chair, paid 2 shillings and 1 shilling to the Earl's servant who conducted me backward and forward.

Sunday, 27 October 1745.

No sermon. Went to the Castle, deliverd the letters for General Guest from Lord Glenorchy and Governor Alexander Campbell and message from Lord Monzie all about Fassiefern, but the General would not give answers in writing, only verbally, that he thought the Governor might release him on good bail such as Lord Glenorchy approvd of. Returnd to the Coffeehouse. Dined at home *solus*. Inshewen[1] calld upon me after dinner, to whom I deliverd Auchaladers letter about his son, Peter. Letters came to me from the Abbey for my dispatching Anderston to Taymouth.

Monday, 28th October 1745.

Court of Directors ordinary and extraordinary.

Present.

Ordinary.	Extraordinary.
Mr. Hamilton.	Mr. Hathorn.
Mr. Shairp.	Mr. Forbes.
Mr. Philp.	Mr. Mansfield.

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[1] John Ogilvy of Inshewan in Forfarshire.

Had under consideration a letter from Mr. Coutts to Mr. Hamilton, advising that upon a conversation with the Lord Justice Clerk about Bank affairs, his lordship had found fault with almost every part of the directors conduct, but had not time to give the particulars. As the directors were not sensible of any one article of misconduct, they delayed saying any thing further of that matter till Mr. Hamilton should have another letter from Provost Coutts. The Cashier retorted that he had exchangd £4000 Old Bank notes for new. It was the opinion of the meeting that as many old notes as possible should be got, and that they themselves should contribute what they could that way. It was further their opinion that in case any after demand should be made upon the Bank by the Prince within £2000, that the same should be answerd as formerly, and that the ordinary directors shoud take the same out of the Castle. Agreed to take payments from Mr. Coutts of the 4000£ Bank money in his hands, as money comes in to him, but that his partner should be told that specie or old Bank notes would be more acceptable. Made up Bank Minutes to this day. Poem.

Tuesday, 29th October 1745.

Had a confused story of a forgery of the Royal Bank notes, which was told him by John Bisset, whom I sent for, and he's to bring all the information he can get. Dined at home *solus*. Poem continued.

Wednesday, 30 October 1745.

Mr. Lumisden made a further demand of £174 to be exchangd tomorrow at 12 oclock. Sent snuff and paper to Earl Breadalbane.

Thursday, 31 October.

Exchangd some Royal for old Bank notes with Bailie Mansfield. Dined *solus*. The Prince went this evening to Pinkie.

Friday, 1 November 1745.

Mr. Lumisdean calld for 174 lb. in gold for notes of like value, but had not the protest extended, the notary and witnesses having left the town, and Broughton was likewise gone. Mr. Trotter calld at me from Provost Coutts to know if I had any message for him. Told him the directors were willing to take what partial payments he could conveniently make. Dined *solus*. Highlanders left this place wholly today.

Saturday, 2d November 1745.

To Lieutenant James Campbell I notified that the City was thinner than for some weeks past.

Sunday, 3 November.

Heard sermon per Mathison, new Church. Din'd with Earl Breadalbane and James Holburn and John Murray at Abbey. Sup'd with Earl Breadalbane. Returnd in a Chair.

Monday, 4 November 1745.

Had a Letter from the Earl of Breadalbane telling me the mob had got up in the Abbey, were opening doors, and like to destroy the house and every thing in it, therefore desiring to apply to General Guest for a safe guard, and to shew him his lordship's letter. Accordingly I wrote to the General. Sent the Earls letter inclosed by Finlay Moray, that he might tell the General what he had seen. Finlay Moray return'd and told me the General was immediatly to send down a guard to the Abbey to protect it.

Wednesday, 6th November 1745.

Mr. Kinlochs maid calld upon me for a letter to Mr. Glasgow in the Castle to be assisting to her in finding out the things pillag'd out of her masters house amongst these carried up to the Castle. Dined at Abbey with Earl Breadalbane, St. Germans, and Mr. John Murray. St. Germans treated me with a coach to the Abbey and back again. Supp'd at home, St. Germans with me.

Monday, 11 November 1745.

Din'd at home *solus*. Began to compose some lines. Paid a visit at Mr. Kinloch's. Finish'd my composure.

Wednesday, 13 November 1745.

Wrote to Miss Jeany, and sent her gloves and snuff and returnd her key. Exchanged new for old notes with Bailie Mansfield, 215. This day the Judges enterd the City in procession.

Thursday, 14 November 1745.

2000 foot and dragoons enterd the City this evening.

Monday, 18 November 1745.

Wrote to Lord Justice Clerk about Bank affairs, and advised him the old Bank had opend shop.

Wednesday, 20 November 1745.

Went to the Castle of Edinburgh with severall of the officers of the Bank, and got down all the boxes belonging to the accomptants office, being 18 in number.

Saturday, 23 November 1745.

Got down rest of Bank effects from Castle.

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